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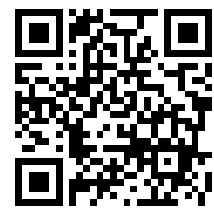

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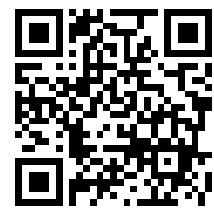

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MODERN PHILOLOGY

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CLEAVAGE IN BERTRAN DE BORN AND DANTE

The central impression one receives from Canto XXVIII of Dante's *Inferno* is that of the horror of bodily cleavage or mangling. Zingarelli[1] notes that the personality of Bertran de Born dominates this canto, and suggests definitely that the punishment of Mahomet (ll. 25–31) is reminiscent of the words of the Provençal poet, "e de fendutz per bustz tro a·ls braiers."[2] This motif, however, is not confined to a single passage in Bertran, but seems to hold for him the highest of fascination. The complete stanza, from which the single line has been quoted, and a number of other passages as well deal directly with the idea of bodily cleavage:

S'amdui li rei son pro ni coratjos,
En brieu veirem champs jonchatz de quartiers,
D'elms e d'escutz e de brans e d'arzos
E de fendutz per bustz tro a·ls braiers,
Et arratge veirem anar destriers
E per costatz e per pechs mainta lanza
E gauch e plor e dol et alegranza:
Lo perdr' er grans e·l guazanhs er sobriers.[3]

Ni anc no·n vi bratz ni flanc
Tronchat, ni chamba ni testa
Ferit de plaia dolenta,
Ni ab gran host ni ab genta
No·l vi a Roam ni a Sais;
E membres li qu' om li retrais
Qu' anc en escut lanza no frais.[4]

[1] "Bertran de Born e la sua bolgia," *Rivista d'Italia*, XI (1908), Part II, 689.
[2] A. Stimming, *Bertran von Born* (Halle, 1913), No. 26, p. 113.
[3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.*, No. 16, p. 94.

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Ara parra qui mielhs poiran
Sofrir los maltrachs ni·l mazan;
Maint cheval bai e maint ferran
Maint escut, maint elm e maint bran
E maint colp ferir demanes,
Maint mur, mainta tor desfacha
Veirem, mainta testa fracha,
Maint chastel forzat e conques.[1]

Qui·s n'aia mals o bes
O empacha o desempacha
O bratz rotz o testa fracha,
Que tan m'es de·ls mortz com de·ls pres.[2]

A Peiregors, pres de·l muralh,
Tan que·i puosch' om gitar ab malh,
Venrai armatz sobre Baiart,
E se·i trop peitavi pifart,
Veiran de mon bran com talha,
Que sus pe·l chap li farai bart
De cervel mesclat ab malha.[3]
Porc qu' om reguarda milhargos
Fai melhor escoutar que vos
O nafrat, quan hom lo talha.[4]

In addition to these passages there are others which, while they do not specifically refer to cleavage, do describe scenes with which physical mangling would naturally be associated. Among these may be mentioned the poem beginning, "Be·m platz lo gais temps de pascor,"[5] in which the whole tone is suggestive of the strife of war, stanzas 4 and 5 dealing particularly with the picture of the grim details of combat; and the poem in which Bertran states that he has been requested to write a *canzo* wherein

Sian trenchat mil escut,
Elm et ausberc et alsoto,
E perponh falsat e romput.[6]

The doubts raised by Jeanroy and Santangelo concerning Dante's knowledge of any of the works of Bertran have been adequately re-

[1] Stimming, *op. cit.*, No. 3, p. 144.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*, No. 2, p. 60.
[4] *Ibid.*, No. 38, p. 134.
[5] *Ibid.*, No. 41, p. 139.
[6] *Ibid.*, No. 1, p. 59.

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futed by Moore.[1] It is generally agreed that Dante was quite familiar with at least the biographies and *sirventes* of the Provençal poet; and it seems probable to some critics that Dante followed as his model for the form of the *Vita Nuova* the combination of prose *razo* and verse which is found in the manuscripts of the work of Bertran de Born.

Given the possibility that Dante knew some or all of the poems of Bertran de Born, the resemblance of the cleavage passages in them to cleavage as the dominant idea in the canto in which Bertran is the central figure would seem to be too striking to be coincidental.

It seems, indeed, that we may reconstruct Dante's thought as follows: As he thought of the sowers of discord, Bertran appeared to him as the most significant example; Bertran himself naturally suggested one kind of suffering—the cleavage which he so delighted in describing; and Dante, seeing its appropriate symbolization of the sin to be punished, chose it as the torment for Bertran and his fellow-sinners.

HAYDEN BOYERS

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

[1] *The Young King, Henry Plantagenet, in History, Literature, and Tradition*, "Ohio State University Studies," No. 12, pp. 74–78.

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WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY'S *LIFE OF ST. PATRICK*

William of Malmesbury (b. 1090–96, d. 1143?) is well known to students of English history as the author of the *Gesta regum Anglorum*. He is rather less well known as the author of certain tracts intended to advance the interests of Glastonbury Abbey. During the period of William's literary activity the monks of Glastonbury were engaged in an effort to bolster up the tottering fortunes of their Abbey. They had embarked upon a vigorous advertising campaign in which it was asserted that Glastonbury had been from the earliest times the place most favored of saints and princes, Welsh, Saxon, and Irish; that the church could trace a continuous existence from its apostolic foundation in the second century; and that the first abbot of the monastery was no less a person than St. Patrick.

Some time between 1129 and 1135[1] William compiled a tract, *De antiquitate Glastoniensis ecclesiæ*, in which there is assembled a remarkable collection of forged charters and falsified traditions. In this book there appears the statement that St. Patrick spent the last thirty years of his life as abbot at Glastonbury, and that he died and was buried there. William's personal responsibility for this extraordinary assertion has been rendered doubtful by the discovery that the *De antiquitate* underwent extensive interpolations during the twelfth century. In his dedication, however, our author states that he has written a Life of St. Patrick.[2] If we had this document we should be a step nearer to an understanding of the part actually played by William in Glastonbury affairs. Unfortunately, it is lost.[3]

[1] For a discussion of the date see G. Baist, "Arthur und der Graal," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XIX (1895), 327–28. The work is dedicated to Henry of Blois as Bishop of Winchester, a position which Henry did not assume until 1129. Baist thinks the book must have been completed before 1135, the year of accession of Stephen, because in the last chapter Henry of Blois is spoken of as brother to Theobald of Blois and nephew to King Henry, but there is no mention of his being brother to King Stephen.

[2] *De antiquitate Glastoniensis ecclesiæ*, in *Adami de Domerham historia de rebus gestis Glastoniensibus*, edited by T. Hearne, Oxford, I (1727), 3 ("Illos ergo libellos [two books of the Life of St. Dunstan] set & vitam beati Patricii, miracula venerabilis Benigni, passionem martiris Indracti, quæ simili cura procuderam, jam pridem in eorum permisi versari manibus. . . . .")

[3] William Stubbs, the editor of William's *Gesta regum Anglorum* and *Gesta pontificum*, makes the following comment: "The lives of S. Patrick and S. Benignus, which our author professes to have written, do not appear to have been identified with any known works on these saints. [In a footnote he adds: "Leland's extracts from the Life of St. Patrick, Collec-

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We are not entirely in the dark regarding its contents, however, for John Leland, the industrious antiquary of Henry VIII, found a copy of the first two books of the Life in the library of Christchurch (Hampshire) and made a full summary of them.[1] To anyone who is interested in the sources and methods of William, the natural thing to do is to compare this summary with other documents relating to the life of St. Patrick. In view of the large number of such documents it is necessary that we simplify our task as much as possible. It will help to clear the ground somewhat if we can determine at once just what our summary is worth for purposes of comparison. It consists of the following material:

(1) A list of incidents presumably in the order in which they appear in the original. (2) A few topic headings which may or may not be direct quotations. (3) A quotation from the *Confessio* of St. Patrick. (4) A few passages which seem to be in the words of the author.[2]

tanea, II, 273 sq., show that the first book was largely drawn from the Confession of St. Patrick."] They have served as the basis of the biographies preserved by John of Tinmouth, or by Capgrave, but the opinion of those who have examined them for the purpose of identification is unfavorable to the supposition that they proceeded from the pen of the author of Gesta. There is no doubt much to be done as yet for the bibliography of English Hagiology, and the tracts of William of Malmesbury may yet be discovered; but it must be borne in mind that he cannot be fairly regarded as the inventor of the Glastonbury 'Heirarchia'; and that, should further discoveries be made, it will not be necessary or logical to credit him with the original imposture, by which, as likely as not he was too easily deceived." [The heirarchia to which Stubbs refers is the long list of saints who were supposed to have lived at Glastonbury or to have been buried there.] *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis monachi de gestis regum Anglorum libri quinque; Historæ novellæ libri tres*, London, 1887–89 (Rolls Series, No. 90), pp. cxix–cxx.

[1] *De rebus Britannicis collectanea*, edited by T. Hearne, London, III (1774), 273–75.

[2] The last-named class of items is very important. Every fragment of William's text, however small, is precious to us in a search for the documents he used. There is one passage which Leland definitely asserts to be in the words of the author. Another by its use of the first person singular stamps itself as William's. Still others may be regarded as authentic by reason of their appearance in the work (1) of John of Glastonbury and (2) of an unknown commentator on William's *De antiquitate*.

John of Glastonbury at the beginning of the fifteenth century compiled a chronicle of the affairs of Glastonbury (*Johannis cofratris & monachi Glastoniensis, chronica sive historia de rebus Glastoniensibus*, edited by T. Hearne, Oxford, 1726) in which he included the material of the *De antiquitate* with certain additions from other sources to bring the history of the abbey down to date. In this chronicle there are four passages on St. Patrick (pp. 7, 60–61, 61–62, 68–69) and one on St. Benignus (pp. 69–70) which contain verbal parallels to corresponding passages in Leland's summary. The same material about St. Patrick appears in a marginal note in a manuscript of the *De antiquitate*. (It is printed by Hearne, pp. 11–15, with a note that the hand is modern.) Here, however, the material, instead of being broken up into four sections, is all in one piece, forming a sort of compendium of miscellaneous information about St. Patrick.

It is helpful to find two separate passages which, except for minor details, agree with each other, and in turn agree with Leland's summary. It would be even more helpful if it could be safely assumed that they are independent of each other; but an examination of John's methods is enough to convince us that the material in his chronicle is merely taken over from the manuscript of the *De antiquitate*. In his general treatment of the material

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If William set to work seriously to compile a Life of St. Patrick from varied sources, the information furnished by the summary can help us very little in our search for the documents he used, for each item, considered alone, can be found in various lives compiled before the time of William; the particular version used by William, therefore, can be distinguished only by a careful comparison of texts—and we have only a few fragments of William's text. If, on the other hand, he followed the usual practice of the hagiographer and selected as a model an earlier version of the Life of St. Patrick which he followed closely in its main outlines, the summary will enable us to recognize it, for it will contain most if not all of the facts of the summary and will relate these facts in the same order as the summary. Should we be unable to find a life that satisfies the first of these two requirements, the investigation must be abandoned. If we do find such a life, our next step is to make a careful examination of the order of its elements.

The following printed texts represent the principal versions of the Life of St. Patrick which we may assume to have been in existence in William's time:

1. *Confessio Sancti Patricii*, in *Libri sancti Patricii, The Latin Writings of St. Patrick*, edited with translation and notes by Newport J. D. White, Dublin, 1905. (Reprinted from *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, XXV, Sec. C.)
2. *Fiacc's Hymn*, in *The Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, edited by Whitley Stokes, London, 1887 (Rolls Series), pp. 404 ff.
3. The commentaries of Muirchu in *Liber Ardmachus. The Book of Armagh*, edited with introduction and appendices by John Gwynn. (Published for the Royal Irish Academy) Dublin, 1913.
4. The commentaries of Tirechan, in *The Book of Armagh*.
5. The homilies from the *Leabhar Breac*, in *The Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, ed. W. Stokes.
6. "Vita tripartita," *ibid.*
7. "Secunda vita S. Patricii. Authore (ut videtur) S. Patricio Iuniore aliove magni Patricii discipulo," in J. Colgan, *Triadis thaumaturgæ seu diversorum Patricii Columbæ et Brigidæ, trium veteris et maioris Scotiæ seu Hiberniæ sanctorum insulæ, communium patronorum, acta*, etc., Louvaine, 1647, pp. 11–16. (V_2)

of the *De antiquitate* he did great violence to the structural organization of his original without altering the phraseology to any marked degree. He nearly always quoted directly, but he broke up some passages, combined others, and incorporated marginal notes into the text with such lack of discrimination that stupid repetitions frequently mar the continuity of his narrative. For our present purpose, however, one independent version of this material is sufficient, not only to establish certain portions of William's text, but to fill in *lacunæ* which Hearne apparently found in the manuscript of Leland's summary.

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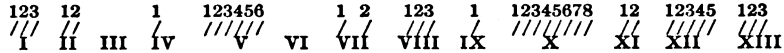
8. "Tertia vita S. Patricii. Authore ex vetustis membranis Biburgensibus in Bavaria," Triad. thaum., pp. 21 ff. (V_3)
9. "Quarta vita S. Patricii. Ex veteri Cod. Perg. M.S. Alnensis coenobii. Authore (ut videtur) S. Elerano Sapiente." Triad. thaum., pp. 35 ff. (V_4)
10. "Quinta vita. B. Patricii primi prædicatoris & Episcopi totius Britanniæ vita, & actus. Authore Probo." Triad. thaum., pp. 51 ff.
11. "Sexta vita S. Patricii. Archiepiscopi primatis & apostoli Hiberniæ. Authore Iocelino monacho Furnesio," Triad. thaum., pp. 64 ff.

Of these versions only the long and comparatively late compilations collected by Colgan contain a convincing proportion of the items represented by the summary. It is our task, then, to compare these versions with the summary with regard to the arrangement of facts. The value of this process for the identification of the document used by William depends, of course, upon the amount and grouping of detail in the summary. An account which related only in a general way the outstanding events of Patrick's life would be useless for purposes of comparison. Fortunately for our inquiry, however, Leland, like many other people who summarize documents which lie directly before them, did not plow to the same depth all the way through. Sometimes he reproduced the succession of events in great detail; sometimes he even quoted the exact words of the author; and at other times he merely touched the high spots. Thus we are furnished with a sort of pattern which reveals not only the general design of the work, but also certain individual peculiarities of arrangement.[1]

Applying this pattern as a test, we find our choice restricted to three versions, V_2, V_3, and V_4; all the others present irreconcilable divergences of structure. V_2 corresponds with the summary for the first dozen paragraphs; and then the resemblance ceases. The same is true of V_4. V_3 alone seems to qualify as a candidate for further comparison.

Professor Bury's investigation[2] of this Life reveals the fact that it is

[1] The pattern produced by variation in treatment of detail in a summary like Leland's may be represented graphically by the accompanying diagram:



The base line represents the whole original narrative. The Roman numerals represent the successive incidents of the original; the Arabic numerals, the details selected by the summarizer. Some incidents are reproduced in detail (as X); some very briefly (as IV); some are omitted (as VI). It can be seen, therefore, that such a summary may provide two tests for the identification of the original: (1) the test by order of main incidents and (2) the test by order of details within those incidents.

[2] J. B. Bury, "A Life of St. Patrick (Colgan's Tertia Vita)," *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, XXXII (1903), Section C, pp. 199–262.

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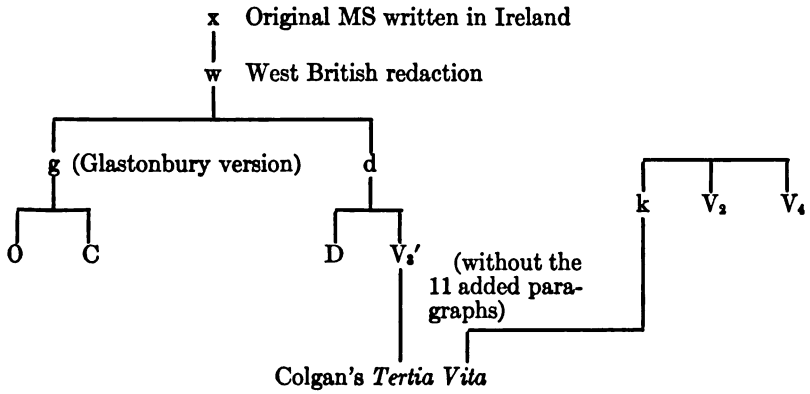
one of four which represent substantially the same version. The other three are found in the following manuscripts: Trinity College, Dublin, 171 (D), Cambridge Ff. 1. 27 (C), Bodleian 285 (O). O and C are twins. They are distinguished from D and V_3 by textual variations and by the fact that they both contain an interpolation (not in D or V_3) which represents Glastonbury as the place of St. Patrick's death. By comparing the texts of these two Lives, Bury is able to reconstruct the parent version (g) upon which they are based. D and V_3 likewise form a pair except that to the beginning of V_3 there have been attached eleven extra paragraphs from a version analogous to V_2V_4 (k). Leaving these paragraphs out of account and comparing the texts of D and V_3, Bury secures the text of the version (d) upon which they depend.[1] Again, a comparison of the two parent versions, g and d, produces the archetype w, which is shown by linguistic and historical evidence to be a West British redaction of a document originally compiled in Ireland. The accompanying diagram illustrates the relationships established.



It is understood that the contribution of k (or of the source of k) is merely the first eleven paragraphs of V_3.

This array of variants gives us a choice between two assumptions: (1) William followed V_3 throughout or (2) he followed the same method as the compiler of V_3 in using as a model one of the basic versions, d or g,[2] and filling in details from k to pad out the rather abrupt beginning.

[1] Bury prints the texts of g and d at the end of his article.

[2] If he used either of these two versions, we should naturally assume that it was the one with the Glastonbury interpolation.

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Our choice between these two assumptions will be facilitated by a close comparison of the summary with V_3 and with k (as represented by V_2V_4) plus g. We have similar material in all three versions: eleven paragraphs of k plus a variant of w. The question is, Does the summary depend upon a combination of k and w similar to that represented in V_3, or does it constitute a slightly different combination of similar elements?

In the following comparison the text of the summary is printed in full. From V_3 are given only the passages which relate the same incidents as the summary. The order of events, however, is unaltered. The text of V_2V_4 is not given, for since the first part of the account is related in substantially the same words in $V_2V_3V_4$ the text of V_3 is sufficiently representative of all three.

LELAND'S SUMMARY (S)	COLGAN'S "TERTIA VITA" (V_3)
1. Avus eius Potitus presbyter, pater Calpurnius diaconus Romanorum morem, qui tunc temporis in Britannis potentes erant, in vocabulorum decore tenuere. Mater porro Conches, filia Ocmis & soror Liupida[1] barbariem Britan: sonant. Nec minus ipse, Succet cog: a patriæ appellationis more degenerare potuit. Natus haud procul a mari per quod in Hiberniam transmittitur. Locus exortus Banauen vicus in Taberniæ campo ex metatione tabernaculorum Romanorum, ut constans nec a vero dissimilis, fama est, tale nomen sortito.	I. Natus est igitur Patricius in illo oppido Nempthor nomine: eratque illi soror nomine Lupita: cuius reliquiæ sunt in Ardmacha. Patricius natus est in campo Taburniæ. Campus autum tabernaculorum ob hoc dictus est eo quod in eo Romani exercitus quodam tempore tabernacula sua ibi strauerint. . . . .

The foregoing passage from V_3 is the beginning which the compiler borrowed from k. What we may call the genuine beginning (common to $OCDV_3$) comes later at Par. XII. This second beginning supplies certain elements which are wanting in k, but the text of it as presented by V_3 diverges markedly from S in the spelling of proper names. Of the other texts the one which resembles S most closely is g:

Patricius qui vocatur et Succet de genere[2] Britonum ortus fuit et non longe a mari nostro patria ipsius et locus in quo natus est consistit. Cuius pater

[1] Leland adds two glosses to this name: one interlinear (*iu*) and one marginal (*alias Lupida*).

[2] It looks as if "degenerare" of S might be an echo of "de genere" in g.

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vocabatur Calpurnius filius Potiti presbyteri, religiososque habuerat parentes. Mater vero eius dicebatur Conches, filia Ocinis.

Comparing this passage and the two previously quoted we see that S begins with material from the opening sentence of one of the w versions (probably g) and at the word "locus" switches to the k beginning, while V_s begins outright with the material from k and does not bring in the opening of the w versions until later.

2. Ostenditur lapis puerperii conscius, in quo connixa mater sobolem effudit in lucem. Magna in diem modernum accolarum circa lapidem frequentia.

II. Hic autem natus est super lapidem qui adhuc honorifice habetur propter peierantes. Omnes enim peierantes iuxta se, vident illum aquam effundere, quasi flentem falsum testimonium: alias vero in natura sua stat.

3. Jam vero in sortem Christi regenerandus puerulus exhibitus est viro sancto, cui Gornias nomen.

De basilica loquens fabricata eo loco, ubi baptizatus erat S. Patritius.

Aiunt, qui viderunt, ad altaris partem dexteram fontem esse quadratum, in crucis vitreis undis perlucidum, cujus haustu nihil jucundius intuitu, nihil purius.

III. Ille autem baptizari portatus est, ad alium sanctum a nativitate cæcum tabulata facie; cui aqua defuit. Fertur autem quod Guornias nomen erat sacerdotis Patricium baptizantis, qui de manu infantis signum crucis in terra posuit & erupit fons; & lauit faciem, & aperti sunt oculi eius: . . . . Aedificata autem est ecclesia, super fontem in quo baptizatus est: ipse autem fons est iuxta altare, habens figuram crucis, ut periti aiunt.

4. In Banauen igitur vico, qui & Nenchor,[1] educatus sanctiss: ut par erat, disciplina, & in ephebum, ævo crescente, provectus, non defuit.

Assistit ipse sermoni meo astipulator idoneus his verbis in confessione sua.

IV. Nutritus est autem in Nemphor ille puer, crescens in bonis operibus et virtutibus quas egit Deus per illum. Namque ab ineunte ætate, gratia Dei præditus erat antequam malum nosset discernere, & viam veritatis posset indagare. Quod ille in libro Episcopo manifeste ostendit, inquiens: [Here follows a quotation from the *Confession* of St. Patrick, Sec. ii.]

Here is a most interesting structural parallel. The use of the first person singular in the last sentence quoted from S shows that Leland

[1] Leland glosses Nenchor as Nantchor, probably a surmise on the basis of the rather common British prefix Nant-.

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is giving William's own words. The phrase *his verbis* clearly indicates the presence in the original of a quotation from the *Confessio*.[1] There can be little doubt that William was using a version of k. That this version, however, was not V_3 seems apparent from the form of the word Nenchor. This form looks very much like a misreading of Nemthor. With the manuscript abbreviation for the nasal the form would read Nēthor. The Hiberno-Saxon *t* is very easily mistaken for *c*, giving Nēchor, which can be transcribed as either Nenchor or Nemchor. The presence of *p* between *n/m* and *t* in the form Nempthor as given by V_3 would be an obstacle to such a reading.

5. Habebat sororem, ut ante dixi, Lupidam, venerabilium posthæc meritorium feminam, cujus nunc reliquiæ pausant in Ardmacha, urbe Hiber: præcipua.[2]

6. Cum enim Hiberniensium classis, prædæ allecta facilitate, Britanniam, more suo, adnavigasset, *inter ceteros captivos & Patritium, jam XVI^m annorum adulescentulum abduxit.*[3]

Ipse certe in confessione caussam captivitate adscribit peccatis populi & suis.

7. Latrunculorum ergo præda factus Patritius veniit in servum, trans aquilonares remotioris Hiberniæ partes distractus. Comparavit regionis illius regulus Milcu, filius Boin, pro paucorum nummorum commercio ingenuo potitus, & superbus spolio. Denique, ut splendorem natalium ejus obfuscaret, subulcum instituit.

XI. Causa hæc erat primæ peregrinationis, atque aduentus eius in Scotiam. Scotensis exercitus classe de more conducta, stipataque multitudine nauim; cum frequenter transnavigasset in Britanniam, multos inde ducebat captiuos.

Et hoc idem solito facientibus, casus tulit, ut ipse cum sorore sua inter alios captiuos deprehensus, duceretur in Scotiam, qui centum connumerato utroque sexo, erant. Eo autem in tempore Patricius erat annorum sexdecim ipso manifeste attestante, qui in libris suarum Epistularum ita ait.

[Then follows a quotation from the *Confessio* in which Patrick gives his age at the time of his capture and ascribes his misfortune to his own sins and those of his people.]

XII. Patricius igitur, qui vocabatur. . . . .

[This is the w beginning, quoted above.]

[1] See also Leland's marginal note at this point: "Gul: Meld: frequenter citat librum Patritii de confessione, in quo res a se gestas, & vitam suam scripsit."

[2] This item, apparently in the words of William himself, is puzzling. It brings in Lupida very awkwardly and presents material which appeared in the first paragraph of k(V_3). The succeeding passages may suggest a solution.

[3] Portions in italics appear in John of Glastonbury's *Chronicle*.

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XIII. Cum autem esset puer annorum sexdecim cum cæteris raptus, ductus est in Hiberniam; et in aquilonari parte ui annis seruiuit[1] apud quemdam regulum gentilem, qui vocabatur Miliuc filius Buain. . . . .

A glance at the foregoing passages shows that the correspondence between S and V_3(k) Par. XI is very close. It cannot be mere coincidence that William and the compiler of k both introduce material from the *Confessio* at precisely the same point in the narrative. At Par. XII, however, the similarity ceases. Here V_3, abandoning k, begins afresh with the opening words of w.[2] It then proceeds to relate the story of the capture a second time. S avoids this rather stupid repetition. After mentioning the capture once, it goes on to describe Patrick's experiences as a slave in Ireland. The w beginning which constitutes a second opening in V_3 Par. XII has already been used in the first paragraph. The structural divergence btweeen V_3 and S may be illustrated thus:

V_3 k—I II III IV V VI VII VIII IX X XI w—I II III, etc.
S w—I k—I II III IV V VI VII VIII IX X XI w—II III, etc.

If, therefore, we assume that William used V_3 as his model, we must suppose that the first thing he did was to reach over into Par. XII after the material from w for his opening sentences. What we have already seen of William's faithfulness to structural detail makes the assumption of such rearrangement very dubious. This assumption, moreover, fails to explain the curious muddle in the passage about Lupida.

Suppose we try the other assumption. Let us assume that William began to write with a version of w before him. When he reached the end of the first paragraph he found himself face to face with the inci-

[1] In another notice of this Life Leland says that William does not tell how long Patrick served as a slave in Ireland. (See *Commentarii de scriptoribus Britannicis*, ed. A. Hale, Oxford, 1709, pp. 36 ff.). This omission may have been the result of William's inability to decide between the period of seven years assigned by k(V_3V_4) and six years as given by the w versions. If so, it is additional evidence that he was using two versions instead of depending on V_3 throughout, for V_3 unquestioningly follows its source in giving six years as the length of Patrick's captivity.

[2] The text of this opening (as presented by g) has already been quoted.

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dent of the kidnapping, which occurred when Patrick was sixteen years of age. Like the compiler of V_3 he realized that it was hardly in accordance with the conventions of hagiography to dismiss the parentage, birth, and childhood of his hero with one paragraph. In another Life, analogous to V_2, V_4, and (for the first eleven paragraphs) V_3, he found what he needed: a sister, a birthplace with an etymology attached, a list of childhood miracles, and a few quotations from the *Confessio*. This document he followed closely until he again arrived at Patrick's capture by the Irish pirates. In the passage on the capture he saw a mention of Patrick's sister. Since her name was not given, he quite naturally glanced back to Par. I to recall it. In Par. I he saw the statement, which he had previously omitted, that her relics were preserved in Armagh. Realizing the importance of such a statement in a saint's life, he dragged it into his text before proceeding with the capture. The capture finished, he returned to his original model.

The foregoing hypothesis accounts for the structural peculiarities of the Life upon which our summary is based. It is supported, furthermore, by the correspondence in proper names. In comparing these names our attention is once more attracted to g, for of all the versions deriving from w it bears the closest resemblance to S. In the table subjoined it is apparent that g and V_2 combined furnish a much closer correspondence than V_3.

S	V_3	g	V_2	V_4
1. Calpurnius	Calburnius	Calpurnius		Kalfurnius
2. Conches	Conches	Conches		Conchessa
3. Nenchor	Nempthor		Nemthor	Nemthor
4. Ocmis	Dechuisi	Ocinis*		
5. Succet	Suchet	Succet		Sucquetus
6. Taburniæ	Taburniæ		Taburne	Taburn
7. Gornias	Guornias		Gornias	
8. Milcu/ Miluc	Miliuc/ Miliuc	Milcu/ Miluch		
9. Boin	Buain	Boin		

* Manuscript Ocmis and Ocinis would be very easily confused. O reads Ocmis.

If we are to proceed on the hypothesis that S represents a combination of w and k independent of V_3 we are justified in discarding V_3 and selecting as a basis for further comparison one of the other derivatives of w. Of these g, by reason of the resemblance in the spelling of proper names, recommends itself most strongly for our purpose.

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LELAND'S SUMMARY
(*Continued*)

8. Ut invento thesauro Patritius se a servitute redemerit.

Ille (In margin: Miluc), metalli fulgore perstrictus oculos, simul & pondere captus, se exorabilem præbuit, & adolescentem manumissum servituti emancipavit.

9. Felicibus ergo ventis in altum provecti, post triduum continentem attingebant, &c. De erroribus Patritii per deserta loca.

Octavo ergo & xx° postquam appulerat die post errores multivagos, quos devius secutus inciderat, Patritius terram habitalem vidit.

10. Sed nec longum visu lætatus est, paulo post iterum a prædonibus interceptus, & abductus.

Sexagesimus postea dies vidit Patritium ab omni captivitatis injuria exemptum.

11. Ita mag: laboribus perfunctus, tandem in patriam, tandem in domum paternam receptui cecinit.

12. *Cujus disciplinatui duobus de viginti annis non segniter insud(ans Patricius) scripturarum divinarum lectione quicquid deerat plenitudine (adjecit) scientiæ.*[1]

g

XIV. Cum impleti essent ui anni in seruitute, uenit ad eum angelus Victor nomine . . . . dixitque ei: [Victor tells him where to find gold.] Exiit Patricius et inuenit illic pondus auri, et dedit regi. Rex autem gauisus est, aurum videns, et dimisit liberum Patricium.

XVI. Patricius uero perrexit ad mare et inuenit ibi navem paratam in qua erant gentiles, receperunt eum cum gaudio et nauigauit cum eis tribus diebus et noctibus, et post triduum tenuerunt terram, et xxuiii diebus ambulauerunt per desertum, et cibus eis defuit, et inualuit fames.

XVII. Et iterum post hec Patricius captus est ab alienigenis, et in prima nocte qua mansit cum illis, uenit ad eum Victor angelus et dixit ei: Noli contristari, quia non longo tempore in captiuitate manebis cum hiis hominibus, sed duobus tantum mensibus. Quod factus est ita; nam post duos menses liberauit Dominus eum de manibus eorum.

XIX. Et exiuit Patricius ad parentes suos; uidentes autem illus parentes eius gauisi sunt in adventu illius. . . . .

XXI. Tunc sanctus Patricius cogitauit per angelicam uisionem exire ut sacras scripturas disceret, ut posset eos docere. Perrexit ergo ad regiones Gallorum, et uenit ad sanctum episcopum Germanum uirum sapientissimum et honoratum ab omnibus Gallis, principem Autisiodorensis

[1] As noted above, the italics indicate passages duplicated by John of Glastonbury. The portions in parentheds are lacking in Hearne's edition of Leland.

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13. Missus cum eo ab episcopo (interlinear gloss: Germano) Segetius presbyter spetiosiorem fecit com. . . . .

14. *Invenit gratiam in conspectu domini Papæ. Is erat Cælestinus (a beato Petro quadragesimus quintus, anno dominicæ) incarnat. ccccxxii°. papatum ingressus. Ab eo Patritius Hiberniam (in opus euan)gelii, missus, datus est illis gentibus doctor & apostolus.*

15. Idem sane Cælestinus paulo ante Palladium quendam Hiberniam ad prædicandam miserat; ut vero autor est Beda anno domini ccccxxx°. &c. ut Palladius, pertæsus barbariei, reversus sit in Britanniam, ubi mortuus est.

Unde colligitur, Patritium eodem anno, quo Palladium, vel certe sequenti, Hiberniam missum quia non ultra novem annos Cælestinus protendit pontificatum.[1]

Ex 2° libro de vita Patritii.

16. De puero Hunna[2] nomine in Temoria, regione Hiberniæ in qua regnum erat Loëgarii, qui nullo modo

ciuitatis; et mansit apud illum xl annos legens et implens diuinas scripturas.

XXII. Patrick's visit to St. Martin.

XXII. Transactis ibi xl annis uoluit Patricius invisere Romam capud uidelicet omnium ecclesiarum. . . . . Misitque sanctus Germanus seniorem cum illo Segitimum presbyterum, ut testem haberet ydoneum.

XXV. Cum autem Patricius Romam ingressus esset, inuenit gloriam et honorem apud Celestinum qui erat papa urbis Rome quadragesimus quintus a Petro apostolo.

[The pope then bids Patrick go to Ireland, but Patrick replies that he must go and greet God first. He goes to Mt. Armon for a time.]

Tunc papa Celestinus misit Patricium ad hanc insulam.

XXVI. Nam iste Celestinus alium prædicatorem nomine Palladium misit ante Patricium ad hanc insulam, sed habitatores huius insulæ non susceperunt eius doctrinam; quia non illi donauit Dominus istam insulam sed sancto Patricio reseruauit eam. Palladius uero reuersus est ab hac insula, ut iret Romam, sed ille mortuus est in regione Britonum.

XXXVI. Tunc Patricius uoluit uenire ad regum magnum Loegaire qui habitabat in Temoria Breg ut

[1] Here Leland inserts a passage from the *Confessio*. It is based ultimately on Par. 52 of that document (White, *Libri S. Pat.*, pp. 250–51), but since it contains variations not represented in any extant manuscript, it must be assigned to an intermediate source.

[2] The name Hunna seems to be peculiar to S. The Beonna of John's text may be due to the Glastonbury tradition of an epitaph containing the name Beonna which was supposed to commemorate Benignus. See *De antiquitate*, p. 46.

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a Patritio abesse voluit. *Eum & dignatus est lecto, & insignivit Benigni vocabulo. Jussit ergo baptizatum in currum suum levari, pronuntians illum futurum heredem regni sui.* (In the part which precedes the passage in italics—duplicated by John of Glastonbury—Leland has condensed very decidedly. John's treatment of the same passage is more detailed: Venerabilis pontifex Sanctus Patricius de quo superius est sermo, prædicando circuiret regiones Hibernicas, pervenit in campum, qui dicitur Brei, spacio famosum & specie. Cujus pulcritudo animum pontificis illexerat, ut ibi percelebraret Pascha, quod tunc instabat. Prima illi in ea provincia hospitalitatis necessitudo cum quodam viro fuit, qui continuo divinae praedicacioni credulam aurem apponens, baptismi sacramento alteratus in novum hominem. Cujus filius, Beonna nomine, ætatis admodum delicatæ, alludens episcopo, blando amplexu pedem eius suo astringebat pectori nonnunquam osculabundus. Euntem quoque ad corporis pausam lacrimis proscutus, non nisi cum eo se velle dormire clamitabat. Quapropter Patricius, perspicaci propheciæ intendens oculo, quanta virtutum indoles per Dei graciam puero esset accessura. . . . .) [Then follows the passage parallel to Leland's summary, as given in italics above.]

17. Unus erat id temporis ex Britannorum regibus, dubium an adhuc paganus, certe ferocitate deterrimus, nomine Cereticus. Is animum sancti multis conficiebat angoribus hac, quæ sequitur, caussa. Crebris enim, ut supra dixi, conflictibus Britanni & magnam sollempnitatem pasce que prope erat in illo campo præclaro celebraret.

[The narrative then describes the journey to Ulster.]

Ascendit de naui et uenit uespere ad quendam uirum bonum et baptizauit illum, et inuenit cum eo filium qui sibi placuit. Et Patricius dedit illi nomen Benignum; et puer ille suis manibus pedes Patricii ad suum pectus colligabat et noluit dormire cum patre suo uel matre, sed flebat nisi cum Patricio dormiret. Mane autem facto cum Patricius currum ascenderet, ut unum pedem in currum eleuato, altero uero stante in terra, tenuit Benignus puer pedem Patricii strictis manibus et dixit: Dimitte me apud Patricium patrem meum proprium. Et dixit Patricius: Baptizate eum et eleuate in currum quoniam heres regni mei est.

LXXII. Nunciata sunt sancto Patricio mala opera cuiusdam regis Brittonum Ceretic, crudelis et inmitis tyranni. Cogitabat autem Patricius et conuerteret illum ad uiam ueritatis. Hic Ceritic namque erat persecutor et interfectu (sic) christi-

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Scotti summa vi utrinque decertabant, &, ut sunt incerta bellorum, modo illius, modo his vincentibus, prædæ insignes agebantur. Hinc fiebat, ut Hibern: captivi, qui cecidissent in sortem Ceretici, miseris excruciati modis, anticiparent mortem suppliciis. Hanc cum in omnes exerceret carnificium, tum maxime in eos, quos Patricius baptizasset, totam fatigabat sævitiam, sæpius infrendens, quod homo Britannus Britannorum inimicis prædicaret verba salutis, &c. Ut Patritius Cereticum tantæ crudelitatis admonuerit.

anorum. Misitque ad eum Patricius epistulam, sed rex ille deridebat doctrinam Patricii. Cum hec nunciarentur Patricio, orauit ad Dominum et dixit. . . . .

In incidents 16 and 17 we have excellent examples of William's procedure. In both there is good reason to believe that we have, to a large extent at least, the author's own words, for the Benignus episode (16) quoted from John of Glastonbury is phrased in language far superior to John's and leads directly into a passage common to John and Leland, and the Coroticus incident as given by Leland contains the first person singular. When we examine the facts related we see that all William has done is to retell the story in more high-flown style. For example, the foregoing passage from S, long as it is, leaves off at the sending of the letter. It is therefore merely an expansion of the first two sentences of Par. LXXII in g.

18. De Maguilio quodam potenti homine Hiberniæ, ad fidem converso prædicatione & miraculis Patritii.

Maguilius autem, involucris mundi expeditus, ad mare contendit. Ibi, ut jussum erat navi conscensa, regente obedientia, cui parebat, felicibus auris in Mevaniam insulam evectus, duos episcopos, assidentes littori, miraculo sui perculit.

Qui mirati simul & miserati hominem marinis jactatum periculis, simul & compeditum, de profundo

LXXIII. Erat quidam homo in regionibus Ulath, nomine Maguil; hic homo erat gentilis et crudelis tirannus.

[Patrick outwits his druids and converts him. He wishes to do penance and Patrick says the judgment shall be left to God. He tells him to shackle his feet together, throw the key into the sea, and entrust himself to the waves in a small boat without oars or rudder.]

. . . . in illa die migravit Maguil ad mare et ascendit in nauem, et flatus uenti portauit eum ad insulam

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levatum asciscunt, mensæ participant hospitio, ubi & eorum charitate confotus, & dei gratia adjutus, ita in bonum brevi convaluit, ut non solus divinitus expeditus (Interlinear gloss: a compedibus), sed & episcopus factus, religiosam sui memoriam usque hodie insulanis reliquerit.

20. Rex Britonum, Munessam nomine, filiam unicam cui ætatis maturitas, & spetiositas formæ suffragabatur, nuptum dare volebat, &c. Ut illa nullis minis adduci potuerit ad nuptias, quamvis adhuc pagana, utque parentes. Patricium de hac re consuluerint, qui statim puellam baptizavit. Quo facto paulo post obiit virgo.

21. De talibus quippe (signis & miraculis) sexaginta sex libros compegit antiquitas, sicut ea exercebat per singulas regiones.

Finis 2[d] libri.

Mannan. Et inuenit ibi duos sanctos episcopos. Qui uidentes uirum huius habitus mirati sunt et[1] miserti sunt illius. Eleuaueruntque eum de mari cum gaudio et mansit ibi cum illis et accepit postea gradum episcopalem, et in illis regionibus habetur magna ciuitas Maguil episcopi usque hodie.

LXXVIII. Erat autem rex quidam gentilis Britonum et habuit filiam Munessan nomine, et ille voluit eam dare uiro, sed filia noluit. Licet enim gentilis fuisset, tamen per legem nature sue cognouit Deum et illum dilexit. . . . . Et neque a parentibus neque a magis, neque minis neque uerberibus, mens eius potuit commouere ab amore Dei. Tunc parentes eius audentes fama sancti Patricii uenerunt ad eum cum filia sua. . . . . Tunc Patricius dixit ad eum (Sic): Si credis in deum? Et ait: Credo. Et statim accipiens baptismum, tradidit animam suam in manus angelorum. . . . .

LXXXVII. Nam omnes libri qui de virtutibus Patricii scripti sunt .lxui.[2] numero computantur. Cotidie namque non cessabat in omnibus locis et provintiis curare cecos et mutos. . . . .

William's closing words as quoted by Leland are as follows: *Nunc ad ejus in patriam gratiosum reditum, & ad coelum gloriosum transitum, dirigam mentem et stilum.* Leland goes on to say[3] that he has never found the third book. He found two manuscripts of the work at Glastonbury, but these, like the one at Christchurch, were incomplete. The only direct information we have concerning the third book, therefore, is the hint contained in William's one sentence. It is worth noting, however, that Book II breaks off with Par. LXXXVII and that

[1] V_3 omits *mirati sunt et.* [2] V_3: *sexaginta.* [3] *Collectanea*, III, 275–76.

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Par. LXXXVIII is the one that contains the Glastonbury interpolation. Since in g there are only seven more paragraphs, it looks as if William intended to fill up the third book with material connecting St. Patrick with Glastonbury.[1]

On the basis of the foregoing comparison it seem justifiable to conclude that William constructed his Life of St. Patrick as follows: He began with g before him as a model. Finding it somewhat abrupt at the beginning, he padded it out with material from k. He also introduced certain modifications in chronology, probably to make it coincide with Glastonbury tradition.[2] Otherwise he followed his sources very closely in fact and structure, merely rewording the narrative in more sophisticated style.[3] The absence of any conscientious attempt at rearrangement of material or discrimination between facts marks this Life as a piece of purely routine work.

This information brings us a little closer to an understanding of the part played by William in the Glastonbury advertising campaign; it also shows that one of the features of this campaign was the use of Irish documents.

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[1] It may be that the compiling of this third book out of scattered materials without the assistance of an exemplar required more time than William had at his disposal and that the project was abandoned. Still it is hard to understand why three copies should be made of an unfinished Life. Leland (*loc. cit.*) suggests the possibility of mutilation.

[2] According to S, Patrick studied only eighteen years with Germanus, while g gives forty. John of Glastonbury retains this figure for the period of study. S gives 431 or 432 as the date of Patrick's departure for Ireland, g does not give the date at all, and John gives 425. A short sketch of Patrick's life in the *De ant.* also gives 425. Patrick's age and the date of his death are not stated in S, but the *De ant.* sketch (pp. 22–23) gives the death date as 472 and the age as 111. John has the same date, but in g the age appears as 132 years. In the Capgrave version (*Nova Legenda Anglie*, ed. C. Horstmann, Oxford [1901], pp. 279 ff.), which presents many parallels to g, the age is given as 130 years, but in an appendix to this Life made up of material found at Glastonbury, the whole chronology of the *De ant.* sketch is taken over bodily.

[3] The only ponderable items which cannot be traced to either of the two sources mentioned are the name Bannauen and a quotation from the *Confessio*. Since Bannauen occurs in the *Confessio*, the presence of the name and the quotation in S might lead us to conclude that William had access to the writings of St. Patrick. The fact is, however, that the quotation has no discernible relation to the context and differs markedly from all known versions of the *Confessio*, and that Bannauen appears in various other documents such as the commentaries of Muirchu and its derivatives. We are hardly justified, therefore, in assuming that William used any other Patrician documents than the ones specified.

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LE MAL SAINT LEU

In the *Gargantua*[1] of Rabelais we have a very curious passage which has already attracted the attention of commentators. It is here a question of saints "producteurs de maladies." Grandgousier converses with a number of pilgrims upon their return from the shrine of St. Sebastien near Nantes and asks them what their purpose has been in going there:

Nous allions, dist Lasdaller [their spokesman], luy offrir nos votes contre la peste.—O, dist Grandgousier, pauvres gens, estimez vous que la peste vienne de Sainct Sebastien?—Ouy vrayement, respondit Lasdaller, nos prescheurs nous l'afferment.—Ouy, dist Grandgousier, les faulx prophetes vous annoncent ilz telz abus? Blasphement ilz en ceste façon les justes et saincts de Dieu, qu'ilz les font semblables aux diables, qui ne font que mal entre les humains, comme Homère escrit que la peste fut mise en l'ost des Gregoys par Apollo, et comme les poëtes feignent un grand tas de Vejoves et dieux malfaisans? Ainsi preschoit à Sinays[2] un caphart, que sainct Antoine mettoit le feu es jambes; sainct Eutrope faisoit les hydropiques; sainct Gildas, les fols; sainct Genou les gouttes. Mais je le punis en tel exemple, quoique il m'appelast heretique, que depuis ce temps caphart quiconque n'est osé entrer en mes terres. Et m'esbahis si vostre roy les laisse prescher par son royaume telz scandales. Car plus sont à punir que ceux qui, par art magique ou aultre engin, auroient mis la peste par le pays. La peste ne tue que le corps, mais telz imposteurs empoisonnent les ames.

That Rabelais, following his usual custom, is here alluding to an actual state of affairs seems certain. It has been shown[3] that both Calvin and Henri Estienne, contemporaries of Rabelais and Protestants, criticize these same beliefs and doctrines. M. Folet, in the article just alluded to, writes:

Il est certain que, dès les premiers temps de la Réforme, les abus et les superstitions que les novateurs affirmaient s'être glissés dans le culte des saints, et particulièrement l'attribution des maladies à tels ou tels saints (guérisseurs ou producteurs) fut en France un des griefs originels du protestantisme, autant que l'avait été en Allemagne le trafic des indulgences.

[1] Book I, chap. xlv.

[2] Cinais, near La Devinière where Rabelais lived.

[3] *Revue des Etudes Rabelaisiennes*, IV (1906), 199 f.

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Even today the belief that certain saints can impose certain diseases persists in several regions of France. In Rouergue St. Jean de Laur "en veut aux rachitiques." In Normandy at Rouen "les statues de Saint Siméon et de Saint Hilaire portent aux poignets des liasses de rubans de percale, humbles offrandes de bonnes femmes qui croient que leurs enfants malades sont 'tenus' de ces saints et qui espèrent obtenir ainsi leur guérison."[1]

A medieval legend of St. Leu, which we shall treat in this article, will, we believe, show clearly that the doctrine of saints "producteurs de maladies" was preached several centuries at least before Rabelais' time. This legend will also possibly shed some light on the origin of the term *mal saint Leu* and other *maux* bearing names of saints which are of such frequent occurrence in medieval French and Latin texts.

The association of the names of saints with certain diseases in the Middle Ages is often difficult to understand. Such expressions as *mal saint Fiacre, mal saint Valentin*, etc., belong to the popular vocabulary and are seldom employed by technical writers or found in medieval surgical or medical treatises.[2] Some diseases appear to have taken the names of saints who were supposed to have suffered them, for example: leprosy, *mal saint Ladre;* hemorrhage, *mal sainte Tanche;* fever, *mal saint Rigobert.* Others seem to have been associated with certain saints because of apparent similarity of name: *mal saint Aurélian, mal des oreilles; mal saint René, mal de reins; mal saint Dodon, maladies de dos.* Most frequently, however, the reasons why special saints were invoked in the case of particular diseases are not clear.[3] Legends of popular origin explaining the circumstances have not been recorded and have, in course of time, been forgotten.

St. Leu (or Loup), archbishop of Sens (died A.D. 623), has been invoked for relief from several ailments: epilepsy, paralysis, convulsions, toothache and children's diseases, dysentery, etc. His connection with some of these maladies dates from the period immediately following his death when miracles of healing were accomplished at

[1] Rabelais, *Œuvres*, ed. Lefranc, Paris, 1912 and after, II, chap. xlv, p. 365, n. 16. Cf. also a delightful article on Normandy by Colette Yver, in which she mentions these rustic beliefs. *Revue Hebdomadaire*, June, 1911, pp. 193 f.

[2] Cf. Ed. Faral. "Des Vilains ou des XXII manières de Vilains," in *Romania*, XLVIII (1922), p. 256, n. 3, and p. 259, n. 3.

[3] Cf. A. Franklin. *La Vie privée d'autrefois*, Vol. XI, *Les médecins*, Paris, 1892, pp. 220–53. A glance at the long list of *maux* associated with names of saints, shows that only a very small number of such *rapprochements* have been explained.

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his tomb. Thus we read in an early Latin life of the saint[1] that paralysis, toothache, and broken limbs were miraculously remedied about his sepulchre. This is one of the reasons for the great esteem in which relics of St. Leu have been held through the ages and for the large number of churches and shrines which have been dedicated to him, not only in all parts of France, but even in Spain and Italy.

Of occasional occurrence in medieval texts is a malady called vaguely *mal saint Leu*, but which seems to have signified pretty clearly epilepsy or *le mal caduc*.[2] How did this disease become associated with the name of the saint? There is no reference to epilepsy in the early Latin life of St. Leu to which we have alluded, and which is the source of practically all the data regarding the saint to be found in the innumerable hagiographies, ancient and modern. Medieval writers who have dealt with St. Leu, such as Vincent de Beauvais,[3] Jacques de Voragine,[4] and the author of a thirteenth-century life of the saint in German verse,[5] are mute on the subject and the medieval iconography offers no explanation.

In 1906, Paul Meyer, in Volume XXXIII of the *Histoire Littéraire de la France* (p. 361) called attention to an Old French life of St. Leu in verse, preserved in two manuscripts[6] at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. This life dates in all probability from the fourteenth century, is unpublished, and as far as we know, has never been studied or commented upon. Its author appears to have been a pious man, probably an ecclesiastic, who had little aptitude for composing verse and only a confused knowledge of church history. The poem is written in quatrains of Alexandrines, *rimes plates*, and is continually defective in verse structure and rhyme. The consecrated details of the life of St. Leu are here given in summary fashion, but in this poem we note several events or legends which we believe are not found attributed to St. Leu before this fourteenth-century composition.

[1] *Acta Sanctorum, Die Prima Septembris*, I, 248 f. *De Sancto Lupo.* The life was written within a short time after the death of Saint Leu.

[2] A reference given by Du Cange from a fourteenth-century document makes this clear (under *morbus*): *morbus S. Lupi, morbum beati Lupi, seu aliter caducum, sustinere saepius dicebatur.*

[3] *Spec. hist.*, XXIV, 9–10.

[4] *Legenda Aurea.*

[5] See *Bibliothek der gesammten deutschen National-Literatur von der ältesten bis auf die neuere Zeit*, Vol. XXXII: *Das Passional, eine legenden-sammlung des Dreizehnten Jahrhunderts*, Fr. Karl Köpke, Quedlinburg und Leipzig, 1852, No. 52, pp. 457–60.

[6] MS Bib. Nat., *fonds français* 1555, vellum, fourteenth century, folio 130 f.; MS Bib. Nat., *fonds français*, 1809, paper, fifteenth century, folio 69 f.

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In the first place we find here the well-known legend[1] of the ring cast into the water, swallowed by a fish, and later recovered in its belly. St. Leu passing out of Sens into exile while crossing the bridge over the Yonne, throws his ring into the river. It is only seven years later, when he is presented with this ring (which had been found in a fish served at a banquet of the elders of Sens) that he consents to return to the city from the region of Beauvais where he had lived as a hermit. This story is taken up by modern biographers[2] of St. Leu, but the only other evidence of its attribution to the saint in the Middle Ages is to be seen in the representation of the episode in a beautiful stained glass window still preserved in the Church of St. Aspais in Melun (Seine et Marne), which the corporation of the butchers dedicated to him in 1517.[3]

The second special feature of this Old French life of St. Leu is of greater interest to us. St. Leu, archbishop of Sens (we here summarize the document), was suspected of too great intimacy with a young woman of his diocese, named Colombe.[4] He became so bitter as a result of these unjust suspicions and calumnies that he finally decided to exile himself from Sens, but before setting out he[5]

61 Requist a Dieu que toute la lignee
Qui blasmé l'ont a tort, fut IX fois tourmentee
Chascun jour du hault mal[6]; Dieu qui sout sa pensee,
Volt oïr sa requeste tantost sans demourée.

[1] The celebrated legend of the ring of Polycrates (Herodotus, ii. 41; Pliny *N.H.* 38, 1). It has been introduced into other saints' lives: St. Arnould, St. Kentigern, St. Maurille, St. Grat. The story is also recounted in various medieval Latin *exempla*. The presence in certain coats of arms, of fish with rings in their mouths, also attests the popularity of the legend which is generally considered to be of oriental origin.

[2] For example: Giry F., *Les Vies des Saints dont on fait l'office dans le cours de l'année*, Paris, 1715, and Moreri, *Dictionnaire Historique*, Paris, 1759.

[3] Cf. *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie, Sciences, Lettres, et Arts du Département de Seine et Marne*, Meaux, 1867, p. 65.

[4] The author of the poem has made the martyr Ste. Colombe who died at Sens toward the end of the third century A.D. a contemporary of St. Leu (died A.D. 623). The young woman's name is given in the Latin life as Verosia.

[5] The passages are taken without retouch from MS Bib. Nat., *fonds français*, 1555 (fourteenth c.) which we shall designate as *A*. The variants of the fifteenth century version occasionally seem better. We shall refer to the latter MS as *B* and note important variants in the footnotes. (*B* 61) Fist a Dieu grant requeste que toute l.l. 63 ... D. quy saict la p. 64 Va ouyr sa r. tot et s.d.

[6] Epilepsy (*hault mal*) is also called in various texts (cf. Godefroy under *mal* and *maladie*) *le beau mal, le grand mal, le mal sacré, grant maladie, grosse maladie, maladie obscure*. (*B* 164) Cheurent du fort mal doncq sont fors enteschés. This seems to be a better reading as 164 *A* and 184 *A* are identical. The latter is assured by 184 *B*. (*B* 184) Sy f. du hault mal ... 185 Q.l.p. vist destordre at d. 187 D.a. J.C. s'arme et fist tous a. *B* 193 ... pensoient ... 194 ... de celle m. 195 S.L. en print p. ... 198 ... merci car bien ... 199 ... qu'il eust volluntiers les absolust. *B* 219 De m.m.ou qu'il soyent s'il prengne en gré. *B* 246 ... tres bonne et douce gent 248 Que D. s'il luy a donnez ... 249 ... et lieuve. ...

B 250 ... jour tout droict de septembre et la feste 252 Sy priens le corps sainctz qui menast. ...

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During his absence, the inhabitants of Sens suffered famine, fatigue, poverty;

Mez lez faus medisans par qui fu eslongné
Sy furent de son mal devant tous tormenté.

Upon the return of St. Leu to Sens after seven years of exile,

Mez tous ceulx par qui il fu diffamé,
Sy furent de son mal devant tous tourmentés.
Quant le proudomme lez vit descendre et demener
Du hault mal dont Dieu nous veuille tous garder,
Des armes Jesus Christ s'arma et fist armer.
La messe au grant autel ala pour eux chanter.
.....
Mes tous ceulx du lignage qui penserent a folie,
Furent fort tormentés de la grief maladie.
Saint Leu en out pitié; a Dieu de bon cuer prie
Que il les aleiast par sa grant courtoisie.
Quant furent redrechiés, devant lui sont venus
Pour lui crier merci, bien y furent tenus,
De tel povoir que il out, lez a asollus.

St. Leu then prayed that the famine and misery might disappear from the land and his prayers were at once granted. Then he besought God to grant relief to all who, in the future, might be afflicted with what he called *mon mal:*

Encore vous requier, par saincte Trinité,
Que toutes creatures qui seront tourmenté
De mon mal en quelconque lieu que eulx soient, ce eulx le prengnent a gré,
Que en l'autre ciecle soient leur pechié pardonné.

An angel then came down to announce that all of his prayers had been granted by the grace of God and the poet concludes:

Et pour ce doit on garder, trez douce gent,
De pariurer saint Leu a son droit essient,
Quer Dieu lui donna le don tout communaument
Quer il abast et relieuve a son voulloir la gent.
Le premier jour de septembre est tout droit la feste
De Monseigneur saint Leu qui reclamé doit estre.
Si prion le bon saint qui mena vie honneste,
Qui nous gart de son mal, de foudre, et de tempeste. Amen.

It is evident from the last passage quoted that the situation is about the same as that alluded to by Rabelais. The fourteenth-century poem is in the form of a sermon to be preached, probably on

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the first of September, the day still set aside on the church calendar for the adoration of St. Leu. The "prescheur" speaks of the saint as one who can inflict and cure epilepsy and urges the people to pray to him to preserve them from *son mal*. We do not think it likely that the author fabricated out of whole cloth these details of the association of the malady with St. Leu any more than he invented the story of the bishop's ring. More probable it seems that he has utilized a popular tradition which may have been responsible for the origin of the expression *mal saint Leu*[1] (*morbus S. Lupi*), one of those legends which in the case of the association of saints' names with diseases, have long since been forgotten. It does not seem to us to be sufficient to say[2] merely that saints to whom the power of curing a disease was attributed, naturally in course of time, came to be considered as having the supernatural gift of inflicting that disease. It is obviously more logical to suppose that some saints, as in the legend of St. Leu, were credited first with the power of causing the malady and then were invoked to effect its cure. Upon the evidence of this legend, is it going too far to suppose that the association of certain saints' names with maladies grew out of the popular belief that such saints (for reasons in most cases now obscure) were responsible for them and needed to be appeased to bring relief? Does not the legend of St. Leu appear to indicate that such pagan beliefs as are mentioned in the *Gargantua* had their origins back in the Middle Ages[3] at least two centuries before the time of Rabelais?

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[1] All of the examples of *mal saint Leu* and *morbus S. Lupi* which we have collected appear in texts of the fourteenth century or later.

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[3] The vengeance carried out by certain saints upon those who offended them is frequently mentioned in medieval books. Some of the miracles of the Virgin are of this sort. Many punishments were meted out by St. Martin, as reported by Gregory of Tours. Cf. *Revue des Etudes Rabelaisiennes*, 1906 (IV), 212 f. In this connection such common imprecations as "que le feu saint Antoine te arde" are interesting.

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CALDERÓN'S *ASTRÓLOGO FINGIDO* IN FRANCE

Ticknor,[1] G. Reynier,[2] Martinenche,[3] H. Breymann,[4] and Fitzmaurice-Kelly[5] are agreed that Thomas Corneille borrowed the plot of his *Feint Astrologue* from Calderón's *Astrólogo Fingido*.[6]

The two comedies,[7] indeed, do not differ much in the essentials. The divergences of Corneille's piece from that of Calderón concern rather the details and the atmosphere of the comedy than the plot itself. And yet, the *Feint Astrologue* is not a mere translation: "Thomas Corneille y montre parfois plus de simplicité dans l'intrigue et une couleur plus française," says Martinenche; according to Breymann, it is "eine freie Nachahmung des spanischen Stückes."

In reality, Thomas Corneille's version came very near the character comedy. He enriched the plot with psychological elements: His hero feels scruples at his own mischievousness; he is not simply a revengeful lover whose sole aim is to wreak his anger on the lady who had slighted him. Only his pity for the unfortunate chambermaid who would be punished for having betrayed her mistress' secret prevents him from gladly giving up the masquerade. Calderón's Diego became Don Juan's brother in Corneille's *Astrologue;* he lost all his Spanish grandeur and flowery rhetoric, and even his servant is astonished at the constancy with which his fickle master loves for once. An important feature is that from the fourth act on he tries to appease the strife and turmoil that his trickery had stirred up. He repents of his misdeeds, and helps the lovers to obtain the consent of the girl's father. And as if anticipating the nature of the heroes of Molière, he

[1] *History of Spanish Literature*, III, 382, 412.

[2] *Th. Corneille, sa Vie et son Théâtre* (Hachette, 1892), p. 193.

[3] *La Comédie espagnole en France de Hardy à Racine* (Hachette, 1900), p. 344, reviewed by A. L. Stiefel in *Z. f. frs. Spr. u. Lit.*, 1904.

[4] *Calderón-Studien*, I (Berlin, 1905), 134; cf. A. L. Stiefel's reviews in *Litbl. f. germ. u. rom. Phil.*, 1906, and in *Z. f. rom. Phil.*, 1906.

[5] *History of Spanish Literature* (1922), p. 332.

[6] Thomas Corneille, *Poèmes Dramatiques* (Paris, 1706), Vol. I; *Las Comedias de D. Pedro Calderon de la Barca* (Leipzig: Keil, 1827), Vol. I.

[7] For a synopsis of Calderón's *Astrólogo*, cf. A. Schaeffer, *Gesch. des spanischen Nationaldramas* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1890), II, 51.

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does not entirely break with astrology as does the Diego of Calderón; he will keep on playing the farce for the fun's sake.

The comic element is stressed more in Corneille's comedy. The rascality of the servants is more pronounced: Philipin, Fernand's valet, is a worthy rival of Scapin. Béatrix, the maid of Lucrèce, whose indiscretion caused the whole imbroglio, does not so easily betray her mistress as does the Beatriz of Calderón. All the servants in Corneille's piece are mortally afraid of the astrological perspicacity of Fernand. Jacinte covers her face with her hands lest her true character be bared to him; Mendoce confesses to Philipin that he had stolen from his master.

Léonor, who is in love with the rival of Fernand, refuses to tell the astrologer the purpose of her visit: She thinks it would be useless, as he, by virtue of his magic art, already has knowledge of it without further information. The astrological jumble of Fernand is missing also in Calderón's piece. Fernand pretends to be a disciple of the great Nostradamus, while Diego had been the pupil of an Italian astrologer. The terror of Léonor and her maid at the apparition of Juan is highly comical in Corneille's version; all the details—the upsetting of the lamp, Jacinte's hiding under the table—are not found in Calderón.

One is likely to agree with Martinenche that the *Feint Astrologue* is not merely *une traduction facile et naturelle.* Unfortunately, however, this is not due to the genius of Thomas Corneille. All the quoted authors failed to mention the fact that Corneille did not take the plot immediately from Calderón, but combined it with a version of Mlle de Scudéry. She had related the "Aventures du Marquis François" in her *Ibrahim ou l'Illustre Bassa* (1641)[1] seven years before the comedy of Corneille. All the deviations of Corneille's version from Calderón's *Astrologo* are found in this episode of the *Ibrahim*, so strangely different from the later manner of *Sapho.* The *couleur française* with which Martinenche credits Corneille must be ascribed to Mlle de Scudéry: She changed the Diego of Calderón into a French nobleman, witty, whimsical, and inconsistent. The French marquis, anonymous in Scudéry, is exactly the same character as Corneille's Fernand. The

[1] Second book of the second part, and not sixth book of the first part as H. Koerting quotes it in *Gesch. des frz. Romans*, I (1885), 406.

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names have been changed and the place of the plot has been transferred to Genoa, the city of Justinian and Isabelle. For this reason Fernand studied astrology under Nostradamus in France, like the French marquis, while Diego learned this art from an Italian astrologer, and thus the entire comedy received a thoroughly French atmosphere.

In the preliminary epistle to his comedy[1] Corneille himself hinted at this fact by admitting that he followed Scudéry's version in one episode:

> Je ne l'aurois pas hazardé avec tant de confiance, si je n'avois eû pour moi l'exemple d'un de nos plus illustres Auteurs, qui ayant accomodé le sujet de cette agréable comédie dans son Illustre Bassa, aux Galanteries du Marquis François, n' a pas dédaigné d'y employer la fourbe d'un Valet. ...

Much stronger is the statement which we find in the *Bibliothèque Universelle des Romans:*

> ... Cette Nouvelle [of Scudéry] eut un grand succès. Th. Corneille a fait une comédie de la partie qui plairait le moins aujourd' hui, & qui avait plu davantage parce qu'il y avait encore des gens infatués de l'Astrologie judiciaire. Cette pièce, intitulée le Feint Astrologue, réussit beaucoup.[2]

Astrology was a frequent and favorite subject matter of the Italian *novella.*[3] It is not impossible that both Scudéry and Calderón followed some Italian novelist.[4] Scudéry's version, however, so closely agrees with that of Calderón that it seems unnecessary to advance this hypothesis—the filiation from Calderón to Corneille through *Ibrahim* is evident.

The proud declaration of the *Bibliothèque des Romans* is, however, not wholly justified. Even in the eighteenth century, astrology was

[1] It was omitted in the later editions of Corneille's works. The Parfait brothers quote it in Vol. VII of their *Histoire du Théâtre françois* (1746), pp. 212–13.

[2] *Op. cit.*, II (January, 1777), 120.

[3] For example, *Cento novelle antiche XXXVIII*, Ortensio Lando (*L'asino astrologo*), Anton Francesco Doni (*Gli astrologi e i pazzi*), F. Sacchetti (*L'astrologo confuso*); cf. also G. B. Porta's *Astrologo*. For the popularity of this subject matter cf. Giambattista Marchesi, *Per la Storia della Novella italiana nel sec. XVII* (Roma: Loescher, 1897), p. 5; and R. Warwick Bond, *Early Plays from the Italian* (Oxford, 1911), pp. xxxi–xxxvi.

[4] Carlo Costanzo Costa's *Astrologo non astrologo* (Genova, 1665) is an imitation of Calderón's *comedia*, and not a novel as A. Albertazzi persumed in his *Romanzieri e Romanzo del cinquecento e seicento* (Bologna: Zanchelli, 1891), p. 221. Cf. *Bibliotheca Aprosiana* (Hamburg, 1734), p. 209; Quadrio, *Della storia e della ragione d'ogni poesia*, III (Bologna e Milano, 1739–52), 106; VII, 225, and Stiefel's quoted reviews of Breymann's *Cald.-Studien.*

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used as a motive on the stage by no less a man than Voltaire. In his comedy, *Les Originaux* (1732),[1] the Chevalier du Hasard pays a nocturnal visit to a young lady.[2] When surprised by her father, a maniac astrologer, he pretends to be an astrologer also, and thus he succeeds in ingratiating himself with the old man. It goes without saying that Voltaire presented astrology in a farcical way: The chevalier does not fail to pay astrological compliments to his sweetheart. *Mutatis mutandis*, this situation is analogous to the scene where Fernand and Lucrèce are surprised by Léonard, father of Lucrèce (*jornada segunda* in Calderón; II, 3, in Corneille). Doubtless, the scene is a reminiscence of Corneille's comedy, and thus it is highly probable that Voltaire was influenced by this "most extravagant and absurd madman,"[3] as he styled Calderón, of course, through Corneille's *Astrologue*.

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[1] For a synopsis of this comedy cf. P. Holzhausen, "Die Lustspiele Voltaires," *Zschr. f. nfrs. Spr. u. Litt.*, Vol. IX, Suppl. 4, p. 10.

[2] *Op. cit.* (ed., Beuchot), II, 398 ss.

[3] Alfonso de Savio, *Voltaire and Spain*, *Hispania* (May, 1924), p. 161.

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THE CRITICAL BACKGROUND OF THE SPENSERIAN STANZA

It is a mark of genius, in an age led astray by classic tradition, that Edmund Spenser, despite his strong critical bias and membership in a group pledged to the fallacy, should resist the learned lure of Latin measures. So strong was this lure, it is essential, as a foreword to the discussion of the poet's choice of a medium and the creation of his stanza, to summarize briefly the struggle that went on in the Renaissance between the adherents of quantitative verse and the creators of the new vernacular literatures.

I

The establishment of classic meters in the vernacular was a stock problem of the Renaissance. The example of the Romans formed a strong argument. By labor and usage they had reduced their uncouth language to the laws of Greek metric, and had created a literature which, in the eyes of the Renaissance, excelled that of their masters. The inference was clear.

The Italians, having, as they did, the peculiar advantage of possessing, prior to the complete recrudescence of the classics, three writers of genius—Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio—and a well-developed literature in the vernacular, came armed to the struggle. Nevertheless, the beauty and dignity of classic measures exercised a powerful influence upon them. Under the patronage of Lionello d'Este and the teaching of the elder Guarino, Ferrara became a center of Latin culture. Here Carducci tells us, "*tutti amavano, odiavano, peccavano, sognavano in latino.*"[1] Here, too, Ariosto later made the first essays of his genius, in Latin. Throughout Italy the writings of the Strozzi, Pontano, Bembo, and Poliziano lent dignity and elegance to modern Latin measures. It was natural that both poets and critics should endeavor to transfer the admired forms to their own language.

[1] G. Carducci (1836–1907), *Delle Poesie Latine, Edite e Inedite di Ludovico Ariosto* (Bologna, 1875), p. 19.

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Dati[1] and Alberti[2] sought, with indifferent success, to reconcile Latin quantity with the vernacular.[3] Tolomei[4] and his followers, chief among whom was Annibal Caro, formed the *Accadèmia della Nuova Poesia*, and attempted to establish an Italian prosody analogous to the Latin. Caro urged his fellow academicians:

> Or cantate meco, cantate or ch'altro risorge
> Parnaso, ch'altro nuovo Elicona s'apre—.

Somewhat later and more ambitious efforts are the comedy of Alemanni and the heroic poem, *Eridano*, of Patrizzi.

Among the critics Scaliger devotes the fourth book of his *Poetices* to quantitative measure. To Trissino is assigned the disputed honor of the invention of "*versi sciolti*,"[5] which is in Italian (as is the corresponding blank verse in English) the nearest approach in modern prosody to classic hexameter. He uses this unrhymed verse in his model epic, *Italia Liberata da Gotti*, declaring it to be "*il verso, che secondo il parer mio a lo Eroico si conviene.*"[6] Trissino gives also a valuable exposition of vernacular verse forms. He notes the deliberate working out of new forms on the part of poets, and states that when Dante wrote his epic, he had as examples in the vulgar tongue, only the "*Canzoni, o Sonetti, o Ballate, o Mandriali.*" Daniello, Minturno, the Tassos, Paola Beni, and others discuss quantitative measures, but the consensus of opinion is that quantity is unsuited to the genius of the language; while Varchi, Dolce, and Muzio openly condemn the attempted reforms of Tolomei and his academy.[7] The great Italian epics bear witness to the justice and finality of the decision.

The experiments of Italy were repeated in France. Michêle de Bouteauville (*ca.* 1500) supported the theory of his *Art de metrifier françois*, by a poem written in classic couplets. The *Opere Toscane* of Alemanni, in blank verse, was published at Lyons in 1533. *La Coltivazione*, a classic imitation in classic measure, appeared at Paris in 1546.

[1] *Certame Coronario* (1441) contains a poem in hexameter by Dati, "Scena dell'Amicizia."

[2] Cf. Spingarn, *Literary Criticism in the Renaissance*, p. 221.

[3] F. Flamini, *Storia Letteraria d'Italia (Cinquecento)*, II, 191.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.*; cf. D'Ancona-Bacci, *Manuale della Letteratura Italiana* (Firenze, 1912), II, 178.

[6] *Della Poetica: Tutte Le Opere* (Verona, 1729), Bk. II, Div. II–IV.

[7] Flamini, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

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Ramus in his *Grammar* (1562), Henry Estienne with his *Traité de la conformité du langage françois avec le grec*, and Pasquier[1] pronounced the French language capable of receiving quantitative measure. Jodelle, Bertet, and Jacques de la Taille[2] are champions of meter. More notable are the efforts of Jean Antoine de Baïf, who, under strong Italian influence sought a rehabilitation of classic meters and a reconciliation with musical prosody. In imitation of Tolomei he established the *Academie de Poesie et de Musique*. He and his followers were lightly satirized by Vanquelin as brave spirits who sought to make French words march in feet.

Among the greater French critics the movement was commonly opposed—Fabri condemns the alteration at will of syllable length.[3] Sebillet declares that French verse is measured by syllables only.[4] Du Bellay[5] is complaisant toward meter, but states clearly that although the French have the usage of feet, yet it is by the number of syllables in the line of each poetic genre that their poesy is bound as by a chain, and that rhyme is among the French "*ce qu'est la quantité aux Grecs et Latins.*" De Laudun follows Du Bellay. For Ronsard the alexandrines "hold the place in our language of the heroic among the Greeks and Latins."[6] Although he later[7] retracts this view, his apostasy had little effect upon the supremacy of the alexandrine which held its place well into the eighteenth century.

In England a few men, more learned than poetic, maintained the superiority of quantitative measure. Chief of these partisans were Cheke, Ascham, and Watson. In the *Areopagus*, noted in the correspondence of Spenser and Harvey, and doubtless a counterpart of the *Accadèmia della Nuova Poesia* and of the *Academie de Poésie et de Musique*, Sidney, Dyer, and Spenser experimented with quantitative measure, and were supported by the learned Harvey and Archbishop Drant. Puttenham sympathized with the innovation but was too

[1] *Recherches de la France*, Book VIII, chap. ii.

[2] *La Manière de faire des vers en françois comme en grec et en Latin.* (Published 1573; Probably written a decade earlier.)

[3] *Grand et vrai Art de pleine Rhétorique* (1621), ed. A. Heron (Rouen, 1889), Book II, pp. 1–3.

[4] *Art Poëtique Françoys*, ed. Gaiff (Paris, 1910), Book I, chap. v, pp. 1 ff.

[5] *Defence et L'Illustration*, Book II, chap. vii.

[6] *L'Abrégé: Oeuvres de Ronsard* (Paris, 1866), VII, 329.

[7] See Preface of the *Françiade*.

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cautious to commit himself. The fallacy culminated with Webb in his famous quantitative renditions of Spenser's first, second, and fourth *Eclogues*.

Although the attempt to fix quantitative measure upon the growing vernacular proved abortive in its primary intention, yet the actual results of the general movement are worthy of both respect and consideration. If the study of classic meters failed to reinstate syllabic quantities, it, nevertheless, led to a truer valuation of both syllables and accent. The caesura became a point of art rather than of accident. Rhythm came to be understood as a quality independent of rhyme. Men learned that the true genius of the language lay in syllabic numbers and accent to which rhyme was a musical addition. Poetry moved with new dignity and measured tread. But the sense of assured freedom and the consciousness of something yet to be attained led to endless experiment and combination in verse form, the results of which passed beyond the limits of the Renaissance into a timeless inheritance.

II

In England, Spenser and Sidney were among the first to assimilate the outcome of the struggle. Sidney had been in all probability the central figure of the *Areopagus*, yet a few years later he writes simply:[1]

> Now of versifying there are two sorts, the one ancient, the other modern. The ancient marked the quantity of each syllable, and according to that framed his verse; the modern observing only number with some regard of the accent, the chief delight of it standeth in like sounding of the words, which we call rime. Whether of these be the more excellent would bear many speeches; the ancient no doubt more fit for music, both words and tune observing quantity; and more fit lively to express passions by the low or lofty sound of the well-weighed syllable. The latter likewise with his rime striketh a certain music to the ear; and in fine, since it both delight, though by another way, it obtaineth the same purpose; there being in either sweetness, and wanting in neither, majesty.

The regularity, polish, and grace of his own verse attest Sidney's classic training and taste.

Spenser must have come to his task of writing the *Faerie Queene* with a sense of assured freedom.[2] The responsibility of a final selection

[1] *The Defense of Poesy*, ed. A. S. Cook (New York, 1890), pp. 55–56.

[2] The statement is made advisedly. At the time that he submitted the *Faerie Queene* to Harvey and received his unfavorable opinion of it, Spenser was experimenting in meters and debating with Sidney and Dyer the relative merits of rhyme and quantity. It is logical to assume that his convictions crystallized under the debates of the *Areopagus*.

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of verse form for his epic probably followed close upon or was contemporary with the discussions of the *Areopagus*. The learned claims of classic meter had been met, and found to be but long shadows of the past. His critical interests had been exercised in the experimental meters of the *Shepheardes Calendar*. Further practice, especially in recasting the early poems published in Van der Noodt's *Theatre*,[1] had given an easy command of form. Spenser was a critic and a scholar to whom both the criticism and the literatures of the world of culture were familiar. The essence of his critical theory was the combination of imitated forms in a new creation, and, therefore, upon the basis of this theory his epic stanza must be studied.

Until an exact prototype be found for Spenser's stanza all discussion of the subject must remain within the field of hypothesis. Therefore, it must be distinctly understood that the following discussion is not offered as definitive proof, but as, at least in the opinion of the writer, a reasonable hypothesis of logical processes.

The Spenserian stanza has been popularly considered the poet's great contribution to English literature, and several theories have been advanced as to its construction. The *rime royal*, the *ottava rima*,[2] and the stanza of Chaucer's *Monk's Tale*,[3] a double quatrain with interlinked rhyme, may any one have formed a basis of the structure. Of the last Tyrwhitt wrote, "Chaucer's stanza of eight verses, with the addition of an Alexandrine, is the Stanza in which Spenser has composed his *Faery Queen*."[4] This theory has been indorsed by recent authority.[5] The analysis is simple, completely possible, and highly plausible, the more so that the employment of the alexandrine as the

[1] Published, London, 1569.

[2] See John Hughes, *Introduction: Works of Spenser* (1715); Thomas Warton, *Observations on the Faerie Queene*, pp. 157–58; James Russell Lowell, *Essay on Spenser: Prose Works* (Boston, 1897), IV, 328–29.

[3] This stanza is fairly common among early writers: see Lydgate's "Envoy: Don't despise your Neighbor"; Sir Richard Ros' translation of Alain Chartier's "La Belle Dame sans Merci"; Chaucer's "L'Envoy de Chaucer a Bukton," "Ballade de Vilage sauns Peynture;" "Envoy to Compleynt of a Lover's Lyfe."

[4] "*An Essay upon his Language* and *Versification*"; Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* (London, 1778), IV, 87, note.

[5] See "Introduction to the *Faerie Queene*"; *Works of Spenser* (ed. Dodge, 1908), p. 135: "In defect, then, of satisfactory models, he was driven to invention. He knew, in Chaucer and Lyndesey, a fine, sonorous old stanza in eight verses, built of two quatrains linked by rhyme. Such linking by rhyme was familiar to him from Marot as well, and he had practised the art in the *Calendar*. He had also there experimented with the alexandrine. . . . . For his *Faery Queene*, therefore, he merely added to the old stanza that he knew a final alexandrine, and by that simplest combination transfigured them both."

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closing line of a stanza was no innovation. Among the adulatory poems addressed to Elizabeth during the famed festivities of Kenilworth, was one of welcome spoken by the Lady of the Lake; the poem consists of seven stanzas composed of a quatrain and a couplet, of which the last line is an alexandrine.[1] "These verses were devised and penned by M. Ferrers—some-time Lord of Misrule in the Court.": so runs the editor's comment in a pamphlet issued shortly afterward in response to the popular demand for an account of the gorgeous pageantry and the "inventions" which employed the best wits of the time. It could only be by rare chance that this poem could escape the knowledge of Spenser. Four years later we first hear of the *Faerie Queene.*

The alexandrine was well known in England although not common.[2] The difference in tone quality between the French and English languages made the alexandrine—almost an ideal line in the former—a ponderous measure in the latter. Nevertheless its rhythmic and resonant harmony was evident. The heaviness was accentuated in continuous composition;[3] hence the function of the alexandrine became in English that of a variant,[4] whose pendulum swing gave an echoing harmony. It was as a variant that Spenser first used the

[1] George Gascoigne, *The Princelye Pleasures at the Courte at Kenilwoorth* (London, 1576). I quote from the reprint by Marshall (London, 1821), pp. 2–3:

> I am the lady of this pleasant Lake
> Who since the time of great King Arthure's reigne
> (That here with royal Court aboade did make)
> Have led a lowring life in restless paine;
> Till now, that this your third arrival here
> Doth cause me come abroad, and boldly thus appeare.

The stanza cited presents, of course, no parallel to the Spenserian stanza, save in the device of extending the last line to an alexandrine. Tyrwhitt (*op. cit.*, p. 178, note) states that Rowley, writing in the reigns of Henry VI and of Edward IV, varied the rime royal by changing the last line to an alexandrine.

[2] It was introduced into England early in the thirteenth century. The accent was by no means so regular as in the French. In consequence it was confounded with the *senarii*, and used as an alternate with the *septenarii*. This combination was designated "poulter's measure" by George Gascoigne, *Certayne Notes of Instruction* (Pub. 1575): *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, ed. Gregory Smith, I, 56. For instances in early literature see: Schiffer, *Englische Metrik*, I; Richard Morris, *Old Eng. Misc., E.E.T.S., Orig. Series*, XXV; Guest, *Hist. of Eng. Rhythms*, chap. vii; ten Brink, *Hist. of Eng. Lit.* (New York, 1889), I, 274; Alden, *Eng. Verse*, pp. 252, 254. Wyatt, Surrey, and Sidney also made limited use of this measure.

[3] Drayton's *Polyolbion* illustrates this fact.

[4] The ballads, in very early forms, show a tendency to vary their measures with a longer line. *The Merchant's Daughter of Bristow* (*Roxburghe Ballads* [ed. Collier, 1847], pp. 104 ff.) has in the second line a fairly well developed and regular form of the alexandrine. The date of this ballad is uncertain. The editor claims that it was written considerably before James I came to the throne.

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measure in the *November Eclogue* of the *Shepheards Calendar*, and wrote in sounding phrase:

Up, then Melpomene! the mournful Muse of nyne.

With such literary antecedents, it is clear that the structure of the Spenserian stanza from English elements is entirely possible, and that the acceptance of the measure as made up of the linked quatrains of Chaucer and an alexandrine is on the surface natural and logical.

To this conclusion there can be opposed two objections, and these, to some, would appear intangible. They are the inherent unity of Spenser's verse, and the utter dissimilarity in poetic quality between it and the Chaucerian quatrain.

There is a quality in Spenser's verse which proclaims it a unit, and not a structure of two divisions with a lean-to at the end. One and indivisible are the nine lines of his verse. And as an adjunct to this objection it may be stated, the very simplicity and reasonableness involved in the accepted theory of structure is no argument in regard to the stanza forms of the Renaissance. Complexity as implying greater art, rather than simplicity, was the ideal of the age.

When Spenser sought a medium for his epic, he had as authoritative precedents the classic hexameter, the alexandrine of the French, the *terza rima* of Dante,[1] the *ottava rima* of Boiardo, Ariosto, and Tasso, and the decasyllabic heroic line of his own country. His declared models were the works of Chaucer, Homer, Vergil, Dante, Ariosto, and Tasso. The first had left no distinctively epic poem to incite imitation. Spenser's genius for melody saved him from quantitative abortions. The popularity of the *Orlando* and the *Gerusalemme Liberata* easily determined a stanzaic form for the epic which was to "overgo" them all. But the use of the *ottava rima* would have been too patent an imitation in an age which cried out for novelty or invention. Dante was left as a master, and in his measure Spenser found a noble model.

The term invention as applied to metric experiment is inexact; the process is one of modification, and in the stanza which bears Spenser's name there seem to be fused the standard heroic measures of Italy, France, and England.

[1] Trissino wrote his *Italia Liberata* in *versi sciolti*, taking the eleven-syllabled line of the *terza rima*, but discarding both rhyme and stanzaic form.

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The primary suggestive factor in the composition of the Spenserian stanza is the *terza rima* of Dante, combined with the crystallizing native influences of the decasyllabic line and the alexandrine.[1] Second to this in only a degree is the Italian stanza of nine lines best exemplified in the madrigal.

The first step in establishing this thesis is to expand that conception of *terza rima* which limits it to a meter of terzains in which the second line sets the rhyme for the first and third lines of the succeeding terzain. This, the rhyme scheme of the *Divina Commedia*, constitutes a standard or norm, but a thousand examples in Italian literature attest the freedom and variety of the *terza rima* rhymes and linkage. Minturno devotes a section[2] to the variations of which the *tercetti* are susceptible and endeavors to give every possible combination. There are three general schemes: that used by Dante and noted above; that which in some combination presents rhyme within the terzain; and that which demands no internal rhyme but preserves rhyme linkage between the tercets.[3] A poem of the last type, however, almost invariably resolves into final groups the second and third lines of which form a rhymed couplet.[4] Not only were the combination and variation of the *terza rima* permitted, but a keen perception of its harmonic possibilities made such modulation an eagerly sought feature of art.[5]

The impossibility of knowing just what accent was given to Italian poetry by English readers renders the discussion at this point speculative. The prevalent custom of travel in Italy and the fashionable popularity[6] of all things Italian, however, make it tolerably sure that knowledge was first hand and fairly correct. The fact that knowledge

[1] Harvey (*Marginalia*, ed. G. M. C. Smith, p. 168) writes: "y^e^ difference of y^e^ last verse from y^e^ rest in euerie Stanza a grace in y^e^ Faerie Queen. An errour [if an error] in sum few Eclogues of Sir Philip Sidney."

[2] *L'Arte Poetica*, Bk. III, pp. 254 ff.; cf. Trissino, *op. cit.*, Divisions II, III, and IV.

[3] A. Firenzuola (I *Ragionamenti*, Milan, 1891) gives: (1) aba/bcb/cdc/, etc.; (2) aba/bbc/cdd/, etc.; (3) abc/abc/cde/dff.

[4] Cf. Dante, *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, Bk. II, chap. xiii: "Also with regard to the arrangement of the rhymes, according as they are in the *fronte* or coda, every wished-for license, it seems, should be conceded, but still the endings of the last lines are most beautifully disposed if they fall with a rhyme into silence."

[5] Firenzuola (*op. cit.*, p. 285) advocates innovations through the example of Greek and Latin writers, and of Dante and Petrarch. Excellent examples of varied *terza rima* in stanzaic form are to be found on pp. 289 ff.

[6] See Roger Ascham, *The Schoolmaster* (London, 1909), pp. 72–92; Gabriel Harvey, *Speculum Tuscanismi: Works of Harvey* (ed. Grossart), I, 84–86.

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of Italian was not confined to a limited class of scholars, but widely spread, increases the probability of emphasis on all points common to the two languages, and especially upon any correspondence between the admired metrical forms of Italy and the cruder compositions of England.

We have seen that vernacular poetry had come to be recognized in Italy, France, and England as dependent upon syllable number and accent.[1] The line of the *terza rima* of Dante is hendecasyllabic.[2] Since the French take the masculine or oxytonic verse as a norm, and the Italians the feminine or paroxytonic, there is very nearly an equation between the Italian eleven-syllable and the French ten-syllable line, and as a corollary, with the English heroic line. Besides this intrinsic parallelism between the normal Italian verse, and the French and English, certain variation in the former establishes other relations. The accent falls upon the tenth[3] syllable of the Italian verse; occasionally the final syllable is dropped and the line becomes masculine or purely decasyllabic and is called *tronco*—

Ma dimmi, se tu sai a che verrano.[4]

Again an extra uncounted syllable changes the line to *sdrucciolo*, and this with some emphasis on the sixth syllable, gives the cadence of the alexandrine,[5] as in "A parole formar disconvenevole" (*Inferno*,

[1] See Trissino (*op. cit.*, Div. II, p. 16) for an excellent discussion of the matter; cf. *ibid.*, p. 14; Minturno, *L'Arte Poetica*, Bk. I, p. 3; Du Bellay, *Deff. et Illus.*, chap. vii, p. 130; Sidney, *loc. cit.*

[2] For authority in the following discussion I have drawn without reserve upon Professor Grandgent's *Introduction* to his edition of the *Divina Commedia*, pp. xxxv–xxxvi, and upon the Rev. H. F. Tozer's "Essay on the Metre of the *Divina Commedia*." For this essay see the Rev. Edward Moore, *Contributions to the Textual Criticism of the Div. Com.* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1889), App. V, pp. 713–23.

[3] Dante (*De Vul. Eloq.*, Bk. II, chap. v) pronounces the line of eleven syllables "the stateliest as well by reason of the length of time it occupies as of its capacity in regard to subject, construction, and words." He discusses the apparent line of ten syllables, but claims the desired eleventh syllable in one case through a double-consonant ending—

"Ara auzirez encabalitz cantars"—

which he declares has the force of a syllable; and again through a long final vowel—

"De fine si vient sen et bonté."

Lines of an even number of syllables he condemns as rude. In regard to combination of varying line lengths, he states that the line of eleven syllables "seems to rise still more clearly and loftily in its stateliness" when combined with those of seven syllables. Cf. Tozer, *op. cit.*, pp. 714–15.

[4] *Inferno*, IV, 60; cf. *Inferno*, IV, 56; XX, 74; XXVIII, 32; XXXII, 26; XXXII, 62; *Purg.* IV, 68; XII, 41. For references see Tozer, *op. cit.*, p. 714.

Inferno, XV, 1; XXIII, 32; XXVIII, 80; *Par.* XXVI, 125; XXVIII, 125. See Tozer, *loc. cit.*

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XXIV, 66); "Ch'era ronchioso, stretto e malagevole" (*ibid.*, 62), "Parlando andava per non parer fiévole" (*ibid.*, 64). An attempt to reduce these variations to definite classes of words is only partially successful.[1] Moreover, *tronco* and *sdrucciolo* are too fully recognized in Italian criticism as legitimate modifications to warrant apologetic discussion. The importance for our argument lies in the rhythmic modulation of these variations.

The accent in Dante's line falls, as noted, with full force upon the tenth syllable; besides this there is a secondary accent upon the fourth or sixth syllable. His meter in the strict sense of the word is iambic, or a succession of light and strong syllables. Grandgent says that it is a movement "more nearly approaching that of English poetry, than this theoretical scheme would indicate: . . . ." Tozer writes: "the lines naturally break into feet of two syllables, the stress or beat being on the latter of the two syllables." He gives the following examples:

Nel mézzo dél cammín di nóstra víta
Mi rítrovái per úna sílva oscúra.
(*Inf.*, I, 1–2)

and states that "when the poet desires to give the greatest smoothness to his verses, he keeps to this;"[2] [rhythm]. The regularity of this movement is saved from monotony by various substitutions, chief of which is the use of anacrusis, or else beginning the line with a strong syllable.

The problems of synizesis, elision, and hiatus, as they affect the measure and cadence of the line, plunge us into further uncertainties.[3] Here it must be simply stated that all rules are subject to frequent exceptions. In synizesis the word accent falling upon the first vowel absorbs the second. If the accent falls naturally upon the second, the vowels are pronounced separately. This rule applies to words within the line. Final words receive a separate vowel articulation, which produces the most frequent form of *sdrucciolo*. The elision of a single unaccented vowel before a vowel commencing the next word is regular; the elision of two is common; and that of three occurs. An accented

[1] Tozer, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 115; Trissino (*op. cit.*, Div. II, p. 16), in a treatment of metric feet, states that iambics have special pre-eminence. Later (Div. IV, p. 83) he excuses his exclusive use of iambic verse for examples on the same grounds.

[3] Trissino, *op. cit.*, Div. II, pp. 20–22.

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final vowel, however, retains its individuality and is pronounced independently of the succeeding initial vowel. If the latter is weak it may be absorbed or united with the stronger sound as a diphthong. This process is called hiatus. In monosyllables great independence of treatment prevails. Since the liberty accorded the Italian poet in the treatment of his vowels is so great, it would be illogical not to expect some liberties, on the part of foreign readers, in the rendition of the meter, and, as already suggested, a certain emphasis upon elements related to native metrical schemes.

In fine we have in the verse of Dante an epic meter stately, ample, and capable of receiving all the embellishments of art. It has a sustained iambic movement. The strong accent upon the tenth syllable relates the rhythm of the line to the French and English decasyllabic measure. The *sdrucciolo* lines give the cadence of the alexandrine.

To attribute a relationship between these characteristics and the Spenserian verse is a delicate and dangerous task. It is by no means intended to assert that Spenser read Dante's epic and found there, in combination, decasyllabic and alexandrine lines which he transferred to his own verse. It is intended to state as clearly as possible that Spenser found in the *terza rima*[1] of Dante a noble medium, dignified both by a master-poet and a master-poem, one far removed from the "envy of the present days," honored by critics, and susceptible of infinite art. He found there too an echoing cadence and rhythm which he sought to re-embody through the nearest familiar forms, the English heroic line and the French alexandrine.

Two phases of evidence may be adduced in favor of this theory, Spenser's strong Italian interest and the quality of his verse.

The popularity of all things Italian has been noted. Sidney's *Defense of Poesy* is a rendition of Italian criticism and as such far is in advance of contemporary English works. In discussing the merit of the vernacular, he states that by contrast the Italian is cumbered with elisions. He notes as further disadvantages the lack of a fixed caesura, the incapacity of the language for masculine rhyme, and comments on the nature of the *sdrucciolo*.[2] The knowledge and imitation

[1] *Terza rima* was not uncommon in England. Besides other examples three popular romances, *Le Bone Florence of Rome* (aab/ccb/dab), *The Erle of Tolous* (aab/ccb/ddb/eeb), and *Launfel* by Thomas Chestre were in this meter. It was also commonly used in poems of occasional character.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 56.

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of Italian verse, evident from Chaucer to Milton, had undergone a notable revival at the hands of Wyatt and Surrey. Spenser's own interest is attested by his early translations from the Italian[1] and the subsequent reworking of these into forms more near to the Italian rhythm. His whole work reflects the influence of Italian literature and critical thought.

The outstanding quality of Spenser's verse is its mellifluous smoothness. His recent editor[2] notes his "almost unerring sense for language and his apparently inexhaustible power of welling out the most limpid and exquisitely modulated verse." Lowell writes:[3] "There is no ebb and flow to his metre more than on the shores of the Adriatic, but wave follows wave with equable gainings and recessions, the one sliding back in fluent music to be mingled with and carried forward to the next." It is this level harmony which bespeaks a kinship to Italian verse closer than mere number and rhyme. It is this musical quality which unites the verse of Spenser with that of Dante, the musician poet of Italy.[4]

When we consider the absolute familiarity with Dante, Petrarch, Ariosto, and Tasso which is reflected in Spenser's work, and contrast the epic riches of Italy with the epic poverty of England, there is small wonder that Spenser assimilated meter and tone-quality where he found both inspiration and material. He seeks always soft and liquid sounds. The prevalence of vowels, the sibilant sounds of *s*, *c*, *s*, and the softness of *z* aid effect, but most of all the level tone and lack of stress give an Italian quality to his verse. Read aloud a canto from Spenser and note the even tone of the voice; a lingering pause rather than stress gives cadence. Note the softness of the iambics; note the coincidence of prose and verse accent which more than all else breeds a sliding smoothness. Note too how perfectly the light stresses correspond to the norm observed in the Italian verse; the stress on the fourth, sixth, and tenth syllables is uniform. But note most of all the light quality of Spenser's alexandrine, where the accent

[1] See Van der Noodt's *Theatre: Works of Spenser* (ed. Grossart), Vol. III, App.

[2] Professor R. E. N. Dodge.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 328.

[4] *De Vul. Eloq.* (chaps. x–xi) gives a discussion of musical setting; see Arnaldo Bonaventura, *Dante e la Musica*, Livorno, 1904.

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With these compare the following stanza from the *Faerie Queene:*

> And more to lulle him in his slumber soft
> A trickling stream from high rock tumbling downe,
> And ever drizzling raine upon the loft,
> Mixt with a murmuring wind, much like the sowne,
> Of swarming bees, did cast him in a swowne:
> No other noyse, nor peoples troublous cryes
> As still are wont t'annoy the walled towne
> Might there be heard: but careless Quiet lyes,
> Wrapt in eternall silence farre from enemyes.[1]
>
> (I, i, 41)

We are here debating two theories as to the origin of the Spenserian stanza, that it was based on a double quatrain borrowed from Chaucer and Lindsay, with an added alexandrine, or on the *terza rima* of Dante modified to stanzaic form. The first involves the assumption of a prototype which has no feature in common with its copy save a partial agreement of rhyme scheme. It further demands a double hypothesis of structure from unrelated sources. The second posits an antecedent of like nature to its offspring and embraces complete unity of structure. Hence it is concluded that the partial correspondence of rhyme scheme between the double quatrain of Chaucer and the stanza of Spenser is a coincidence and that the true original is a stanzaic form of the *terza rima.*

As regards the exact stanza form the possibility of a number of convergent influences is to be reckoned with. King James in his *Short Treatise on Verse* designates a nine-line stanza as the standard heroic verse. He writes: "For the description of Heroique actis, Martiall and knichtly faittis of armes, vse this kynde of verse following call it *Heroicall,* as . . . . ." There follows a stanza built of three terzains, rhyming aab/aab/bab.[2] Lindsay also uses an interesting form of *terza rima* with a rhyme scheme of aab/aab/bcc.[3] These are distinct borrowings from the Italian, and represent two of the simpler rhyme schemes of the *terza.* The poems are in regular decasyllabic line. The

[1] The example selected from Spenser is purposely an extreme to point contrast. I am fully conscious that the difference in material exercises a great influence upon the tone effect, but even where Spenser seeks a vigorous or martial expression, his tone-quality is flaccid as compared with resounding accentuation of Chaucer and of Lindsay.

[2] Chap. viii.

[3] Lindsay (*Works, E.E.T.S.,* II, 1), *Ane Exhortation Gyffen Be Father Experience Vnto His Son The Cvrteovr;* see also *The Epistil to the Redar,* Preface to his *Monarche.*

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verse of the *Divina Commedia* itself has a tendency, through the recognition of the tercet as a component unit, to divide into groups of nine. Thus in the first canto of one hundred and thirty-six lines, every ninth line is marked by a full period, except l. 45, followed by a dash, and l. 117, which takes a semicolon. In the second canto the proportion of run-on lines at the end of each group of nine is slightly greater. The third shows fourteen groups of nine of which all are periodic except two (ll. 72–90) which are run on, one (l. 54) followed by a semicolon, and the other (l. 27) by a comma. Cursory experiments with other cantos shows about the same proportions. Experiments with the division of the Spenserian stanza are not conclusive; they show an almost equal sense of quaterno and quinario, or sestette and tercet[1] grouping, with the relative positions of the groups reversed at will.

The preceding citations of stanza form have been made solely with the purpose of suggesting a certain familiarity on Spenser's part with the form which he selected for the *Faerie Queene*. It has been already suggested that the popularity of the *Orlando Furioso* and of the *Gerusalemme Liberata* influenced Spenser in the selection of a stanzaic medium. It must further be stated that the separation of the *terza rima* into stanzas relieved the poet from the strain of a continuous linkage for which the English language was little adapted.

The true prototype of the Spenserian stanza is probably to be found in the Italian madrigal, which, although it may add or omit a line, is commonly a measure of nine lines.

The madrigal or *mandriale*, as it was called, was a form which assumed some importance among Italian writers and critics. Its uncertain relationship to the sonnet, *canzone*, *ballate*, and *capitoli* obscures its origin.[2] Antonio da Tempo, a contemporary of Dante, includes it as fifth among the seven classes into which he divides vulgar rhyme.[3] He gives the etymology *mandra*, pen or fold, later herd. The verse first arose among rude and rustic men who sang the love of the vulgar Venus, in simple words to the rude music of their flutes. But today, adds da Tempo, these verses are compiled in a more subtle and

[1] Minturno (*L'Arte Poetica*, III, 217) notes the readiness with which the stanzaic group of nine may be rendered as a *quinario* and *quartetto* or as a *senario* and *terzetto*.

[2] Trissino (*op. cit.*, Div. VI, p. 114) notes the *mandriale* as being popular before the time of Dante.

[3] *Trattato delle Rime Volgare* (Pub. 1332): *Collezione di Opere Inedite o Rare* (Bologna, Presso Gaetano Romagnoli, 1869), XXVII, 72.

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beautiful manner. Although he admits the difficulty of adequately describing love in rustic words, he insists that the diction shall retain something of its original character, and that the sound be beautiful yet also preserve some rusticity in harmony with the words. The stanza consists of three terzains with interlinked rhyme. The examples given are of the simplest nature: aba/aba/aba/; and abb/abb/abb/. The line is commonly an undenarius, but it may be septenarius, a biseptenarius or two measures may be combined.[1]

It is pertinent to observe here that the Italians are not obsessed by a reverence for inviolable uniformity;[2] the thought is sometimes allowed to regulate line number and length, rather than that form should always control and compress thought. The fact that Dante allows himself an extra line or two at the close of his cantos is one proof of this; another is the familiar tailed sonnet;[3] a third is to be found in the variant forms of the *canzone*, *ballate*, and *capitoli*, and to these we may add the verse in question, the madrigal.[4]

Bembo, in his comments on developments in Sicilian, Tuscan, and Provençal verse, notes the *mandriale* among the more or less free forms. Both Trissino and Minturno tell us that the last group in *terza rima* may be developed into a quarterno or a quinario.[5] The former deals with the *mandriale* at length. He compares it to the sonnet form with divisions of *volte* and *tornelli*. He analyzes these into certain fixed modes or combinations, and gives illustrations. The examples point to the popularity of a closing couplet.[6] A clear distinction must be made between the *ottava rima* built of quatrains and the eight-line madrigal which is constructed of terzains, with a double *ritornello* or couplet ending.

[1] Da Tempo, *op. cit.*, pp. 139–41.

[2] Firenzuola, *op. cit.*, pp. 270 ff.: At a courtly discussion modeled on those of the *Decamerone* a guest recites a canzone. This is severely criticized as varying in structure from the work of any author ancient or modern. The composer defends his innovation by the example of the ancients. He is opposed by an argument for definite law of form. He declares new inventions demand new forms, and wins the debate. Firenzuola (pp. 285–86) further defends innovation. He gives examples of canzone in stanzas of eight, thirteen, twelve, and nine lines. The last runs: aba/bbc/cdd/.

[3] Trissino, *op. cit.*, Div. IV, p. 49.

[4] Francesco Bartello, *Compendio Dell' Arte Ritmica* (*Coll. di Opere Ined. o Rara*, Bologna, 1869), pp. 202–3.

[5] Trissino, *op. cit.*, Div. IV, p. 81; cf. Minturno, *L'Arte Poetica*, Bk. III, p. 264.

[6] Trissino, *op. cit.*, pp. 78–81.

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Since full recognition has been accorded the variation in the madrigal, we may return to our argument, which is concerned with the normal form of nine lines, and seek to establish its relation to Spenser's stanza.

Minturno divides the epic into three classes: "*La prima è di Seruentesi, la seconda di Romanzi; la terza di rime Sciolti.*" The first is identified with the *terza rima* and hence with the measure of Dante.[1] The *Serventesi* is further identified with the *terza rima* of the *capitoli* and analogically with the madrigal. Hence a stanzaic form of the *terza rima* becomes identified with epic meter. Dante himself clearly makes no distinction between the *terza rima* of his canzone, which he declares the noblest form of poetry, and his continued composition. It is clear, therefore, that the madrigal as a stanzaic form of *terza rima* may be reckoned dignified epic measure.

Trissino discusses the structure of the madrigal with full illustrations. Three of these are of especial interest.[2] One of eight lines from Petrarch runs: aba/bcb/cc. Another of ten lines has the scheme: aba/cbc/ded/e. The third is regular: aba/acc/cdd. In a similar discussion of the madrigal Tasso cites the same group.[3] Of the nine-line madrigal he writes: "It is read without the fifth line without injury to the structure."[4] That is,

the scheme aba/acc/cdd
becomes aba/a(c)c/cdd
and equals aba/acc/dd.

This change preserves the integrity of the *terza rima* structure, but gives a concluding double *tornello* instead of the third terzain. The alteration was made by a commentator of Petrarch and through it he secured conformity with the two preceding stanzas of the madrigal which were of eight lines each, with the final double *tornello* or couplet.

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 82, 138; See also p. 114, "— *è da credere che Dante trovasse queste Terze rime per far versi, che avessero similitudine a lo Eroico;*" and also: [Dante] "*ritrovò quel modo di Terze rime le quali Antonio da Tempo, chi fu a l'età sua, dice, che sono Serventesi.*"

[2] *Ibid.*, Div. IV, p. 79.

[3] *Dialoghi*, III, 84–85.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 85. "*Benchè questo madrigale se così vogliamo più, tosto chiamarlo, nel Petrarca comentato dal Vellutello, si legge senza il quinto verso, sens'alcun danno de la testura.*" This line can be omitted without injury to the context.

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In pointing out the fifth line as a pivot upon which the structure of the madrigal turns from its standard[1] to its most common variant, Tasso almost incidentally enunciates a fact which carries the logic of a general principle. Other substitutions are possible, but numerous experiments prove the fifth space to be the point at which most commonly a line can be withdrawn or inserted without injury to the *terza rima* structure of the madrigal.[2] The rule is not stated elsewhere, but its application by Vellutello and citation by Tasso is evidence of the study and reduction to law of variations within the madrigal, and as such it must have been known to writers of the popular genre and hence to Spenser.

If, accepting the fifth as a pivotal space, we apply the principle of Tasso conversely to the madrigal of eight lines cited by both him and Trissino, we have as the logical result the following:

aba/bcb/cc
aba/b( )c/bcc
aba/bbc/bcc

The last is the Spenserian rhyme scheme.

It is not intended to assert that Spenser necessarily modeled his stanza upon the identical illustrations found in Trissino[3] and Tasso. The discussion deals with principles of verse structure rather than with specific instance. The background is a knowledge of how freely principles of criticism and specific illustrations were passed from critic to critic and nation to nation. The appearance of certain illustrations in the work of two critics increases not only the possibility of the poet's

[1] The predominance of a nine-line madrigal is indisputable:

Parnaso Italiano:	XXVI, 21.	abb/acc/cdd/	Ariosto
	XXVI, 21.	abb/acc/cdd	Anon
	XXVI, 96.	abc/abc/cdd/:	Fracastoro
	XXX, 269.	aba/ccd/dee:	Molza
	XXXI, 136.	aab/edc/dee	Ariosto
	XXXI, 321.	abb/aac/cdd	Ariosto
	XLI, 102.	abb/cdd/cee	Anon

[2] This statement refers only to those schemes which have *tercetti* with internal rhyme and linkage.

[3] Trissino is, however, acknowledged by Sidney as an authority. Spenser's knowledge of him is almost a foregone conclusion. The popularity of Tasso's dialogues was widespread. Their composition extended over a number of years probably from 1576–95. They were brief, easily handled in MS, and the probability that they were known in the coterie of Sidney is great. The particular dialogue in question, *La Cavaletta o vero de la Poesia Toscana*, was not published before 1587. The date of composition, not later than 1584, is uncertain. A certain kinship with the youthful *Arte Poetica* might well place it earlier.

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knowledge of the passage, but also increases the probability of its reappearance elsewhere. The madrigal in question, so close to Spenser's verse as to be brought into complete conformity by a single and authorized modification, was one of Petrarch's, and could easily have been known to the poet from the original.

It has been a matter of surprise that among hundreds of madrigals which nearly approximate Spenser's scheme, no exact counterpart has been found. The poet's skill is proved through the very perfection of his conception. He limits his stanza to a triple rhyme, thus eliminating what would have been an unbalanced element had he followed Dante's precise form. By rhyme within each terzain, and uniform interlinkage, he secures a complete circle of harmony, to which the undulating cadence of the alexandrine gives an echo.[1] Nor was it without a subtle appeal to the Renaissance that Spenser compassed the perfect number and attained the music of the spheres.

Contemporary evidence for the recognition of Spenser's stanza as a madrigal form, while not conclusive, is yet not to be disregarded. Richard Carlton published, in 1601, his *Madrigals to Five Voices*. He included as madrigals three stanzas from the *Faerie Queene:* "Nought is on earth more sacred or divine," (V. VII, 1); "Nought under heaven so strongly doth allure." (V. viii, 1); "Ye gentle ladies, in whose soueraigne powre." (VI, viii, 1).[2]

The poet himself designates his work as a madrigal. To Sir Walter Raleigh, a known composer of madrigals, a fellow-poet, with whom he had talked and under whose encouragement the *Faerie Queene* was brought to light, Spenser writes in his dedicatory sonnet:

> To thee that art the sommers nightingale
> Thy soueraine Goddesses most dear delight
> Why doe I send this rusticke madrigale
> That may thy tuneful ear unseason quite?

The connotation of madrigal here demands consideration. Does Spenser intend merely a politely deprecatory reference to his great

[1] The alexandrine has been explained as an echo of Dante's *sdrucciolo*. This measure is by no means uncommon as the last line of the madrigal.

[2] Cf. F. A. Cox, *English Madrigals of the time of Shakespeare: Intro.*, p. 14. Mr. Cox points out that

> "'More then most faire'

also from the 'Faerie Queene' appeared in 1680, arranged by Martin Peerson." The volume of Peerson is not accessible to me but I believe the passage in question is to be referred to Amoretti, VIII—"More then most faire, full of the living fire."

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court epic, as the medium of love and praise, or does he imply a genuine source or form? We have seen that the identification of the Spenserian stanza with the Italian form of the madrigal is a logical possibility. The greater probability of identification rests upon a conception of the genre which would approach the dignity of Spenser's theme, and the national attitude toward this Italian importation.

Two centuries earlier da Tempo noted that the madrigal had abandoned its early rusticity for a more artistic form, and he demanded only that traces be kept of its origin. Trissino[1] says of the form that it should have suavity and calm sweetness, but should not be overloaded with figures. Spenser has in a measure conformed to these strictures. In its comprehensive definition of the madrigal the *Vocabulario degli Accademici della Crusca* includes the following characterization: "*Sono dunque i madrigali, come tutte le altre poesie, di tre sorti: narrativi, rappresentativi o imitativi, e misti.*" There would seem to be here a sufficiently broad classification to include the *Faerie Queene.*

Toward the close of the sixteenth century the madrigal assumed unparalleled popularity in England.[2] The fact that it bore both a musical and literary character makes the problem almost insoluble; for free[3] as we have shown the Italian structure to be, the arrangement of the words to music in part songs destroys law of form[4] and leaves theme and function as distinguishing characteristics. Hence the reputed madrigals of Wyatt, of Campion, and of Turbervile are canzone and canzonets which do not conform to fixed types. On the whole, popular interest centered in England on the musical function

[1] *Op. cit.*, Div. IV, p. 138.

[2] Nicholas Yonge: *Musica Transalpina* (1588), a Collection of Madrigals; Rimbault's *Bibliotheca Madrigaliana* lists about eighteen hundred Elizabethan madrigals: Thomas. Oliphant in *Musa Madrigaliana* (London, 1837) cites about four hundred Elizabethan madrigals with some Italian originals; the *Sonnets, Songs and Madrigals* of William Byrd were issued in publications dated 1587, 1588, 1589, 1591; Thomas Morley's *Canzonets* appeared in 1593, his *Madrigalls to foure Voyces*, in 1594, a third collection in 1595; George Kirbye's *Madrigals* were published in 1596; John Dowland's, *First Book of Songs or Airs*, in 1597, his second in 1600, third in 1603; John Wilbye: *First Set of Eng. Madrigals*, 1598; second, 1609; the famous collection of madrigals in praise of Elizabeth, *The Triumphs of Oriana* (modeled upon *Il Trionfi di Dori*, published at Rome in 1597 [?]) was printed in 1601, but not made public until 1603. With the early seventeenth century the publications increased beyond number.

[3] *Vocabulario delli Accad. della Crusca:* Madrigals—"*libero nell' ordine delle rime e nello mescolanga de' versi.*"

[4] *Encyc. Brit.:* "Madrigal is the name of a form of verse, the exact nature of which has never been decided in England."

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of the madrigal. In its literary development nothing appears of sufficient moment to have influenced Spenser. A single allusion by Thomas Campion seems to place the madrigal upon the lofty plane accorded it by Spenser. He writes of Anacreontic verse, "yett is it passing graceful in our English toong, and will excellently fit the subject of a Madrigall or any other lofty or tragicall matter."[1] The allusion is, however, more probably to a sad and serious subject of song, for it is to be remembered both the praise of the Virgin and the Passion of Christ were sung in madrigals.

We may, therefore, conclude that Spenser in his choice of the madrigal as his stanzaic form was under the influence of Italian rather than English literature. In the former he found the madrigal as a highly artificial form inextricably related to the sonnet, *ballate*, *capitoli*, and *canzone*. As the *Serventesi* of Dante and the stanza form of the *terza rima* it held an epic dignity.[2] Hence Spenser may deliberately and with good reason have designated his epic a madrigal.

The discussion of this subject has of necessity been discursive. It has been necessary to place before the reader the experimental stage of meter, and to demonstrate that both critical problems and metrical forms were passed from nation to nation. To this end, the movements in Italy, France, and England to restore classic meter were discussed; the diversion of these aims, the compromise with modern forms, and the results were pointed out. The accepted theory as to the structure of Spenser's stanza was reviewed. As the basis for a new theory the common elements in the meter of Dante and Spenser were compared. A more specific stanzaic form was sought in the madrigal. The nature, form, relations, and function of this genre and its transference to France and England were discussed.

From the above the following conclusions have been drawn. As the result of the experimental stage of meter, and in default of a fixed precedent in his own language, it was a point of artistic honor with Spenser to devise a new meter for what he designed as the greatest epic of all time. The accepted view of this meter is refuted on the ground that there is no relation of tone or quality between the stirring,

[1] *Observations on the Art of English Verse* (1662), chap. ix.

[2] Trissino, *op. cit.*, Div. VI, p. 138: "*salvo che i Serventesi, cioè le terze rime de i Trionfi del Petrarca, e de l'opera de Dante, e di altri, che per essere di una sola azione grande, la quale ha principio, e mezo, e fine . . . . .*"

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rugged verse of Chaucer and Lindsay and the liquid mellifluence of Spenser's stanza; that the partial agreement of rhyme scheme is accidental; that the theory involves a double and unrelated hypothesis; that a structure made up of distinct elements would psychologically keep some trace of its original components, and last, that no notable work, which would have tempted Spenser to rivalry, existed in the meter of the double quatrains.

The theory is offered that Spenser turned to Italian sources for his metric scheme; that he rejected the *ottava rima* of Pulci, Boiardo, Ariosto, and Tasso as too badly imitative for his own dignity, but accepted a stanzaic measure as a proper and popular medium for the epic. In the *terza rima* of Dante he found a medium dignified by its use in a great epic. This he transferred in all the music of its tone quality and syllabic form into the nearest equivalent of his native language. In accordance with English poetic genius he standardized syllabic number and line-length, taking the masculine decasyllabic line as a norm, developing the cadence of the *sdrucciolo* into the alexandrine and placing it in a uniform position. Beyond doubt he effected this transmutation with full consciousness of the heroic value of the English decasyllabic line, and of the lingering cadence of the French alexandrine, and perhaps with the stanza of M. Ferrers directly in mind. For stanzaic form his direct model was the nine-line madrigal recognized by all critics as a stanzaic form of *terza rima*. Furthermore, it is urged that his stanza has a complete unity which bears no trace of compound structure, and that its level tone and musical quality indisputably mark its Italian origin, and kinship with Dante and the madrigal.[1]

[1] In advancing a new theory it is sometimes with a feeling akin to triumph that the theorist discovers in an earlier critic a subconscious approximation of his own view. Thomas Warton is perhaps the man who has best known Spenser. A recent reference to his *Observations* (pp. 157-58) has given new meaning to the following passage. In regard to the complicated rhyme scheme of the *Faerie Queene* he writes: ".... a circumstance natural to the Italian which deals largely in identical cadences. Besides it is to be remembered that Tasso and Ariosto did not embarrass themselves with the necessity of finding out so many similar terminations as did Spenser. Their *ottava rima* has only three similar endings, alternating rhyming. The last two lines formed a distinct rhyme. But in Spenser the second rhyme is repeated four times and the third three."*

[Note] *"See examples of the measures of the Provençal poets in Petrarch. Spenser forms a compound of many of these." The last statement verges upon and indorses the theory offered in this discussion.

An odd indorsement of the madrigal form of Spenser's stanza comes from the eighteenth century. In 1736, Sheridan wrote to Swift: "I know you love Alexandrines; for which reason I closed the above madrigal with one. I think it is of a very good proportion, which I hope you will set to music." (*Swift's Letters* [ed. 1768], IV, 167). A study of Italian influence upon Spenser's other verse forms would be corroberative of general Italian influence.

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Spenser devised his stanza with the keenest exercise of his critical faculties. His principles were the Renaissance theories of imitation and invention. They focused in his work. The first gave him a legitimate right to draw upon the literature of the world; the second bade him create anew from the riches gathered there. For the dictum of Horace, "Make the treasures of Greece your own," was echoed in substance by all his successors of the Renaissance. And so, as we have said, Spenser drew his stanza as he drew his inspiration from the richest literature of his age, but in the light of his critical judgment he re-created it in the media of his own nation.

Nor did his critical insight rest here. His was a criticism sublimated with genius. The affiliation between his verse form and his theme has deservedly received the admiration of succeeding ages. There is no more haste in Spenser's stanza than in his story. Together they move onward with the scarcely perceptible motion of a great river. It "is spacious and exceeding wide," as he says of his own work, susceptible of each elaboration of his "fine filed" phrase, capable of conveying his every thought. With stately dignity it sounds the loftiest praise; with calm gravity it imparts his moral precepts; with melting harmony it depicts his most voluptuous scenes. Spenser's theme was one of praise, love, and adventure, the same sung or recited by gleemen in the age it represents. His verse was born in an echoing memory of harmony. It was executed with an ever conscious musical cadence and quaintness of phrase that re-created the glamor of the troubadour's tale.

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MARK AKENSIDE, PROPHET OF EVOLUTION

In Mark Akenside's longest and best-known poem, *Pleasures of the Imagination*, is this passage:

> He [God] now is good,
> He ever was. The feet of hoary Time
> Through their eternal course have travell'd o'er
> No speechless, lifeless desert; but through scenes
> Cheerful with bounty still; among a pomp
> Of worlds, for gladness round the Maker's throne
> Loud-shouting, or, in many dialects
> Of hope and filial trust, imploring thence
> The fortunes of their people: where so fix'd
> Were all the dates of being, so dispos'd
> To every living soul of every kind
> The field of motion and the hour of rest,
> That each the general happiness might serve;
> And, by the discipline of laws divine
> Convinc'd of folly or chastis'd from guilt,
> Each might at length be happy. What remains
> Shall be like what is pass'd; but fairer still,
> And still increasing in the god-like gifts
> Of Life and Truth. The same paternal hand,
> From the mute shell-fish gasping on the shore,
> To men, to angels, to celestial minds,
> Will ever lead the generations on
> Through higher scenes of being; while, supplied
> From day to day by his enlivening breath,
> Inferior orders in succession rise
> To fill the void below. As flame ascends,
> As vapors to the earth in showers return,
> As the pois'd ocean toward the attracting moon
> Swells, and the ever-listening planets charm'd
> By the sun's call their onward pace incline,
> So all things which have life aspire to God,
> Exhaustless fount of intellectual day!
> Center of souls! Nor doth the mastering voice
> Of Nature cease within to prompt aright
> Their steps; nor is the care of Heaven withheld

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From sending to the toil external aid;
That in their station all may persevere
To climb the ascent of being, and approach
For ever nearer to the Life divine.[1]

At first sight the ideas of these lines do not seem especially remarkable. Plenty of writers in Akenside's time and earlier had said that all life aspires to God. But when the lines are looked at more closely it becomes apparent that here is a completely new turn to the idea.

The eighteenth-century thought of the forms of life as being arranged in one great ascending scale—every species of animal or plant was between two other species. The highest plant was directly below the lowest animal. The ape was directly above the smaller monkeys and directly below man. No two species could be equal to each other in the scale; each was in a place by itself, a little higher or a little lower than any other species. We today have outgrown this too simplified system, and think of the forms of life as making each a branch or twig of a great family tree. Species are not necessarily above or below one another, according to the way we think of them today; they are rather brothers and sisters, or cousins, or aunts and uncles, or of course parents. But the older idea of a "scale of being" was almost universal in the eighteenth century; and Akenside assumed it in his lines.

Practically everyone of Akenside's time—except Buffon in France—believed that the scale of being was fixed.[2] A monkey was created fixed in one step of the scale, and to all eternity remained there—never could climb out. God may have created the higher animals *after* the lower, to be sure. But once created they stuck where they were in the scale. Each species was separately created to fill its step in the scale. And that any animal or plant should have the power or presumption to climb up a step or two was to most people unthinkable.

[1] Revised version of 1757; Book II, ll. 239 ff.

[2] Expressions of this belief abound in the poetry and prose of the time. For example:

"Far as creation's ample range extends,
The scale of sensual, mental powers ascends.
. . . . . .
How instinct varies in the grovelling swine,
Compared, half-reas'ning elephant, with thine!
'Twixt that and reason what a nice barrier!
For ever separate, yet for ever near!"
—POPE, *Essay on Man*, Epistle I, Sec. VII.

Cf., also, Edward Young, *Night Thoughts*, Book I, ll. 74–75; James Beattie, *Elements of Moral Science*, Book II, Part III, p. 98; Thomas Blacklock, *An Hymn to Divine Love*.

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Akenside's lines depart completely from this orthodox way of looking at the scale of being:

> That in their stations all may persevere
> To climb the ascent of being.

The "mute shell-fish gasping on the shore" is not fixed in its station, but can climb out of it. The ape is not fixed an ape forever, through all its generations; it may transcend the boundaries of its species and become—something higher.

Given a scale of being, though, what would inevitably happen if all things were climbing up the scale? Logic says that unless something filled up the bottom there soon would be no bottom left. If the mute shell-fish starts climbing up the scale, how could it be possible, after a while, that any more shell-fish should exist? Perhaps some lower form of life would climb up to the stage of the shell-fish. Well and good; but pretty soon all lower forms of life would get past the shell-fish stage. And then what? Akenside, interestingly enough, saw the difficulty and tried to provide a solution. His solution perhaps seems a bit vague to us today:

> Supplied
> From day to day by his enlivening breath
> Inferior orders in succession rise
> To fill the void below.

The vagueness disappears, though, to anyone who knows what the eighteenth century believed about spontaneous generation. Almost everyone then believed that the lowest plants and animals came to life spontaneously from rotting animal or vegetable matter.[1] Akenside used this common belief, which he held with the rest of his contemporaries, to solve his difficulty. And granting the existence of a scale of being, how else could the problem be solved, unless it could be assumed that all forms of life today are comparatively high in the scale of being, an assumption which, so far as I am aware, nobody has ever had the hardihood to make?

[1] Cf. "Abiogenesis," *Encyclopaedia Britannica.*

Neither Akenside nor anyone else until the early nineteenth century seems to have thought through the discrepancy between a belief that the lowest animal life is spontaneously generated and a belief that the animal kingdom is higher than the vegetable kingdom.

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The center and cause of evolution, as Akenside describes it, is a purposive force within organisms themselves, divinely implanted in them:

> Nor doth the mastering voice
> Of Nature cease within to prompt aright
> Their steps. . . . .

The nineteenth century reacted against this idea of a purposive force in evolution, and emphasized the effect of environment and the struggle for existence.

But Akenside does not neglect the influence of environment either:

> Nor is the care of Heaven withheld
> From sending to the toil external aid.

"External aid" can mean only one thing—aid from the environment. This last deduction may seem dubious; but I feel sure I am not unjustifiably reading anything into Akenside's lines. Perhaps this will become clearer further on in my discussion.

The principle of an internal force toward greater complexity of development, aided by external forces in the environment, is precisely what most believers in evolution, except a few extremists, still hold to.

Akenside has, then, considering the short space he spends in describing it, an amazingly complete system of evolutionary progress. The system can, quite naturally, be attacked from many directions by critics with a knowledge of nineteenth- and twentieth-century science. Any evolutionary system based on a scale of being can. But Akenside has done his best to furnish armor for his system.

Akenside implies the same evolutionary system in other passages of the *Pleasures of the Imagination*[1] and in one or two stanzas of his *Hymn to Science*. But he never explained the system fully, either in verse or prose.

Several questions, then, arise. One question is, Did Akenside himself recognize that he was putting forward a new and important idea? A note he appended, in the earlier version of the *Pleasures of the Imagination* (1744), to the passage we are considering, shows that he did: "This opinion, though not held by Plato nor any of the ancients,

[1] Book I, ll. 442 ff. in the earlier version, ll. 517 ff. in the later; Book I, ll. 163 ff. in the earlier version (the sense is changed in the later version); Book I, ll. 513 ff. in the earlier version, l. 569 in the later.

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is yet a very natural consequence of his principles. But the disquisition is too complex and extensive to be entered upon here."

Another question is, Has this idea of Akenside's any significance except as a wild flight of poetic fancy which happened to hit near the truth? I think it has. Akenside was not simply a poet writing from his ivory tower about science. He knew the science of his time, for he was a physician, a well-trained physician, as well as a poet.

Still another question is, Did Akenside as a physician help Akenside as a poet in formulating the system? The answer to this question will take us more into details. In the same year that he first published his *Pleasures of the Imagination*, 1744, Akenside obtained his degree of M.D. at Leyden, and, according to the custom, wrote an inaugural dissertation in Latin. It is entitled *De Ortu et Incremento Foetus Humani*.[1] It was published in May, 1744, but has almost completely sunk into oblivion, like many such dissertations, except for brief mention in encyclopedias under Akenside's name. The book is very rare. There is a copy in the surgeon general's library in Washington, and another in the British Museum.

Akenside's biographers and critics have almost nothing to say about this dissertation. Evidently, from the remarks of various biographical dictionaries,[2] some critic once went over the book and said that Akenside opposed the doctrines of Leeuwenhoeck with plausibility, and reacted in the direction of more modern beliefs; and writers since then have repeated this comment without going to the treatise itself. A re-survey of the original dissertation is of decided interest.

Akenside's dissertation is a treatise on the principles of generation —we should now call it a treatise on embryology. And to understand

[1] "Dissertatio medica/Inauguralis/de Ortu et Incremento/Foetus Humani./Quam/ Annuente Deo ter opt. max./Ex Auctoritate Magnifici Rectoris,/D. Johannis van den Honert, T. H. Filii,/S. S. Theologiae Doctoris, eiusdemque Facultatis, nec non/ Histor. Eccles. in Acad. Lugd. Bat. Professoris Ordina-/rii, Ecclesiaeque Leidensis Pastoris;/ nec non/Amplissimi Senatus Academici Consensa,/& Nobilissimae Facultatis Medicae Decreto,/ Pro Gradu Doctoratus,/Summisque in Medicina Honoribus, & Privilegiis,/ rite ac legitime consequendis./ Eruditorum Examini submittit/ Marcus Akinside, Anglus./ Ad diem 16. Maii, 1744, hora locoque solitis./ Lugduni Batavorum,/Apud Gerardum Potvliet, 1744." 27 pp., 8vo.

[2] Such as *Dictionary of National Biography; Encyclopaedia Britannica;* Allibone's *Dictionary of Authors;* Chalmers' *Biographical Dictionary;* etc.

Samuel Johnson (Memoir in Bell's *British Poets*, 1807), A. Dyce (Memoir in Aldine Poets ed. of Akenside), Charles Bucke (*On the Life, Writings, and Genius of Akenside*, 1832), and Otto Bundt ("Akensides Leben und Werke, etc.," *Anglia*, XX, 1 and 467; XXI, 89) are equally reticent.

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Akenside's point of view it is necessary to know something of eighteenth-century beliefs and doctrines on this subject. There were two theories of generation: one considered in Akenside's time out of date, the other almost universally believed in.

The theory then considered out of date was the theory of epigenesis. William Harvey published in 1651 a book called *De Generatione Animalium*, in which he uttered the famous dictum, "*ab ovo omnia*," and elaborated his theory of generation. Harvey believed that the egg of any animal is fertilized by an undefined force from the male, which he calls a "contagion"; and that after fertilization, the young animal develops by forming from the raw materials of its nourishment the various parts of its body. This theory of generation he called epigenesis.[1]

The theory almost universally held in Akenside's time was the theory of preformation.[2] Already in Harvey's time some thinkers opposed Harvey's views and believed that the egg contains a preformed animal within it. But the most important opposition to Harvey came in 1677, when Leeuwenhoeck, one of the earliest experimenters with the microscope, announced to the world his important discovery of spermatozoa.[3] Naturally, scientists turned to this new discovery for a better explanation of the process of generation; and Leeuwenhoeck was a preformationist, believing that the spermatozoön contains the preformed animal. Together, then, the "ovists," who had originally opposed Harvey, and the "spermists," who followed Leeuwenhoeck's beliefs, elaborated one of the most curious theories ever accepted by the majority of scientists for a whole century. According to the preformationists, in the egg or spermatozoön is contained, infinitely small, the whole animal, with all its parts. And the process of development from fertilization to maturity consists simply in the unfolding and

[1] Cf. Harvey, *Exercitationes de Generatione Animalium* (1651 ed.), p. 184, especially Ex. XLXX, "Caussa Pulli Efficiens, inquisitu ardua."

[2] Cf. "Epigenesis," *New International Encyclopedia:* "Before the rise of modern embryology the ablest, most sagacious biologists and philosophers were evolutionists, i.e., preformationists." The most influential defenders of preformation were Albrecht von Haller and Charles Bonnet. The preformation theory was called also "evolution." More critics than one have mired themselves by failing to realize that "evolution" in the eighteenth century meant the preformation theory, not evolution in the more modern sense of the word. In the body of this discussion I, of course, use the word "evolution" in its modern sense.

[3] In the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, for December, 1677.

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expanding of that minute preformed animal. As Richard Blackmore put it in his poem *Creation:*

> Each vital speck, in which remains
> Th' entire, but rumpled animal, contains
> Organs perplext, and clues of twining veins.[1]

So far the theory does not sound impossible. But following out the logic of the theory leads to astounding results. If a male animal, for example, existed wholly formed within the spermatozoön of his father, where was he when his father was pre-existing inside his grandfather? Logically, if the father were wholly formed when inside the spermatozoön, then his son was already wholly formed within him. Therefore in the body of the grandfather must have pre-existed, minute but wholly formed, both the body of the father and within it the body of the son. Carrying on the chain of reasoning leads to the conclusion that within each animal created in the beginning of time were all that animal's descendants to the end of time, each wholly formed! As Henry Baker, a minor poet and naturalist of the eighteenth century, put it:

> So Adam's loins contained his large posterity,
> All people that have been, and all that e'er shall be.[2]

Scientists of the eighteenth century seem to have had the courage of their convictions, for they actually held and defended this position, and not until the nineteenth century was the doctrine of preformation finally exploded. We all today think of generation and development in terms of epigenesis, though of course not the exact sort of epigenesis Harvey described.

One very important implication of the preformation theory must be noticed. If all animals were preformed in the body of the first animal ever created, what chance is there for any evolution of species? Take the first "mute shell-fish" ever created: if inside that aboriginal shell-fish already exist its descendants of ten million generations in the future, there is no chance for any change in species during those ten million generations. At least, the only change which could take place would be one foreordained from the beginning of time. Even assum-

[1] *Op. cit.*, Book VI (1712 ed.), p. 282.

[2] Henry Baker, *The Universe* (1728 ed.), p. 22. The relations between this idea and the Calvinistic doctrine that "in Adam's fall we sinned all" are worth more development than I can give them here.

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ing this latter possibility of change, there could be no effect whatsoever from the environment producing a change—everything would necessarily have been settled at the beginning of time. According to the theory of epigenesis, on the other hand, each individual exists at its conception only as a spark of life, and this spark of life builds up a new body for itself. So, since the individual is not preformed, there may be countless influences from the environment and from the parents, tending to change the individual and its descendants, at or after the time of conception. In other words, the way is open for an evolution of species.

The doctrine of preformation, then, had to be exploded before modern ideas of evolution could make headway. And a glance at the beliefs of such eighteenth-century prophets of evolution as Buffon and Erasmus Darwin shows that they both reacted away from preformation, back to the idea of epigenesis.[1]

Here is where the importance of Akenside's doctoral dissertation lies. The dissertation is mainly an argument against Leeuwenhoeck's doctrines of preformation, and a defense of Harvey's doctrines of epigenesis. Akenside's conclusions are sufficiently clear from the following passages:

Corpori ergo non coeva sunt, neque ingenita.[2]

(Body therefore does not possess coeval or inborn things.)

Atque ex his tandem comparatis omnibus, firma satis ratione demonstratum videtur, non dari illa animalcula.

Quod ad particulas illas agiles quas in humore seminale vidisse ipsos affirmarunt viri complures fide dignissimi, illas equidem dubitare non licet. Hoc tamen apprime notandum est, quod nisi in semine largissima aquae proportione diluto nullius oculis occurrerunt unquam. Jure ergo videatur, haec seminalia corpuscula vel mistura et actione aquae in motum vindicari, vel revera propria esse aquae.[3]

(And from all these comparisons finally, it seems to be sufficiently demonstrated by sure reasoning, that these animalcules [i.e., the spermatozoa] are not produced.

(As for those agile particles which many men most worthy of trust affirm they have themselves seen in seminal humour, to be sure their existence cannot be doubted. But first this must be noted, that except in semen diluted

[1] Cf. Erasmus Darwin, *Zoonomia*, chap. xxxix, "On Generation," for explanations of both Darwin's and Buffon's theories of generation. Cf., also, for Buffon's theory, Buffon, *General History of Animals* (trans., William Smellie; London, 1866), chaps. iv–viii, inc.

[2] *De Ortu*, par. xxvii. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 21.

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with a large proportion of water they have never been visible to anybody. Therefore it would surely seem that these seminal corpuscles either are liberated into motion by the mixture and action of the water, or are truly properties of the water.)

From these statements it is clear that Akenside did not believe that spermatozoa (*illa animalcula*) contain the preformed animal. Also, from the second statement, it is clear that he went too far in his reaction, since he asserts that the spermatozoa do not have any function in fertilization. He maintains that a divine influence enters into the process:

Nullam scil. semini masculino inesse facultatem qua corpus animale, solo congressu cum ovo faemino, producere valet; sed lege divina sancitum esse, ut quotiescunque talis fieret congressus, omniparens rerum conditor suam semper adhiberet potentiam qua, pro integritate universi ordinis, corporis humani compages paulatim effingeretur, motoris anima functionibus inservitura.[1]

(That, to be sure, no faculty exists in male semen by which it can produce the animal body, merely by a meeting with the female egg; but by divine law it is confirmed, that as often as such a meeting is effected, the all-producing father of things always bestows his power by which, for the integrity of the universal order, the structure of the human body is formed gradually, and the breath of life will serve the functions of the Mover.)

Here Akenside simply went backward to Harvey, and denied what we now know to be fact. Akenside's argument is entirely speculative also—not founded on experimental data. But the important fact is that he did react against preformation, and in favor of epigenesis.

We can now swing the circle back to the *Pleasures of the Imagination*. If Akenside as a poet conceived of any system resembling our modern idea of evolution, we should expect him, as a scientist, to disbelieve in preformation. And he does. All the other eighteenth-century prophets of evolution did, also. And ninety-nine scientists out of a hundred in Akenside's day did not.

A comparison between the earlier and the later versions of the *Pleasures of the Imagination* gives an interesting probability as to the direct effect on Akenside's poetry of his scientific reasoning. In 1744,

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 23.

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while he was working at his Doctor's thesis, he wrote these lines in the passage we have been discussing from the *Pleasures of the Imagination:*

> Nor is the care of Heaven withheld
> From granting to the task proportioned aid.

Thirteen years later, when the revised version of the poem was published, this passage reads:

> Nor is the care of Heaven withheld
> From sending to the toil external aid.

Akenside, at the time of the earlier version of the poem, defended epigenesis in his doctoral dissertation. The theory of epigenesis leaves the way entirely clear for a recognition of the effects of environment; the theory of preformation will not admit any such recognition. Probably Akenside had not, in 1744, perceived clearly the relation between the theory of epigenesis and a theory of "external aid" for animals climbing the ascent of being. Did he, in the years between this version and the time when he made his revision, come to see this relation more clearly, and he did thereupon make the change in these lines? The question will always remain a question, I suppose. But I think he did.

We have arrived, then, at answers to the three questions which suggested themselves concerning the significance of Akenside's evolutionary system. Akenside is consistent as a scientist with the system he outlines in his poetry. He does not write simply as a poet. And he did realize that he was in the lines expressing a new and important idea. Where he got his system I do not know, even after considerable search for a source. Perhaps he found the germs of the idea in some other writer; perhaps he worked it out for himself. I incline to the latter possibility. His theory is purely speculative, is based on the old theory of a scale of being, had as far as I can see no influence on later evolutionary thinkers, and is now, of course, completely out of date. But Akenside, even if he saw only dimly, did see the truth, more of the truth than any other Englishman up to the time of Erasmus Darwin, and did realize something of its importance. He should have his small niche at the hall of fame in whose center is the figure of Charles Darwin.

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THE SOURCES AND BASIC MODEL OF LESSING'S *MISS SARA SAMPSON*[1]

Lessing's *Miss Sara Sampson* (1755), the first eighteenth-century German domestic tragedy (*bürgerliches Trauerspiel*), is commonly supposed to have been modeled on George Lillo's *The London Merchant* (1731).[2] Even its material is regarded by perhaps the majority of the writers on Lessing as derived in large part from the English play, the prevailing view being that the plot is a fusion of the leading motifs of *The London Merchant* and Richardson's *Clarissa* (1747–48).[3] Other theories in respect to the sources of the German domestic tragedy are that it is primarily a modernization of the Medea theme;[4] that it is a dramatization of the life of Jonathan Swift;[5] that it is a mosaic constructed from fragments taken from about eighty literary works (including *The London Merchant* and *Clarissa*);[6] that much of its important material was derived from Fielding's *Tom Jones* (1749);[7] that it may have been suggested by one of the love triangles in Congreve's *The Way of the World* (1700) but should be regarded as practically original in plot.[8] All the writers, however, whether or not they regard

[1] This article is a condensation of a portion of a dissertation (University of Chicago)—*The Influence of English Drama on the Plays of Lessing.*

[2] See the studies cited in the other footnotes to this paragraph. Cf. also Allardyce Nicoll, *A History of Early Eighteenth Century Drama*, 1700–1750 (Cambridge, Eng., 1925), p. 120; *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th ed., Cambridge, Eng., 1910–11), XVI, 497; G. H. Nettleton, *English Drama of the Restoration and Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1914), p. 207.

[3] Cf. Th. W. Danzel and G. E. Guhrauer, *Gotthold Ephraim Lessing: Sein Leben und seine Werke* (2d ed.; Berlin, 1880), I, 305–9; Gustaf Kettner, *Lessings Dramen im Lichte ihrer und unserer Zeit* (Berlin, 1904), pp. 178–82; John Block, *Zeitschrift für den deutschen Unterricht*, XVIII (1904), 230; Waldemar Oehlke, *Lessing und seine Zeit* (Munich, 1919), I, 291 ff.

[4] Cf. Wilhelm Scherer, "Gotthold Ephraim Lessing," *Deutsche Rundschau*, XXVI (Jan.–Mar., 1881), 279–80; Erich Schmidt, *Lessing: Geschichte seines Lebens und seiner Schriften* (2d ed.; Berlin, 1899), I, 270–82.

[5] J. Caro, *Lessing und Swift* (Jena, 1869), pp. 70–77.

[6] Paul Albrecht, *Lessings Plagiate* (Hamburg, 1888–91), I, 74, and IV–VI, 1872–2494. Albrecht (I, 74) maintains that the main sources of *Miss Sara Sampson* are Molière's *Don Juan*, Euripides' *Medea*, Seneca's *Medea*, Corneille's *Médée*, Lillo's *The London Merchant*, and Richardson's *Sir Charles Grandison* and *Clarissa*. Though he cites several passages from Thomas Shadwell's *The Squire of Alsatia* and Charles Johnson's *Caelia* as parallelisms, he does not include these two English dramas in his list of important sources.

[7] C. H. Clark, *Fielding und der deutsche Sturm und Drang* (Freiburg dissertation; Freiburg, 1897), pp. 98–100.

[8] Josef Caro, "Lessing und die Engländer," *Euphorion*, VI (1899), 475–77.

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The London Merchant as a principal source, seem to assume that Lessing used Lillo's domestic tragedy as a model.

None of the above-mentioned theories is correct. They have little more to commend them than the fact that *Miss Sara Sampson* resembles its supposed sources and model in several conventional features, such as the seduction theme, the love triangle, and lachrymosity.[1] Evidence will be presented in this paper showing that the main sources of Lessing's epoch-making drama are Thomas Shadwell's *The Squire of Alsatia*, Charles Johnson's *Caelia*, and Mrs. Susanna Centlivre's *The Perjur'd Husband*, and that, if any one play may be regarded as its model, the distinction belongs, not to *The London Merchant*, but to Johnson's *Caelia*. In other words, the influence of Lillo in Germany and, consequently, in other parts of the continent of Europe has been greatly overestimated.

THE SOURCE OF THE PLOT OUTLINE

The general outline of the plot, the principal characters, and many of the details of *Miss Sara Sampson* are found in Shadwell's *The Squire of Alsatia*, a Restoration comedy.[2]

Among the changes involved in Lessing's utilization of Shadwell's material is the use of a tragic ending and, consequently, an exclusion of all comic features. This is in harmony with the German dramatist's declaration in 1766 that any material can be treated either comically or tragically.[3] When he made this assertion, he probably had the case of *Miss Sara Sampson* in mind. Moreover, the Lucia episode in *The Squire of Alsatia* from the viewpoint of the girl herself is already tragic. The Isabella story is really tragi-comedy. When Mrs. Ter-

[1] These theories are discussed in detail in my dissertation.

[2] Lessing seems to have been well read in Shadwell. The undated sketch *Die Witzlinge* (about 1748?) is based on *Bury Fair* (cf. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 129). The use of the uncommon names *Blunt* and *Triffel* (obviously the Germanized form of English "Trifle") in *Die Witzlinge* and the sketch *Der gute Mann* (not later than 1753) implies that he knew *The Volunteers* (1692) and *The Virtuoso* (1676). He studied Shadwell probably as early as 1747, for his *Damon* (1747) seems to be based chiefly on an episode from *Bury Fair* involving the rivalry of Bellamy and Wildish, two bosom friends, for the hand of Gertrude. My dissertation presents detailed evidence. In a letter dated June 9, 1768, Lessing asked his brother Karl to send him "Theile vom Johnson, vom Cibber und vom Shadwell."

[3] "Mein Bruder," says Karl Lessing in the *Theatralische Nachlass*, I, XV, "behauptete, man könne aus allem eine Komödie oder Tragödie machen, indem es mehr auf die Bearbeitung des Stoffs als auf den Stoff selbst ankäme" (*Lessings Werke* [ed., R. Boxberger; Berlin and Stuttgart, 1883 ff.], III², 238).

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magant makes her attempt to shoot Belfond Junior, a fatal ending is obviated only by the accidental failure of the pistol to explode.[1]

A second important change made by Lessing is the simplification and unification of Shadwell's plot. He maintained that the average English comedy, if appropriated for the German stage, would have to be simplified.[2] This procedure was his regular practice when he borrowed material from a complicated English play.[3] In the present instance he used two portions of the minor plot of *The Squire of Alsatia*. For the sake of convenience, these may be designated as the Lucia and the Isabella motifs. The former involves the seduction of Lucia by Belfond Junior and the consequent jealousy of Mrs. Termagant, his discarded mistress; the latter consists of the attempt of Mrs. Termagant to frustrate Belfond's marriage to Isabella and to take revenge on him. Though Belfond and Mrs. Termagant figure as characters in both triangles, the only connection between the two motifs in respect to the action is that the young man, in order to marry Isabella, must give up Lucia as a mistress. The seduction motif is well disposed of at the beginning of Act IV, whereas most of the Isabella story comes after that point. The last third of the play contains nothing of the Lucia story except the short scene informing the spectator that the attorney is willing to take back his daughter. During this portion of the drama the minor plot is concerned chiefly with Mrs. Termagant's attempt to prevent Belfond's marriage to Isabella.

Lessing evidently wished to bring about unity of action without sacrificing either the pathetic Lucia or the interesting Mrs. Termagant. If he had omitted the seduction motif, or, in other words, had used the rôle of Isabella in drafting his heroine, he would have had merely a

[1] It is interesting that Jakob Dusch in 1758 mentioned as one of his criticisms of *Miss Sara Sampson*, "dass sehr oft das Komische herdurch siehet" (*Vermischte Kritische und Satyrische Schriften*, in *Lessing im Urtheile seiner Zeitgenossen* [ed., Julius W. Braun; Berlin, 1884], I, 71). Since Dusch had no occasion to suspect that Lessing's domestic tragedy was based on a comedy, his remark is significant.

[2] "Wir lieben einen einfältigen Plan, der sich auf einmal übersehen lässt. So wie die Engländer die französischen Stücke mit Episoden erst vollpfropfen müssen, wenn sie auf ihrer Bühne gefallen sollen; so müssten wir die englischen Stücke von ihren Episoden erst entladen, wenn wir unsere Bühne glücklich damit bereichern wollten" (*Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, No. 12). *Gotthold Ephraim Lessings sämmtliche Schriften* (originally edited by Karl Lachmann, 3d [rev.] ed. by Franz Muncker; Stuttgart, 1886 ff.), IX, 234. Hereafter references to this edition of Lessing's works will be indicated merely by the names of the editors, thus: Lachmann-Muncker.

[3] Cf. the sketch *Der Leichtgläubige*, based on the minor plot of Wycherley's *The Country Wife*. Lachmann-Muncker, III, 252–55. For other instances see my dissertation.

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simple love triangle, with Mrs. Termagant as the obstacle to the marriage of hero and heroine. If he had confined himself to the seduction motif, Mellefont-Belfond would have been the villain, and Marwood–Mrs. Termagant would have been only a subordinate character or entirely superfluous. Since Belfond and Mrs. Termagant appear in both triangles, he was able to weld the two motifs together by having Sara-Lucia absorb the rôle of Isabella. Mellefont-Belfond, instead of leaving Sara-Lucia in order to marry another girl (Isabella), is forgiven by Sir William Sampson and consents to marry Sara-Lucia herself.[1]

By thus combining the Lucia and the Isabella stories of *The Squire of Alsatia* and making the ending tragic, we obtain the outline of Lessing's plot. A libertine seduces an innocent young girl. A former mistress of the man seeks to regain his love, and, in order to separate him from the hated rival, informs the girl's father of the state of affairs. The result is the opposite of what she expected: The father forgives the wayward lovers, and the libertine consents to marry the girl. The jealous mistress, by revealing the man's past life, attempts to make him repulsive to the bride-to-be, but her plan fails. Furious over her defeat, the mistress slays her rival. About the first half of Lessing's play represents the Lucia story, and the remainder the Isabella material. The action centers around three major scenes: the conversation between Sara and Mellefont in Act I, based on the corresponding dialogue between Lucia and Belfond in Acts II and IV of *The Squire of Alsatia;* the contest between Mellefont and Marwood in Act II, based on a similar scene between Belfond and Mrs. Termagant in Act II of Shadwell's play; and the meeting of Marwood and Sara in Act IV, based on the scene between Mrs. Termagant and Isabella in Act IV of the English comedy.

The fusion of these two motives gave *Miss Sara Sampson* its peculiar structure. As has been pointed out by critics,[2] the catastrophe is not the result of the original complication, but is brought about by

[1] Other cases in which Lessing fused two characters are in Philint (*Die Witzlinge*), a combination of Bellamy and Wildish in Shadwell's *Bury Fair*, and in Hilaria (*Der Misogyn*), a combination of Constantia and Angelica in Lansdowne's *The She-Gallants*. For the evidence see my dissertation.

[2] Cf. Hermann Hettner, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur im achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (*Literaturgeschichte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Part III) (6th ed.; Braunschweig, 1913), II, 465.

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a *deus ex machina*. The drama opens with the seduction motif, the obstacles to Sara's happiness being her estrangement from her father and the unwillingness of Mellefont to submit to the marriage ceremony. The interference of Marwood (which at first represents Mrs. Termagant's jealousy of Lucia, and later the desperate attempt of the mistress to frustrate Belfond's marriage to Isabella) is introduced at the end of Act I as a new complication. The latter complication eliminates the first by resolving it. Marwood's information to Sara's father results, not in the separation of the lovers, but in Sir William's offer to accept Mellefont as his son-in-law; and her efforts with Mellefont merely induce him, through fear of losing Sara, to agree to the marriage rite. In the last two acts the first complication is entirely displaced by the second. The seduction theme disappears and Marwood, in order to prevent the happy union of Sara and Mellefont, brings on the catastrophe. Sara perishes not because she has sinned, but because she has a rival. Even if she had not been seduced by Mellefont, the girl was to have been slain by Marwood.

The contention that the plot of *Miss Sara Sampson* is based on the material of the Lucia and the Isabella stories of *The Squire of Alsatia* is substantiated by abundant detail in both action and characterization. This can be best presented by a consideration of the three major characters of Lessing's play—Sara (Lucia *plus* Isabella), Marwood (Mrs. Termagant), and Mellefont (Belfond Junior).

Sara, like Lucia, is an innocent girl who falls in love with an attractive, good-natured libertine and is seduced by him. Neither of the girls has brothers or sisters.[1] Both flee from their homes because their fathers would separate them from their lovers; both later obtain forgiveness. Sara, like Lucia, is the soft, passive, pining, self-accusing girl—the clinging-vine type of female character. Her grief over her lapse from virtue, her love for her seducer, and her constant misgiving that after all he may not be sincere[2]—all this is strikingly similar to the pathetic dialogue between Lucia and Belfond.[3] Mellefont's excuse for delaying the marriage ceremony because of the

[1] *Miss Sara Sampson*, II, iv; Lachman-Muncker, II, 291.

The Squire of Alsatia, IV, ii, p. 75. In this article all page numbers referring to *The Squire of Alsatia* apply to the following edition: *The Works of Thomas Shadwell, Esq.* (London, 1720), Vol. IV.

[2] Act I. [3] IV, i.

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legacy is taken from Mrs. Termagant's story to Isabella, Lessing using it for both Sara and Marwood.

Marwood clearly shows her likeness to Shadwell's Mrs. Termagant. Like her prototype, she is a jealous discarded mistress and serves as the villain. She likewise at first attempts to win back her former lover. To separate Sara from Mellefont, Marwood reports the girl's hiding place to the father, just as for the same purpose Mrs. Termagant tells the attorney of his daughter's guilt and promises not to publish the scandal if he will confine Lucia from Belfond. Marwood, like Mrs. Termagant, has a young daughter by Mellefont-Belfond and uses the child to soften the father's heart. Both have lost their virtue before meeting Mellefont and Belfond, but thereafter are faithful to these men. Both women by means of clever contrivances succeed in getting into the presence of their hated rivals; both blacken the characters of the men and present themselves in as favorable a light as possible; in their accusations both speak both truth and falsehood. Both say that they came from good families and inherited moderate estates; that they had many and noble wooers; that they accepted Mellefont and Belfond only after earnest and aggressive courtships; and that the successful suitors promised marriage but delayed the ceremony because of legacies. Both are clever actors. Mrs. Termagant is actually called such by Belfond: "She is a rare Actor: She acts a Fit of the Mother the best of any one in England."[1] Marwood herself several times calls attention to her posing, as: "Bin ich allein?—Kann ich unbemerkt einmal Athem schöpfen, und die Muskeln des Gesichts in ihre natürliche Lage fahren lassen?—Ich muss geschwind einmal in allen Mienen die wahre Marwood seyn, um den Zwang der Verstellung wieder aushalten zu können. . . . ."[2]

When they fail to ensnare their paramours again, both mistresses bend all their energies to take bloody vengeance. Both in a fury of angry passion attempt to stab their former lovers with daggers. Both try to slay their rivals; Marwood succeeds, whereas Mrs. Termagant is frustrated. Both threaten to kill their children in the most cruel and horrible manner possible; Mrs. Termagant will "pull" the child "Limb from Limb,"[3] and Marwood vows, "Ich will mit begieriger Hand Glied von Glied, Ader von Ader, Nerve von Nerve lösen."[4]

[1] II, i, p. 39. [2] IV, v; Lachmann-Muncker, II, 324. [3] II, i, p. 38.
[4] II, vii; Lachmann-Muncker, II, 295.

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Mellefont also exhibits a close connection with his English prototype. Like Belfond Junior, he is a young nobleman. Belfond is the son of a baronet; Mellefont, though not designated as such, apparently is of the same station, since Marwood in posing as his aunt assumes the title of "Lady." Both are profligates and gamblers. Belfond, according to Mrs. Termagant, frequented a private gambling resort;[1] Mellefont is charged by Norton with having wasted a fortune through his association with gamesters.[2] Both are fashionable libertines. Belfond is "given to Women; but it is in private; and he is particular: No common Whore-Master";[3] Mellefont, likewise, has had illicit associations with various women—namely, Marwood, Miss Oklaff, Miss Dorkas, and Miss Moor—each of whom was his private mistress at some particular time.[4] Both are naturally disinclined toward marriage because it would put them under restraint. Each has an illegitimate daughter by a former mistress.

The desirable characteristics of the two men also are similar. Both are very fond of their daughters, and, though they have difficulty in obtaining possession, have an earnest desire to provide well for them. Both are reformed. Belfond confesses that Isabella has "subdu'd" him "even to Marriage,"[5] just as Mellefont decides to submit to marriage rather than to lose Sara.[6] Belfond gives up all vice for the sake of Isabella, and Mellefont is brought so far by the beneficent influence of Sara that he has pangs of conscience, sheds a tear for the first time since his childhood, and finally even kills himself to atone for his guilt in connection with the girl's death. Both are so chivalrous as to try to take all the guilt upon themselves; Belfond, to his own disparagement, declares that Lucia is innocent,[7] and Mellefont magnanimously insists on telling Sampson that he alone was to blame for Sara's defection.[8]

Two of Lessing's minor characters also should be mentioned in this connection. Arabella, though depicted as several years older and given

[1] IV, v, p. 82.
[2] I, iii; Lachmann-Muncker, II, 271.
[3] I, i, p. 27.
[4] IV, viii; and II, iii. Lachmann-Muncker, II, 333 and 285.
[5] II, i, p. 35.
[6] III, v; Lachmann-Muncker, II, 311.
[7] IV, vi, p. 102.
[8] IV, i; Lachmann-Muncker, II, 315.

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a small speaking part, is clearly derived from the illegitimate daughter of Belfond Junior and Mrs. Termagant. Sir William Sampson, although in characterization modeled on Lovemore in Charles Johnson's *Caelia*, has in the acts representing the Lucia story about the same plot function as that of Shadwell's attorney.

Several other striking parallelisms may be observed. Marwood's reflection that a good reputation, rather than virtue itself, is the important thing[1] was presumably inspired by the attorney's remark, in regard to Lucia, that "next to her being innocent, is the concealing of her Shame."[2] Sampson's statement that he would rather be loved by a wayward daughter than not at all, and that such transgressions as Sara's are better than enforced virtue,[3] may be traced directly to Sir Edward's educational philosophy that a father should above all seek to win the love of his son by generosity and indulgence, even to the extent of giving him free rein to sow wild oats.[4] Again, Sampson's defense, at the close of the drama, of Mellefont's character[5] is reminiscent of Sir Edward's defense of Belfond Junior's sexual irregularities.[6] Probably also Marwood's demand, "Nun sagen Sie es noch einmal, ob Sie fest entschlossen sind, mich einer jungen Närrinn aufzuopfern,"[7] was suggested by Mrs. Termagant's question, "For what little dirty Wench am I thus us'd?"[8]

A brief statement of the foregoing argument is now in order. The changes involved in the transformation of the material of *The Squire of Alsatia* into part of *Miss Sara Sampson*—the conversion of a comedy into a tragedy, and the simplification and unification of the plot—are in agreement with Lessing's avowed dramatic principles. If we combine the Lucia and the Isabella stories of *The Squire of Alsatia* by making one character of the two girls, and if we then make the

[1] "Sie [i.e., Tugend] ist ohne ihn [i.e., guten Namen] ein albernes Hirngespinnst, das weder ruhig noch glücklich macht. Er allein giebt ihr noch einigen Werth, und kann vollkommen ohne sie bestehen" (II, vii; Lachmann-Muncker, II, 294).

[2] V, vi, p. 102.

[3] "Solche Vergehungen sind besser, als erzwungene Tugenden, ... Ich würde doch lieber von einer lasterhaften Tochter, als von keiner, geliebt seyn wollen" (I, i; Lachmann-Muncker, II, 268).

[4] Dramatis personae, under "Belfond Junior"; Act I, p. 28; and II, i, pp. 42–45.

[5] "Ach, er war mehr unglücklich, als lasterhaft" (V, x; Lachmann-Muncker, II, 352).

[6] Act I, p. 28.

[7] II, vii; Lachmann-Muncker, II, 294.

[8] II, i, p. 39.

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ending tragic, we have the outline of the *Miss Sara Sampson* plot. The three major characters of *Miss Sara Sampson*—Sara, Marwood, and Mellefont—have counterparts in Lucia (*plus* Isabella), Mrs. Termagant, and Belfond Junior. Sir William Sampson, the most important of the minor characters, has approximately the same function in a portion of the plot as has the attorney in Shadwell's Lucia story. Arabella is derived from the illegitimate daughter of Mrs. Termagant and Belfond Junior. There are many striking resemblances of detail between the two dramas in both action and characterization.

A few of these points, to be sure, are found also in *Caelia*—a second source of *Miss Sara Sampson*—namely, the seduction, the flight of the girl from her home to live with her lover, the subsequent forgiveness by her father, her passive personality, and the seducer's noble birth. These features, however, are only a small proportion of the material in which the plays of Shadwell and Lessing agree. In other words, the isolating evidence is sufficient in amount and significance to warrant the statement that Lessing derived the outline of his plot, the principal characters, and many details from *The Squire of Alsatia*.[1]

SOURCES OF SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIAL

Several secondary characters and some minor portions of the action of Lessing's drama were supplied by Charles Johnson's *Caelia*,[2] a sentimental domestic tragedy in prose. The process of combining the *Caelia* features with the material derived from *The Squire of Alsatia* was facilitated by the fact that, as has just been mentioned, the seduction theme and several details used in *Miss Sara Sampson* are common to the two English plays. In fact, *Caelia* has a scene corresponding to the basis of the first of Lessing's three major scenes. In Act I, scene ii, of Johnson's tragedy, as in Act II, scene i, and Act IV, scene i, of Shadwell's comedy, a girl, in the presence of the man by whom she has been seduced, is bewailing her condition. In the following discussion, only the features not occurring in *The Squire of Alsatia* will be cited.

[1] This point will be further discussed after the details from *Caelia* and *The Perjur'd Husband* have been considered.

[2] In the margin of the manuscript of the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, Lessing made this notation: "Die *Ephesian Matron* von Ogilby, v. Cibbers [*The Lives of the Poets of Great Britain and Ireland*] II, 267.—Die *Eph. Matr.* von Chr. Johnson *vid.* V, 342" (Cf. *Lessings Werke* [ed., R. Boxberger; Berlin and Stuttgart, 1883 ff.], III², 22).

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Two secondary characters contributed by *Caelia* are Sir William Sampson and his servant Waitwell. The former, though already suggested by Shadwell's attorney, is almost an exact photograph of Johnson's Lovemore. Like his counterpart, he is an old man, a retiring and somewhat old-fashioned country gentleman, hospitable to his intimate friends and indulgent to his daughter. Both fathers by insisting on a high standard of morality force their daughters to leave home, and afterward freely forgive not only the girls but also the seducers. Both are so sympathetic and emotional that they tearfully yield to their grief. Waitwell, who has no suggestion in *The Squire of Alsatia* except the nameless and entirely conventional servant of Sir William Belfond, is the Meanwell of Johnson's tragedy. He is the faithful old family servant. He shares his master's devotion and sentimentality and has the same function in the action as has Meanwell—to assist a grief-stricken father in seeking and redeeming his wayward daughter.

An important characteristic of Lucia-Caelia-Sara that Lessing probably adopted from *Caelia* is her noble birth. Instead of being, like Lucia, the daughter of a London lawyer, Sara is, like Caelia, the daughter of a country gentleman, a baronet. A point in which the German dramatist definitely follows Johnson is in raising the virtue of his heroine above that of Shadwell's maiden. Sara, like Caelia, surrenders her virginity only on the promise of marriage, whereas Lucia knows that she is nothing but a mistress; again Sara, like Caelia, grieves because of her high moral standards, whereas Lucia's main concern is the fear of being found out. The other Johnson variations which Lessing adopts for the character of Sara are in themselves less important, but for that very reason especially significant in showing that the German dramatist utilized *Caelia*. Whereas Lucia leaves home during the course of the drama, Caelia and Sara have been living in hiding for two months before the opening of the action. The time corresponds exactly; Johnson says, "This very Day, two Months,"[1] and Lessing, "Die neunte Woche fängt heute an."[2] The mothers of Caelia and of Sara are dead, whereas Lucia's mother is living; but

[1] I, i, p. 3. In this article all page numbers in references to *Caelia* apply to the original edition: *Caelia: or, The Perjur'd Lover*, London, 1733.

[2] I, vii; Lachmann-Muncker, II, 273.

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herein Lessing makes an additional change, in that Sara's dies at the child's birth, whereas Caelia's dies of grief over the daughter's defection.[1]

The account of the meeting of Sara and Mellefont in *Miss Sara Sampson* is practically identical with the exposition in *Caelia*. Johnson has Meanwell say:

Seven Months are past since this Mr. Wronglove return'd from Italy, where my young Master, Caelia's Brother, dy'd—They were inseparable Companions—Mr. Wronglove had the care of his Affairs, and brought his Papers to Clareville, where he was look'd upon by my Master, as his Son's dearest Friend—therefore he wish'd him well, and receiv'd, and entertain'd him; as you know he does all Friends—with an open Heart. . . . . Caelia's Behaviour to this Mr. Wronglove, her Brother's Friend, and Father's Guest, was, at first, such only as became her Education and her Manners: What Witchcraft this dishonest young Man had in his Talk, how wickedly, how inhospitably, he improv'd his Opportunities: how he betray'd her; the deplorable Misfortune, the Infamy he hath brought on the Family, can better tell you, than any Words which I can utter.[2]

Lessing gives the equivalent of this to Sir William Sampson:

Ich verstattete ihm, wegen einer Verbindlichkeit, die ich gegen ihn zu haben glaubte, einen allzufreyen Zutritt in meinem Hause. Es war natürlich, dass ihm die dankbare Aufmerksamkeit, die ich für ihn bezeigte, auch die Achtung meiner Tochter zuziehen musste. Und es war ebenso natürlich, dass sich ein Mensch von seiner Denkungsart durch diese Achtung verleiten liess, sie zu etwas Höherm zu treiben. Er hatte Geschicklichkeit genug gehabt, sie in Liebe zu verwandeln, ehe ich noch das geringste merkte, und ehe ich noch Zeit hatte, mich nach seiner übrigen Lebensart zu erkundigen. Das Unglück war geschehen. . . . .[3]

The letter-writing between father and daughter in *Miss Sara Sampson* also comes from *Caelia*. In both plays the grief-stricken father writes a letter to the wayward daughter saying that he forgives her and proposes a reconciliation with her seducer on condition that the young man marry her. In both works the trusty old family servant delivers the message. A slight difference is that in Johnson's drama Meanwell, who precedes his master to London, is given the letter before he leaves home, whereas in *Miss Sara Sampson* Waitwell

[1] Norton, who seems to inherit some of his characteristics from Johnson's Bellamy, will be discussed in connection with Centlivre's *The Perjur'd Husband*.

[2] I, i, pp. 2–3.

[3] III, i; Lachmann-Muncker, II, 299.

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does not receive it until Sir William Sampson also has arrived. In both plays the servant, on leaving the girl, promises to return in an hour—in *Caelia* to bring Lovemore and in *Miss Sara Sampson* to get Sara's letter in reply. In the motivation of this letter incident the German dramatist was less successful than his English predecessor. Sir William and his servant have taken rooms at the very inn where Sara and Mellefont are living. Even if Sir William might properly think it expedient to put his message into writing, there is no reason why Sara should not fly immediately to the adjoining room and into her father's arms. The difficulty in Lessing's play is that father and daughter are under the same roof.

Lessing's fifth act appears to have been modeled on the corresponding death scene in *Caelia*. Both scenes are devised to bring the audience to tears. Although the differences in the plot[1] prevent close similarity of details, a few points of like action can be cited. In both plays the fathers then meet their daughters face to face for the first time in the course of the dramas. In both the joy of reconciliation is soon changed to grief. Both heroines suffer mental agony because of their errors. Both freely forgive those by whom they have been wronged. Both die lingering deaths while their loved ones mourn and weep.

Of these parallelisms, three are unusually striking: the characters of Sir William Sampson and Waitwell versus their counterparts, Lovemore and Meanwell, respectively; Sampson's story of the meeting of Sara and Mellefont versus Meanwell's report of Wronglove's seduction of Caelia; Sampson's letter of forgiveness to Sara versus Lovemore's letter to Caelia. The other contributions of *Caelia* discussed above are several characteristics of Sara and several features of the death scene in the German play. About a fourth of Lessing's text represents material borrowed from Johnson. In short, the evidence shows clearly that in the preparation of *Miss Sara Sampson* the German dramatist utilized *Caelia*.

The third important source of *Miss Sara Sampson* is the main plot of Mrs. Centlivre's *The Perjur'd Husband* (1700), a domestic

[1] Due to the material taken from *The Squire of Alsatia* and *The Perjur'd Husband*.

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tragedy.[1] The reason for the association of this play with the material taken from *The Squire of Alsatia* is probably the fact that two of its important scenes are somewhat similar to two of Lessing's three major scenes. In the scene between Bassino and Aurelia in Act I of *The Perjur'd Husband*, as in that between Belfond and Mrs. Termagant in Act II of *The Squire of Alsatia* (Act II of *Miss Sara Sampson*), a woman seeks to regain the love of a man who has resolved to part with her. In the scene between Placentia and Aurelia in Act V of *The Perjur'd Husband*, as in that between Mrs. Termagant and Isabella in Act IV of *The Squire of Alsatia* (Act IV of *Miss Sara Sampson*), a woman makes an unsuccessful attempt through a clever artifice to induce her rival to give up the man.

Act IV of *Miss Sara Sampson*, Lessing's climax, shows very strong influences from Centlivre's play. Some features of this scene, to be sure, are to be found in *The Squire of Alsatia*, as when Mrs. Termagant seeks to prejudice Isabella against Belfond Junior by disparaging him as much as possible, part of the story being true and part false. So far Lessing follows Shadwell, but in other respects the scene resembles more closely the end of *The Perjur'd Husband*. Lessing's Marwood, like Mrs. Centlivre's Placentia, comes disguised as a relative of Mellefont-Bassino (Placentia says first that she is Bassino's brother, and later that she is his brother-in-law), whereas Mrs. Termagant, though she resorts to a deception to get in, goes to Isabella's home in her own character. Again, in *The Perjur'd Husband*, as in *Miss Sara Sampson*, the two women are alone, whereas in *The Squire of Alsatia* other characters are present.

Lessing uses the scene for exactly the same technical purpose as does Mrs. Centlivre. In *The Squire of Alsatia* it serves merely to retard the dénouement by bringing in another complication. After Isabella has agreed to the plan of escaping from Scrapeall's house for the marriage ceremony, Mrs. Termagant succeeds in prejudicing the girl

[1] Lessing evidently was well acquainted with Centlivre's plays. He seems to have taken some qualities of Riccaut de la Marliniere in *Minna von Barnhelm* from the Marquess of Hazard in her *The Gamester*. Both impostors pretend to be of royal blood; Riccaut says, "du sang Royal" (IV, ii; Lachmann-Muncker, II, 230), and the Marquess of Hazard boasts "of his Royal Blood" (V, ii; 2nd ed., London, 1708, p. 61). Cf. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, I, 475. The character name Conti in *Emilia Galotti* may also have come from *The Gamester*, inasmuch as the supposed Marquess of Hazard has been a "Footman to the Prince of Conti" (V, ii. London, 1708, p. 61). In 1751 Lessing reviewed a French version of Centlivre's *A Bold Stroke for a Wife* (Lachmann-Muncker, IV, 263).

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against her wooer, but the stay is only temporary. The discarded mistress does not kill her rival; in fact, in this scene she does not even attempt to do so. In both *Miss Sara Sampson* and *The Perjur'd Husband*, on the other hand, this scene brings on the catastrophe. Both Marwood and Placentia, after failing to gain sympathy for themselves or to turn their rivals against the men, take the lives of the other women.

Details of the scenes correspond closely. The conversation is opened in the same way, Marwood and Placentia both pretending to be well-wishers and paying flattering compliments to their hated rivals. The latter says:

> My Brother, Madam, is extreamly happy
> In being favour'd by so fair a Lady.[1]

Marwood says:

> Ich muss um Vergebung bitten, Miss, dass ich so frey bin, mich mit meinen eignen Augen von dem Glücke eines Vetters zu überführen, dem ich das vollkommenste Frauenzimmer wünschen würde, wenn mich nicht gleich der erste Anblick überzeugt hätte, dass er es in Ihnen bereits gefunden habe.[2]

The story which Marwood then tells, though the details themselves are partly taken from *The Squire of Alsatia* and partly invented by Lessing, is intended for the same purpose as Placentia's. Both Marwood and Placentia at first seem to succeed in their schemes but in the end merely arouse the resentment and anger of Sara and Aurelia. Sara calls Mellefont's former mistress *eine verhärtete Buhlerin*,[3] just as Aurelia refers to Placentia as "Mistress" and "debauch'd."[4] Provoked by these appellations, both Marwood and Placentia reveal their true identities and in the next moment kill their rivals.

The contention that Lessing is here using material taken from *The Perjur'd Husband* is strengthened by the fact that he does not succeed in motivating it satisfactorily. In the first place, he had difficulty in bringing the two women together without the presence of Mellefont. Even if we concede that Mellefont might have been persuaded to introduce Marwood as his aunt, he would not have left such

[1] V, ii, p. 35. In this article all page numbers in references to *The Perjur'd Husband* apply to the original edition: *The Perjur'd Husband: or, the Adventures of Venice*, London, 1700.

[2] III, v; Lachmann-Muncker, II, 309.

[3] IV, viii; Lachmann-Muncker, II, 335.

[4] V, ii, p. 36.

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a violent woman alone with Sara, no matter how eager he was to receive a message relative to the legacy. Again, the real Sara, as depicted elsewhere in the drama, is not capable of such a bold and defiant stand as the part requires here. An Aurelia on being provoked can call Placentia a strumpet in the very face of the rival's brother, but the reserved, shrinking personality of Sara cannot be conceived as hurling such words at the apparent "Lady Solmes," who she thinks is a friend of Marwood. The simple explanation is that Lessing is here dealing with a borrowed idea. When an author invents features of action with certain characters in mind, he is less likely to fall into inconsistencies than when he assigns to the characters effective passages taken from other rôles.

After the clash of the two rival women, Mrs. Centlivre hastens her tragedy to a rapid close, but Lessing, in order to give the heroine a lingering and tearful death, adds a whole act. It is no doubt for this reason that he has Marwood administer poison instead of, like Placentia, using a sword. This scene, though modeled to a large extent on the death scene in Johnson's *Caelia*, has significant resemblances to the catastrophe of *The Perjur'd Husband*. Bassino arrives to discover Aurelia dying, and kills Placentia in revenge; Mellefont comes to find Sara at the point of death, and in his rage threatens to strike down her murderer if she comes within his reach. Both men rush about aimlessly, almost beside themselves because of what has happened. Bassino in atonement contrives to fall by the sword of Alonzo; Mellefont takes his own life for the same reason. Furthermore, Sara forgives Marwood in the same manner as Aurelia forgives Placentia.

Placentia is clearly evident in Lessing's Marwood, especially in the softening and elevating of the qualities taken from Shadwell's equivalent character. Mrs. Termagant, a hard "humour" character according to the school of Ben Johnson, is not designed to arouse the least pity, but is used merely as a goad upon Belfond to show that "wenching" does not pay. When it is time to end the drama, she is disposed of by a bribe in the form of an annuity of a hundred pounds. Marwood, on the other hand, is no longer almost an abstraction of jealous fury, but is much more sympathetically drawn. In fact, she comes dangerously near to usurping the part of a heroine in the sympathy of the spectator, the case being somewhat analogous to that of

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Shakespeare's Shylock. Relieved of the mercenary aspect, she is controlled wholly by the motive of love—not so unselfish and sincere as that of Lucia-Sara, but nevertheless genuine. Like Placentia, she follows her false lover (husband in Mrs. Centlivre) to another city. Unable to win back his love or to prevail upon the other woman to renounce him, she brings death to her rival. Mrs. Termagant, except for Shadwell's illogical dénouement, pursues her course of vengeance relentlessly, but Marwood wavers for a time between the two emotions of love and revenge. Lessing gives his mistress a better claim upon Mellefont-Belfond than does Shadwell. In this respect Marwood is a compromise between Placentia, who is a legal wife, and Mrs. Termagant, who, though declaring herself engaged, is a mistress. Actually she has been promised a marriage ceremony, but it has been deferred because of a legacy which is to be left to Mellefont on condition that he marry a certain distant relative.

In Act I of *The Perjur'd Husband*, Aurelia, like Mrs. Termagant-Marwood in Act II of *The Squire of Alsatia* and Act II of *Miss Sara Sampson*, plays the part of the temptress. Here also the two tragedies have striking similarities not found in the comedy. Whereas in *The Squire of Alsatia* Mrs. Termagant is never presented in her own rooms, in both *The Perjur'd Husband* and *Miss Sara Sampson* the principal scenes between Bassino-Mellefont and Aurelia-Marwood take place in the apartments of the latter. The scenes open in the same way. Mrs. Centlivre indicates as stage directions: "Aurelia's Chamber; She in an Undress with Florella,"[1] which Lessing gives as "Der Schauplatz stellt das Zimmer der Marwood vor, in einem andern Gasthofe. Marwood im Neglischee. Hannah."[2] In each case, after a conversation between mistress and maid discussing the situation, the man enters. Mrs. Termagant in the corresponding scene of *The Squire of Alsatia* makes the attack on Belfond without a weapon, whereas in the other two plays she is given a dagger. Lessing follows Mrs. Centlivre also in having Aurelia-Marwood offer to stab herself and be prevented by Bassino-Mellefont.

Another detail from *The Perjur'd Husband* is that Mellefont is made to waver between loyalty to Sara and reawakened love for Marwood. In *The Squire of Alsatia* Belfond is not attracted by his

[1] Act I, p. 4. [2] II, 1; Lachmann-Muncker, II, 281.

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former mistress, her function being merely to plague him; but in *The Perjur'd Husband* Bassino is torn between duty toward his wife and love for Aurelia. Even the setting in Lessing is strikingly similar to Mrs. Centlivre's. Bassino and Mellefont are introduced[1] in the same way. In each case the time is morning. The wavering lover is shown in his own room in his night-gown.[2] He is in a bad mood after a sleepless night with his conscience. Then in each case the confidant enters and gives a moral sermon. Both Bassino and Mellefont are warned against visiting the apartments of their temptresses, but they consider themselves strong enough to resist any allurements. Mrs. Centlivre has the following dialogue at this point:

ARMANDO: Have you well weigh'd the Danger of this Visit?
BASSINO: What Danger can there be?
ARMANDO: Danger! my Lord—Consider well how feeble
Our Reason is against the pow'r of Beauty—
BASSINO: My Resolution's firm; no Charm can shake it.
ARMANDO: If not her Beauty, fear her Syren Tongue;
Fear her endearing Prayers, her fond Reproaches,
Her tender Sighs, her Vows, her trickling Tears.
Nay—if all these prove vain, fear her Despair,
A Woman, an abandon'd Womans Rage.
BASSINO: Were there more Dangers yet, I'll stand 'em all;
My Honour bids me pay this parting Visit:
My Heart shall have no share in what I'll speak.
Trust me this once, and be your self a witness,
Bassino can controul unlawful love.—
ARMANDO: My Lord, 'tis with Regret I see you go.
May Heaven assist you in this dangerous strife.[3]

Lessing puts it thus:

NORTON: Es wird ihr einen Blick kosten, und Sie liegen wieder zu ihren Füssen. Bedenken Sie was Sie thun! Sie müssen sie nicht sprechen, oder das Unglück Ihrer armen Miss is vollkommen.

MELLEFONT: Ich Unglücklicher!—Nein, ich muss sie sprechen. Sie würde mich bis in dem Zimmer der Sara suchen, und alle ihre Wuth gegen diese Unschuldige auslassen.

NORTON: Aber, mein Herr—

MELLEFONT: Sage nichts! Lass sehen [Indem er in den Brief sieht], ob sie ihre Wohnung angezeigt hat. Hier ist sie. Komm, führe mich. [Sie gehen ab.][4]

[1] Bassino, to be sure, already appears in the previous scene, but he says only a few words, the purpose of the scene being to start the minor plot.

[2] Lessing says, "unangekleidet" (I, iii; Lachmann-Muncker, II, 270), and Mrs. Centlivre, "In his Night-gown" (I, ii).

[3] I, ii, p. 4.

[4] I, ix; Lachmann-Muncker, II, 280–81.

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Whereas in Shadwell's comedy Belfond is unmoved by the pleas of his discarded mistress, in Mrs. Centlivre's and Lessing's tragedies Bassino and Mellefont are both shaken from their good resolutions; Bassino entirely succumbs, but Mellefont afterward rallies. This wavering on the part of Mellefont is very important in the depiction of his character, some critics because of this regarding him even as a weakling. He becomes thereby considerably more impetuous than his prototype.

Lessing's Norton combines the functions of Armando in *The Perjur'd Husband* and of Bellamy in *Caelia*. A specific point in which he represents the former is in attempting to dissuade Mellefont from seeing Marwood again; one in which he resembles the latter is in advising Mellefont to marry Sara without delay. A point of characterization which Norton inherits from Bellamy is that formerly he has led the kind of life for which he is now sorry. He speaks of himself as "ein Bedienter, der auch etwas Bessers seyn könnte, wenn er, leider! darnach gelebt hätte."[1] Instead of being a moralizing friend-confidant, like Armando and Bellamy, Norton is, like Mrs. Centlivre's Florella, a moralizing servant-confidant.

Lessing's gleanings from *The Perjur'd Husband* may be summed up as follows. Act I of *Miss Sara Sampson* contains two short scenes representing material from Mrs. Centlivre's play: scene iii, in which Mellefont is shown troubled by his conscience; and scene ix, in which Norton warns his master against visiting Marwood. These details, together with qualities from Bellamy in *Caelia* and Florella in *The Perjur'd Husband*, account for the character of Norton. Some of the material for the meeting of Mellefont and Marwood in Act II of *Miss Sara Sampson* is taken from the scene between Bassino and Aurelia in *The Perjur'd Husband*. By this means, Shadwell's calm Belfond Junior becomes an impetuous Mellefont, a lover wavering between two women. Important additions to Lessing's climax scene (Act IV) and its preparation (Act III, scene v) come from the fatal scene between Placentia and Aurelia in *The Perjur'd Husband*. Act V of *Miss Sara Sampson* is approximately the catastrophe of *The Perjur'd Husband* expanded after the manner of the death scene in *Caelia*. The delineation of the character of Mrs. Termagant-Marwood is softened and elevated under the influence of Mrs. Centlivre's Placentia.

[1] IV, iii; Lachmann-Muncker, II, 320.

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The reason for the conclusion that Lessing based his plot on *The Squire of Alsatia* rather than on *Caelia* is that the borrowed material to be found only in the former is considerably greater and more important than that found only in the latter. As has been shown, Shadwell's comedy, with the welding together of the Lucia-Belfond-Mrs. Termagant and the Isabella-Belfond-Mrs. Termagant love triangle and with a tragic ending, contains the whole outline of Lessing's plot. If we should suppose that the German dramatist used *Caelia* as the basis and added features from *The Squire of Alsatia*, Shadwell's work would still have supplied necessarily the extremely important character of Marwood–Mrs. Termagant and the essential features of the action represented by the Isabella story and by Mrs. Termagant's part in the Lucia story. In other words, *Caelia* lacks Lessing's love triangle, two of his three major scenes, and the strongest of his three principal characters. If he began with the material of *The Squire of Alsatia*, the process of adding minor features of action and of character from *Caelia* and *The Perjur'd Husband* was comparatively simple. Had he begun with the material of *Caelia*, he would have been forced to seek out many of the major features of his plot from *The Squire of Alsatia*, and then to supplement some of the new scenes by means of suggestions derived from *The Perjur'd Husband*. In short, the parts from *Caelia* and *The Perjur'd Husband* are merely supplementary materials fitted into the original plot derived from *The Squire of Alsatia*.

The contributions of the three plays discussed account for practically all the significant material of *Miss Sara Sampson*. In Act I of Lessing's tragedy the principal scene—that between Sara and Mellefont—combines the corresponding scenes of *The Squire of Alsatia* and of *Caelia*, Sara's plea for the performance of the marriage ceremony coming from the latter work. Most of the material of scene iii, showing Mellefont's troubled conscience, and of scene ix, containing Norton's warning against his master's visit to Marwood, is taken from *The Perjur'd Husband*. Norton's advice in scene v that Mellefont marry Sara immediately is similar to Bellamy's demand upon Wronglove in *Caelia*. Scenes i and ii consist of exposition. The remaining scenes of Act I are merely transitional.

Act II, which is devoted to Marwood's attempt to regain Mellefont's love, is based on the scene between Belfond and Mrs. Terma-

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gant in *The Squire of Alsatia*, supplementary material being added from the corresponding scene between Bassino and Aurelia in *The Perjur'd Husband*. The first four scenes of Act III deal with material taken from *Caelia:* namely, Sir William Sampson's letter of forgiveness, and the account of Sara's seduction. The latter part of Act III and nearly the whole of Act IV are occupied with the meeting between Marwood and Sara; this section is based on the visit of Mrs. Termagant to Isabella in *The Squire of Alsatia* supplemented by material from the clash between Placentia and Aurelia in *The Perjur'd Husband*. Act V is a fusion of the catastrophe of *The Perjur'd Husband* and of the death scene in *Caelia*.

The three English plays supply also all of the significant characters. Marwood is derived from the Mrs. Termagant of *The Squire of Alsatia*, elevated primarily under the influence of Placentia in *The Perjur'd Husband*. Mellefont is the Belfond Junior of *The Squire of Alsatia*, influenced as to his wavering by Bassino in *The Perjur'd Husband*. Sara is Lucia and Isabella of *The Squire of Alsatia*, modified by the title character of *Caelia*. Arabella reveals the illegitimate daughter of Belfond Junior and Mrs. Termagant in *The Squire of Alsatia*. Sir William Sampson represents Shadwell's attorney in part but is more specifically modeled on Lovemore in *Caelia*. Waitwell is the Meanwell of *Caelia*. Norton, a moralizing servant-confidant like Florella in *The Perjur'd Husband*, takes the place of the friend-confidants, Bellamy in *Caelia* and Armando in *The Perjur'd Husband*. The remaining characters are not of sufficient importance to be taken into consideration. Hannah and Belford are conventional servants. Betty, except for being sentimentalized, is the same. *Der Wirt* appears in only one short scene, contributing a few words to the exposition while showing Sir William Sampson and Waitwell to their rooms.[1]

THE BASIC MODEL

Contrary to the view generally held by scholars, Lessing read English drama extensively in the early years of his literary career—probably as early as 1747. He surely had studied it extensively by

[1] As shown in my dissertation, the various other works that have been proposed as the sources for the plot of *Miss Sara Sampson* contributed nothing but comparatively unimportant material, such as the character names, a few minor points of the action, and some aphorisms.

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1748, and by 1755 knew the plays of at least seventeen (probably twenty or more) Restoration and early eighteenth-century English writers. At the time of the production of *Miss Sara Sampson* (1755) he was well read in English domestic tragedies. He certainly knew Charles Johnson's *Caelia* (1733), Centlivre's *The Perjur'd Husband* (1700), Cooke's *The Mournful Nuptials* (1739; published in 1744 in altered form as *Love the Cause and Cure of Grief*), Otway's *The Orphan* (1680), Rowe's *The Fair Penitent* (1703), Hill's *The Fatal Extravagance* (1720), Lillo's *The London Merchant* (1731), and Moore's *The Gamester* (1753). In addition to these he may have scrutinized the texts of Southerne's *The Fatal Marriage* (1694), Heywood's *A Woman Killed with Kindness* (1607), and the anonymous *A Yorkshire Tragedy* (1608).[1] Consequently, the domestic tragedy to be regarded as the specific model of *Miss Sara Sampson* must resemble the German play very closely in type. *The London Merchant* fails to meet this test, differing from Lessing's drama in several important characteristics. *Caelia*, on the other hand, agrees with *Miss Sara Sampson* in every essential point of type and form, the only drama to do so.

An extremely important feature of type in which *The London Merchant* differs and *Caelia* agrees with *Miss Sara Sampson* is the social setting. Lillo's play treats the life of the mercantile class. The leading character, Barnwell, is a clerk, and the vocation of the tradesman is extolled:

> I wou'd not have you only learn the Method of Merchandize, and practise it hereafter, merely as a Means of getting Wealth; 'twill be well worth your Pains to study it as a Science, to see how it is founded in Reason, and the Nature of Things; how it promotes Humanity, as it has open'd and yet keeps up an Intercourse between Nations, far remote from one another in Situation, Customs and Religion; promoting Arts, Industry, Peace and Plenty; by mutual Benefits diffusing mutual Love from Pole to Pole.[2]

Maria because of her affection for her father's clerk is indifferent to titled wooers. In *Miss Sara Sampson*, on the other hand, the social setting is that of the lower nobility, exactly the same as in *Caelia*. The heroine, Sara, like Caelia, is the daughter of a country gentleman. If Lessing had used *The London Merchant* as his model, he would

[1] Evidence given in detail in my dissertation.

[2] III, 1, p. 28. In this article all page numbers referring to *The London Merchant* apply to the original edition (London, 1731).

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hardly have changed Lucia, the lawyer's daughter of *The Squire of Alsatia*, into a gentlewoman.

Again, *The London Merchant* is founded on a legalistic basis, civil law playing a prominent part in the action. Barnwell and Millwood in punishment for their crimes die on the gallows. But with Lessing's drama the case is otherwise. As several scholars have emphasized, *Miss Sara Sampson* is a *Familientragödie*,[1] the criminal court and the hangman being omitted. Schmidt characterizes the play thus: "'Bürgerlich' als ein Stück modernen familiären Lebens mit Conflicten des Gewissens, die hier weder der Polizei noch der strengen Haus- und Gesellschaftsmoral zufallen, sondern im engsten Kreise Vernichtung und Vergebung thränenerzwingend herbeiführen."[2] This is frequently referred to as a great improvement on English domestic tragedy (Lillo's *The London Merchant* and Moore's *The Gamester* being usually thought of as the characteristic examples). The supposed change is said to be the result of the influence of Richardson's *Clarissa*. Oehlke regards the *Familientragödie* as a distinctive expression of the German spirit.[3] The fact, however, is that this is exactly what Lessing found in *Caelia*. Thus we have another reason for concluding that Lessing did not pattern his domestic tragedy after *The London Merchant*.

A strong religious note permeates *The London Merchant*. Barnwell's uncle, on being stabbed, prays for the unknown murderer. Thorowgood is the ideal Christian. After Barnwell and Millwood have been convicted, he sends a divine to them to prepare them for the other world. On being assured that the wayward clerk has experienced "the infinite Extent of heavenly Mercy,"[4] the good old man exclaims:

> O the Joy it gives to see a Soul form'd and prepar'd for Heaven! For this the faithful Minister devotes himself to Meditation, Abstinence, and Prayer, shunning the vain Delights of sensual Joys, and daily dies that others

[1] Cf. Th. W. Danzel and G. E. Guhrauer, *Gotthold Ephraim Lessing* (2d ed.; Berlin, 1880), I, 303.

[2] Erich Schmidt, *Lessing* (2d ed.; Berlin, 1899), I, 273.

[3] "Lessings bürgerliches Trauerspiel ist deutsch und unterscheidet sich deutlich von dem englischen Vorbild. Er stellt das gefährdete Sittengesetz auf eine neue Grundlage, die in England nur im Roman Geltung hatte: die Familie. Dieser Begriff ist es, der gebietend und zugleich versöhnend das Drama durchzieht und ihm so die kriminalistische Färbung nimmt" (Waldemar Oehlke, *Lessing und seine Zeit* [Munich, 1919], I, 294).

[4] V, ii, p. 57.

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may live for ever. . . . . If the Reward of all his Pains be to preserve one Soul from wandering, or turn one from the Error of his Ways, how does he then rejoice, and own his little Labours over paid?[1]

Barnwell, because of the comfort of religion, can face death serenely: "I find a Power within that bears my Soul above the Fears of Death, and, spight of conscious Shame and Guilt, gives me a Taste of Pleasure more than Mortal."[2] As he is led away to the gallows, he requests of his friends: "Pray for the Peace of my departing Soul."[3] The villain of the play, Millwood, is a warning to the irreligious. She speaks of the devil as "that imaginary Being,"[4] and scoffs at those who profess to be religious: "Whatever Religion is in it self, as practis'd by Mankind, it has caus'd the Evils, you say, it was design'd to cure."[5] Obstinately refusing the ministrations of the divine sent by Thorowgood, "She goes to Death encompassed with Horror, loathing Life, and yet afraid to die; no Tongue can tell her Anguish and Despair."[6] In neither *Miss Sara Sampson* nor *Caelia* is the religious element prominent.

The fourth point in which *Caelia* resembles *Miss Sara Sampson* more closely than does *The London Merchant* is in structure. All three plays have unity of action,[7] and all three disregard the classical rule of the unity of place.[8] In the matter of the duration of time, however, there is an important difference between *The London Merchant* and the other two. Lillo's play opens at the very beginning of the story, and the action of the drama covers Barnwell's first visit to Millwood's house, his unsuccessful attempt to break with the courtesan, his murder of his uncle, the exposure and capture of Barnwell and Millwood, the trial, and finally the summons to the gallows. *Miss Sara*

[1] V, ii, p. 58.
[2] V, iii, p. 59.
[3] V, x, p. 66.
[4] IV, xviii, p. 52.
[5] IV, xviii, p. 54.
[6] V, xi, p. 67.

[7] Though, as has been noted, *Miss Sara Sampson* has two complications, they are so closely interwoven that the action must be regarded as unified. Unity of action clearly was the author's aim.

[8] *Miss Sara Sampson* was an important factor in the emancipation of the German drama of Lessing's day from the restrictions of the French neo-classical theory of structure. On May 3, 1755, in the *Berlinische privilegirte Zeitung*, Lessing said sarcastically concerning Gottsched:

"Dieser berühmte Lehrer hat nun länger als zwanzig Jahr seinem lieben Deutschland die drey Einheiten vorgeprediget, und dennoch wagt man es auch hier, die Einheit des Orts recht mit Willen zu übertreten. Was soll daraus werden?" (*Lessing im Urtheile seiner Zeitgenossen* [ed., Julius W. Braun; Berlin, 1884], I, 51).

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Sampson, on the other hand, like *Caelia*, presents on the stage the incidents of only the last day, the previous events being imparted to the spectator through exposition. Consequently, as between *The London Merchant* and *Caelia*, the latter may be supposed to have exerted the greater influence on the structure of the German play.[1]

The only characteristics in which *The London Merchant* agrees closely with *Miss Sara Sampson* are in the didactic element, lachrymosity, and prose dialogue. These are found also in *Caelia*.

The didactic element is as prominent in *Caelia* as in *Miss Sara Sampson* and *The London Merchant*. Not only does the story itself impose a strong moral, but the characters moralize from beginning to end. Caelia's self-accusations are similar to Sara's; Bellamy's warnings to Wronglove are even more forceful than those of Norton to Mellefont. The tragedy ends with a definite statement of the moral, Meanwell saying:

> Alas! poor Lady! the Tumult of her Soul is done: Horror and Pain, Reproach, Anxiety, and Shame, are fled together. Blush, blush, ye Libertines; survey this dreadful Scene of Woe; and ask your Hearts, if poor unhappy Caelia deserv'd this Usage from the Man she lov'd. Cou'd you but feel a Father's Grief, wou'd you not think him wrong'd? He who pleads Custom, vicious Custom, for Crimes like these, renounces all Pretensions to Justice or Humanity.
>
> Then let this Story teach unbridled Youth,
> Honour can only be secur'd by Truth.

In the Preface to the published text is added: "If these Scenes shall have any Effect on the Morals of our Youth, and prove a Caution to the Young and Innocent of the Fair Sex, I shall think my self well rewarded." Wronglove, like Mellefont, dies repentant.

The play is full of pathos and emotionalism. This note is struck at the very beginning by Meanwell's sad announcement that Caelia's mother has died of a broken heart over the daughter's defection, is continued in the tearful scene between the girl and the old faithful servant and that between the latter and the father, and reaches its

[1] This paragraph is not intended to imply that Lessing's decision to disregard the rule of the unity of place in *Miss Sara Sampson* was due chiefly to *Caelia*. As has been noted, his knowledge of English drama, which rarely conformed to the classical theory of structure, was extensive. A play that may have been particularly important in causing him to break away from the strict observance of the three unities is *The Perjur'd Husband*, which is a source of *Miss Sara Sampson* and has approximately the same arrangement of the scenes in question.

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climax in the touching death scene of the last act. Caelia is a highly pathetic figure. Her waywardness, which is the cause of her misfortune, is excused on the ground of her ardent love for Wronglove and her childlike trust in him. As is shown by the author's own statement, pathos was one of his chief aims. In the Prologue he requests of the audience, "Encourage and reward him [i.e., the author] with your Tears." In the Preface to the printed edition he says that at the performance of the tragedy he had the pleasure of seeing many of the spectators "join with Caelia in her Tears." As stated in the Preface, his purpose in introducing the satirical brothel scene was "to raise the Distress of Caelia."

Caelia, as well as *The London Merchant*, is almost entirely in prose. The verse of the former consists of only the Prologue, the Epilogue, two songs, and eight lines at the ends of scenes; that of the latter of the Prologue, the Epilogue, and fifty-three lines of the play proper. *Miss Sara Sampson* goes a step farther than either of the English tragedies by omitting the verse altogether.

The London Merchant, then, cannot be said to have exerted much influence on *Miss Sara Sampson*. Lillo's play is merely one of a group of domestic tragedies which Lessing knew, and in its distinctive characteristics—the mercantile setting, the legalistic basis, and the religious coloring—it differs from the German production. Neither does its structure closely resemble that of *Miss Sara Sampson*. Even in the few features of type in which *The London Merchant* agrees with *Miss Sara Sampson* we should infer, unless a reason can be given to the contrary, that as between *The London Merchant* and *Caelia* the latter actually exerted the greater influence. The manner in which Lessing fitted details from *Caelia* into the plot derived from *The Squire of Alsatia* indicates that he knew Johnson's sentimental domestic tragedy very thoroughly and that he had it constantly before him during the composition of his own.

Moreover, the characteristics in which *The London Merchant* agrees with *Miss Sara Sampson* are common to many dramas and other literary writings with which Lessing was familiar. The didactic element had long been stressed in Germany, and Lessing himself had done considerable moralizing in *Damon* (1747), *Der Freigeist* (1749), *Die Juden* (1749), and *Henzi* (published 1753). Moreover, all three of

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the chief sources of *Miss Sara Sampson*—*Caelia, The Perjur'd Husband,* and *The Squire of Alsatia*—have an avowed moral purpose. Furthermore, Lessing early showed a tendency toward lachrymosity. Prose tragedy had been rather common in Germany in the seventeenth century, and had not entirely disappeared by the middle of the eighteenth. On January 31, 1754, Lessing had praised the use of the prose form in the tragedy *Emirene,* published in the *Hamburgische Beyträge* (1753).[1] In short, *Miss Sara Sampson* does not seem to have any important features that may properly be regarded as contributions of *The London Merchant.*[2]

Much of the historical importance, then, that has been assigned to *The London Merchant* belongs to *Caelia.* Probably no one would deny that, if the latter drama rather than the former was the model of *Miss Sara Sampson,* Johnson's play was a far more important factor than Lillo's in inaugurating the great vogue of domestic tragedy in Germany in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Seventeen actual imitations of *Miss Sara Sampson* between 1755 and 1777 are discussed by Sauer.[3] Lessing's own *Emilia Galotti* (1772), one of the famous tragedies of Germany, is in reality merely a maturer study of *Miss Sara Sampson,* a significant improvement being the elimination of the excessive moralizing and lachrymosity. Goethe, Schiller, and others continued the tradition of domestic tragedy. By such means the line of succession may be said to extend to Ibsen and through him to the modern social drama of various countries.

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[1] Lachmann-Muncker, V, 381.

The evidence for the unsupported statements made in this paragraph and in the next is presented in my dissertation.

[2] Even the indirect influence of *The London Merchant* upon *Miss Sara Sampson* through *Caelia, Clarissa,* and other literary works must have been very small. Lessing's play contains only one characteristic that was an innovation of Lillo as far as English drama is concerned, the exclusive or almost exclusive use of prose in tragedy; and this feature, as noted above, was not an innovation in Germany.

[3] August Sauer, "Joachim Wilhelm von Brawe der Schüler Lessings," *Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Culturgeschichte der germanischen Völker,* XXX, 81–110.

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THE FORTUNES AND MISFORTUNES OF *THREE HOURS AFTER MARRIAGE*

I

In view of the recent and natural revival of interest in the work of John Gay it seems worth while to give a more detailed account than has been available of what happened in 1717 when *Three Hours after Marriage* was produced. This is the more desirable because the wealth of material concerning the play illuminates theatrical customs of the time as well as the careers of Gay's famous collaborators, and also because the facts about the play—which is by no means so scurvy a performance as it is usually represented—were early falsified.[1] Some-

[1] For accepted eighteenth-century accounts see C. Cibber, *A Letter from Mr. Cibber to Mr. Pope* (1742), pp. 17–18; T. Cibber (and R. Shiels), *Lives of the Poets*, IV (1753), 257, V, 244–45; S. Johnson, *Lives of the Poets* (ed. Hill), II, 271; *Biographia Britannica*, V, 3415.

Earlier pamphlets, in part at least attacks on the play, have been noted as follows. The number of them makes *Three Hours* an important pre-Dunciad storm center.

1. The Drury Lane Monster. . . . . Printed for J. Roberts. Price, 2*d*.

Advertised in the *Post Boy* as published January 22, 1717.

2. A Satyr on the Present Times. Sold by J. Morphew. Price, 4*d*.

Advertised in the *Daily Courant* as published January 23, 1717. (This contains only an unfavorable allusion to the play.)

3. A Complete Key to the New Farce, call'd *Three Hours after Marriage*. By E. Parker, *Philomath*. Printed, and Sold by E. Berrington. Price, 6*d*.

Advertised in the *Post Boy* as published February 2, 1717.

4. *The Weekly Journal; or British Gazetteer*, February 9, 1717. This reprints a column of Dennis' abusive *Character of Mr. Pope*, which Parker (No. 3) had appended to his "Key."

5. A Letter to Mr. John Gay, concerning his late Farce, entituled, a comedy. Printed and sold by J. Roberts. 1717. Price, 6*d*.

Advertised in the *Evening Post* and the *Post Boy* just before March 1, 1717.

6. Leonard Welsted, Palaemon to Celia, at Bath; or the, Triumvirate. Sold by J. Roberts. . . . .

Advertised in the *Post Boy* as published March 7, 1717; the second edition is advertised for March 13.

7. Sir Richard Blackmore, Essays on Several Subjects. Vol. II. . . . . 1717. The essay on "Polite Writing" (pp. 269–70) attacks Pope, and the Preface attacks *Three Hours*. Advertised in the *Evening Post* as published March 26, 1717.

8. Joseph Gay [i.e., John Durant Breval], The Confederates, a Farce, 1717. Printed for R. Burleigh. Price, 1*s*.

Advertised in the *Evening Post*, March 30, 1717 as published that day.

9. Three Hours after Marriage, a comedy, by Gay, Pope, and Arbuthnot: To which is added, never before Printed, a key, explaining the most difficult passages in this comedy. Also a letter, giving an account of the origin of the quarrel between Colley Cibber, Pope, and Gay. Dublin: Printed for W. Whitestone, in Skinner-Row, 1761.

This "Key," of which I first learned through Professor Allardyce Nicoll (who has kindly allowed me the use of his copy), seems an authentic document composed in 1717. Possibly it

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times falsification was unintentional.[1] Although the aim of this study is to give a history of the stage fortunes of the play in 1717, a number of these "misconceptions" will receive especial attention in the course of our history. Among them are the common beliefs (1) that *Three Hours* satirized persons for whom at the time Pope professed friendship; (2) that the play was "damned" the first night; and (3) that its failure became the cause of Pope's dislike of players and especially of Cibber.[1]

II

What was there in this farce by Gay, Pope, and Arbuthnot that might evoke either approbation or dislike? We shall find it fundamentally absurd, of course; for Gay's sense of the comic usually played about the absurd. His Mohocks will not merely change clothes with the watch; they will drag the watch before the Justices and accuse them of being Mohocks. Peachum joins a kiss with a threat to cut Polly's throat. Achilles, the "slacker," will wear armor half-hidden under his female garb. Throughout Gay's career he is an artist in absurdity, and the fact that the English audience of his day were too sensible for farcical absurdity—preferring satirical comedy of manners—accounts for the difficulty Gay had in "putting over" his comic

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was not printed then because Parker's "Key" forestalled it. The "Letter," also anonymous, is supposedly by a woman who attended rehearsals and performances of the play in 1717; but it, in contrast to the "Key," relies for the most part on printed accounts of the play. It is a "Letter" organized to defend Cibber, and its vivid narrative of Gay's encounter with Cibber behind the scenes, obviously paralleling the story told by Cibber and here quoted (see *infra*, p. 107), seems somewhat unconvincing. The "Letter," however, makes no pretense of having been written early. It gives anecdotes regarding Pope's deathbed—which, again, seem doubtfully authentic.

Dennis' *Remarks upon Mr. Pope's Translation of Homer*, published February 28, 1717 (*Daily Courant* adv.) is not an avowed attack on *Three Hours*, but its publication is doubtless due to the satire on Dennis in that play. The dunces-to-be in any case averaged almost an attack a week for ten weeks after the play was first performed. Doubtless not all the attacks have been noted.

Other pamphlets, as follows, may attack the play. I have not seen them.

The Art of Bubbling Ladies. [Cf. *infra*, pp. 101, 103.]

Advertised as in press, p. 35 of "A Letter to Mr. John Gay."

A Walk from St. James's to Covent-Garden the back way through the Meuse. In imitation of Mr. Gay's Journey to Exeter: In a Letter to a Friend, with a Preface to the Critics. Printed for James Roberts.

Advertised, like the piece just above, p. 35 of the "Letter to Mr. John Gay"; and also in the *Post Boy* as published April 20, 1717.

An Essay on the Poets. Sold by J. Morphew.

Advertised in the *Daily Courant*, May 2, 1717, and the *Evening Post* for May 9.

[1] For these views see the Elwin-Courthope ed. of Pope's *Works*, III, 71n, 246, 258, 368; IV, 33; V, 126. The last belief is founded on Cibber's 1742 "Letter" to Pope, and is of course favored by friends of Cibber.

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devices. It is hard to believe that in 1717 *Three Hours* could be damned for the large amount of obscenity or the small amount of irreverence that it contained;[1] it might fail if the audience were prejudiced against it—for enjoyment of absurdity demands sympathy, or at least a holiday mood that implies abeyance of criticism. In this case, as we shall see, some of the audience would be predisposed to hostility because they expected personal satire on themselves.

The action of the play is episodic. Fossile, a quack doctor and the superannuated bridegroom of an unchaste bride, jealously adopts various expedients to keep gallants out of her presence. Finally Plotwell and Underplot, two players, get access to the house disguised, respectively, as a mummy and as a crocodile—both natural articles of furniture in the laboratory of a 1717 virtuoso. They are discovered and turned into the street, where the crocodile is mobbed and ultimately led away as a monster to Hockley in the Hole. A bastard of Mrs. Townley's is palmed off on Fossile, who, however, is finally freed from his bride by the fortunate return of a previous husband.

Plotwell first gets into Fossile's house by attending a reading of Phoebe Clinket's (the doctor's niece) latest play, of which he is to pretend to be the author since the theaters have a prejudice against Mrs. Clinket's work. The play is in part read—to the dissatisfaction of the players and the infuriation of Sir Tremendous [= Dennis]. Obviously there is little unity in this "plot," but it gives rise to many farcical situations, which Gay handles admirably. It is these, together with a deal of stage business, which one might think would have made the play attractive to such as were not friends of persons satirized in the play—or were not enemies of the three authors of the play.

While lack of sympathy for Gay's absurdities might cause contempt for such a drama, the element of satire would be more likely to arouse active hostility. One doubts, however, if there was much non-partisan disapproval of the satire. Of the men satirized Dr. Woodward (Fossile) and Dennis (Sir Tremendous) are the most

[1] This is not an arguable point. One must read the more obscene plays acted with success in 1717, and then after reading *Three Hours* form his personal opinion. Sir Richard Blackmore, who for years had played the Puritan (and who had recently been attacked by Gay for strictures on the *Tale of a Tub*), was offended by the play's obscenity, and he represents the offense as universal. (See his *Essays*, II (1717), xlvii–xlviii).

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notable.[1] Both of these men were popular butts, and the attacks on *Three Hours* do not find particular fault with our authors for manhandling these two. In fact, it must never be forgotten that the various explanations of the personal satire are attacks on the play, which seek rather to put the authors in a bad light than truly to explain the play.

That some such principle actuated these commentators will be evident if we consider their malicious explanations of the satire in the rôles of Mrs. Townley and Phoebe Clinket. Parker,[2] Breval,[3] and the author of the 1761 "Key"[4] indicate that Townley mimicked Mrs. Mead, wife of the well-known Dr. Mead. Any such mimicry must all lie in the acting; for there is nothing in the lines to distinguish Mrs. Townley from the ordinary stage belle of Covent Garden. Dr. Mead was a friend of Arbuthnot's, and later (if not already) he was Pope's friend and physician.[5] Mrs. Mead had been the Doctor's wife for almost twenty years, and was the mother of several children.[6] The only reason for this outrageous connection of her name with that of Mrs. Townley lies probably in the fact that the attacks on *Three Hours* were by friends of Woodward, who was professionally and personally hostile to Mead.[7] If Woodward was smirched, Mead through his wife should be smirched also. The assertions about Mrs. Mead might have embroiled Arbuthnot and Pope with her husband, but seem not to have done so. He did not think his friends likely to represent Mrs. Mead as a young woman of the town.

This bit of malice on the part of the enemies of the play has received little attention, but most writers on the subject have been content to repeat the almost equally unwarranted statement that Phoebe Clinket represents the Countess of Winchilsea. Here again the effort is to embroil friends; for Pope was known to be on good terms with the Countess. Parker says the rôle "is a very silly Imitation of *Bays* in the *Rehearsal*, but is design'd to ridicule the Countess of *W—n——ea.*"[8] Pope is cleverly made to seem authority for this; for the play

[1] Account of the satire on players, especially Cibber, will be taken later.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 5. [3] *Op. cit.*, pp. 14–15. [4] *Ibid.*, pp. 212–13.

[5] Elwin-Courthope ed. of Pope's *Works*, III, 172, 334; VIII, 167.

[6] See D.N.B. life of Mead.

[7] D.N.B., *s.v.* Woodward.

[8] *Op. cit.*, p. 5. Cf. the 1761 "Key," p. 213.

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shows Clinket preceded everywhere by a maid with a desk strapped to her back so that her mistress may write down any sudden inspiration, and Pope is quoted as saying that Lady Winchilsea for the same purpose had a standish in every room. We may be certain that if Pope ever made the remark—and he might have done so—he did not make it in connection with Phoebe Clinket, for Lady Winchilsea seems not to have been offended by the play. Pope was her guest at Eastwell[1] six months after *Three Hours* was acted; he printed commendatory verses by the Countess in his own *Works*, June, 1717, and in July, 1717, was allowed to include in the miscellany, *Poems on Several Occasions*, for which he was responsible, poems by her ladyship.[2]

If the commentators on the play had not wished to cause its authors trouble, they could very likely have suggested another prototype for the rôle of Clinket. This would be Mrs. Susannah Centlivre, whom Pope thought he had reason to attack, since he believed her the author of a ballad upon his Homer called *The Catholick Poet; or, Protestant Barnaby's Sorrowful Lamentation*.[3] Let us remember that Clinket aside from being the conventional maudlin poetess is further characterized as an inveterate writer for the stage who has trouble getting the managers to accept her work and who rages when they make "cuts." Also, as Fossile says: "Instead of puddings, she makes pastorals; or when she should be raising paste, is raising some ghost in a new tragedy."[4] These details (which hardly apply to a Countess) have point when we recall that M. Centlivre was one of George I's cooks,[5] and consequently his wife might be rallied as neglecting the culinary arts, and when we recall that there had been in 1709 difficulty over the presentation of the ghost scene in the fifth act of Mrs. Centlivre's comedy *The Man's Bewitch'd*.[6] There can be little doubt that

[1] Pope's *Works*, *ed. cit.*, VI, 248.

[2] See Dr. A. E. Case's "Some New Poems by Pope" in the *London Mercury*, X (1924), 514–23.

[3] Pope's *Works*, *ed. cit.*, IV, 159, 232, 338. The *Flying Post* advertises the ballad as published on May 31, 1716.

[4] *Three Hours*, Act I. The "new tragedy" may apply to the *Cruel Gift* by Mrs. Centlivre which was staged a month before *Three Hours*. The contents of the tragedy would not be known to our authors when their play was being written.

[5] Pope's *Works*, *ed. cit.*, X, 472. He was "Yeoman of the Mouth" to George I, and in 1724 was made Master Cook.

[6] It is worth noting also that Mrs. Centlivre's belief in a prejudice against even her successful plays goes as far back as 1707; for in the dedication to *The Platonick Lady* she talks quite as Phoebe Clinket was to talk ten years later: "A Play secretly introduc'd to

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the source of the Clinket "plot" in *Three Hours* is traceble to the *Tatler*, No. 91 (November 8, 1709), where Steele tells a story of Bavius, "an ingenious contemporary of mine who had writ several comedies which were rejected by the players." That this anecdote was pointed at Mrs. Centlivre is made probable by a parallel account in the *Female Tatler*, No. 69 (December 14, 1709), which praises *The Man's Bewitch'd* highly and tells of a visit made by Mrs. Centlivre to the Society of "Mrs. Crackenthorpe," the Female Tatler. The difficulties of Bavius in the *Tatler* and those of Phoebe Clinket in *Three Hours* are here presented as actual in the case of Mrs. Centlivre:

> The Society had the Curiosity of knowing the Nature of introducing a *Play* into the *House;* Mrs. *Centlivre* told 'em, that 'twas much easier to write a *Play* than to get it *Represented;* that their *Factions* and Divisions were so great, they seldom continued in the same mind two Hours together; that they treated her, (tho a Woman) in the *Masculine Gender;* and as they do all *Authors* with *Wrangling* and *Confusion*, which has made most Gentlemen that have a *Genius* to Scribbling, employ their Pens another way; that to show their Judgment in *Plays*, they had actually cut out the *Scene in the Fifth Act, between the Countryman and the Ghost*, which the *Audience* receiv'd with that wonderful Applause; and 'twas with very great strugling the Author prevail'd to have it in again; one made faces at his part, another was Witty upon her's: But as the whole was very well perform'd at last, she has Condescention to pass over the Affronts of a Set of People who have it not in their Natures to be grateful to their *Supporters*.

This complaint (which sounds much like Phoebe Clinket)[1] was naturally annoying to Mrs. Centlivre, especially as she was accused of writing it herself. When *The Man's Bewitch'd* was printed (1710), she had to defend herself in the Preface against the charge of attacking the managers and praising herself. She professes to have made willingly changes in the ghost scene suggested by Cibber, but admits that "when Mr. Estcourt sliced most of it out, I could not help interposing my desires to the Contrary." This episode in her life, with *Tatler*, No. 91, forms the probable source for the incident where Phoebe

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the House, whilst the Author remains unknown, is approv'd by every Body: The Actors cry it up, and are in expectation of a great Run. . . . . But if by chance the Plot's discover'd, and the Brat found Fatherless, immediately it flags in the Opinion of those that extoll'd it before . . . . with this Reason only, *It is a Woman's.*" Cf. *Three Hours*, 1717, pp. 51, 76–77, for parallels to this passage in the lines of Mrs. Clinket.

[1] See *infra*, pp. 104–5.

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Clinket so vehemently 'interposes her desires' to save her play from excisions.[1]

There are, then, several good reasons for connecting Mrs. Centlivre with Phoebe Clinket, and few or none outside the malicious assertions of Pope's enemies for connecting Lady Winchilsea with the rôle. It is noteworthy that upon such unfounded statements as those of these critics of *Three Hours* was built the tradition of Pope's supposed treachery to his friends. The malice of his enemies succeeded—not with the Countess or with Dr. Mead or Pope's other intimates, but with the general public who did not know him personally.[2]

III

It will surprise those who imagine that *Three Hours* was damned at its first performance to know that the play had, beginning January 16, 1717, a run of seven consecutive performances in Drury Lane. Other plays in that theater during the season of 1716–17 were acted more times, but none had more than six consecutive performances.[3] The play was published on Monday, January 21, 1717,[4] and in his "Advertisement"[5] Gay says:

> I must farther own the Assistance I have receiv'd in this Piece from two of my Friends; who, tho' they will not allow me the Honour of having their Names join'd with mine, cannot deprive me of the Pleasure of making this Acknowledgment.

This must have been written before Gay realized how "damned" his play was—and written without any thought of the embarrassment it was to cause Pope. Similarly when Arbuthnot and Pope went[6]—if they did go—to Lintot's shop on the day of publication to see how

[1] *Three Hours* (1717), pp. 21–24.

[2] In the Wrenn Library, according to Professor Griffith, there is a copy of *Three Hours* with a MS note by Col. F. Grant, dated August 8, 1878: "Phoebe Clinkett was supposed to be Mrs. Centlivre." The basis of Col. Grant's note is unknown to the present writer.

[3] Using the data found in advertisements of the *Daily Courant* from October 1716 to July 1717, which will naturally agree with the facts found in Allardyce Nicoll's *History of Early Eighteenth Century Drama*, one finds that Mrs. Centlivre's "new tragedy," *The Cruel Gift*, and a revival of Rowe's *Tamerlane* each ran for six consecutive performances. *Tamerlane* was played eleven times during the season; *Henry VIII* ten times (non-consecutive), while *The Rehearsal*, *The Cruel Gift*, and *Three Hours* each had seven performances. At Lincoln's Inn Fields there were longer runs for three or four plays—the longest, Taverner's *Artful Husband*, having fifteen non-consecutive performances.

[4] See *Daily Courant* for the day.

[5] Third leaf, unnumbered.

[6] Parker, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

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the play was selling, they obviously were unconscious that the act would subject them to ridicule—they too were unconscious how "damned" the play was.

Other bits of evidence proving that the play was not immediately regarded as a failure may be found in the attacks on it. *The Drury Lane Monster*, a broadside composed apparently the day before it was published,[1] speaks of the play as "For five Days together, the Talk of the Town." This at least indicates notoriety: something better is possibly implied by the author of *A Letter to Mr. John Gay* (published about March 1, 1717), who complains that the play is aided by "the Interest of your Two *Friends in the Dark*," i.e., Pope and Arbuthnot. He continues: "The Audience are much to blame for their Tameness, in suffering their Judgment to be over-ruled by a blind Partiality to any private Recommendation. Never before now, was the Sense of *one* or *two* Persons made the Standard of the Taste of Mankind,"[2] etc. The audience seems to be getting respectful. The following lines of *A Satyr on the Present Times*[3] are also interesting on this point:

> The *Cruel Gift* has won the Town's applause,
> But we are always pleas'd without a Cause;
> We know no Reason A——n goes down,
> Or P—e, or R—e should bear away the Crown.
> Why J——n durst a motly Drama bring,
> A Farce, a Play, a Pyrate and a King.

The blanks are easily filled in: A——n is Addison, whose *Drummer* had failed in 1716 with three performances. (No reference ascribing the play to Addison as early as 1717 has, I think, hitherto been pointed out.) Pope and Rowe are mentioned as bearing away the Crown with *Three Hours* and *Tamerlane*. Johnson's *Successful Pyrate*, or possibly his new play, yet unacted, *The Sultaness*, is the last play alluded to. This satire was possibly sent to press before *Three Hours* was acted, in which case it is mere prophecy. If written after the first night it shows no consciousness that the play was failing. There is evidence, then, in the seven performances, in Gay's "Advertisement," and in the various other documents quoted that the play was not at first recognized as a failure.

[1] Advertised in the *Post Boy* as published January 22, 1717.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

[3] Published January 23, 1717 (*Daily Courant*).

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But after the seventh performance the play was dropped. The problem is, Why if it could make a season's record for consecutive performances was it totally dropped at the end of a week? The enemies of the play would have us believe its failure due to obscenity, profanity, satirical personalities, or the absurdities of the plot. Pope,[1] on the other hand, would have us believe that the opposition to the play was due to "a tide of malice and party, that certain authors have raised against it." If we examine in detail the history of the play's reception we shall probably see that while both sides have something of truth in their opinions, Pope's view is more nearly in accord with the facts. The basic hypothesis of this study is that the prejudice of the wits at Button's made it impossible for them to enjoy the absurdities of the play, and that they drew many spectators to their contemptuous attitude. Above all, they could not swallow (if one may say so) the mummy and the crocodile.

Pope had been in trouble with the wits at Button's since he had criticized the pastorals of Philips in the *Guardian*, No. 40, and especially since the episode of Tickell's *Iliad I* in 1715. He had been the object of repeated attack, but apparently had not replied until early in 1716 when Curll got hold of a poem, which he printed as *The Worms. A Satyr, Written by Mr. Pope.* This squib likened all mankind to worms, and concluded,

> Even Button's wits to worms shall turn,
> Who maggots were before.[2]

This attack seemed harmless enough, and a month after it appeared we find young Tom Burnet writing in a letter dated June 1, 1716, "Addison & the rest of the Rhiming Gang have dropt their Resentment against the *Lordlike Man*," i.e., against Pope.[3] But even after that Pope was attacked by Dennis; and Gay for Swift's sake attacked Blackmore.[4] One can consequently imagine the stir at Button's in January 1717 when the report was current, as Burnet wrote Duckett on January 6, that "Pope is coming out with a Play, in which every one of our modern Poets are ridiculed."[5] This report, however

[1] *Works, ed. cit.*, VII, 464. Cf. Spence's *Anecdotes*, p. 202. [2] *Works, ed. cit.*, IV, 485.

[3] British Museum Add. MSS 36772, fol. 121; edited for the Roxburghe Club in *The Letters of Thomas Burnet to George Duckett*. Edited by David Nichol Smith (1914), p. 99.

[4] Pope's *Works, ed. cit.*, VIII, 22.

[5] Add. MSS 36772, fol. 138v. Edition of Nichol Smith, pp. 119–20.

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mistaken, would certainly be enough to arouse "malice and party" to make a demonstration on the first night of the play. The very exaggeration of Burnet's gossip (for Dennis, Cibber, and Mrs. Centlivre are the only literary personages attacked) indicates a desire to work up excitement—to which young Tom was never averse! We are fortunate in having accounts which purport to tell what happened during the play's various performances, and these accounts must be examined as final evidence of cabal on the part of the audience or ineptitude on the part of the authors. Meanwhile the display of theatrical *moeurs* will be spectacular.

The most detailed account of what happened on the first night comes to us from Breval's "farce" in rime, *The Confederates*. Breval represents Gay as coming to the Rose Tavern after the performance to report the event to Pope and Arbuthnot. Incidentally we may note that Breval is inclined to give Pope a major responsibility for the piece.[1] Breval's account of the first performance, which he puts into the mouth of Gay, is interesting because it implies that the hissing started early during the performance and in the pit; it is clear that in the boxes there were active partisans of the play. The account is as follows:

So vast a Throng took up the spacious Round,
Scarce for a Mouse or You*, had Room been found; *To Pope.
Heroes and Templers here were mix'd with Wits,
There Bawds and Strumpets, with a Group of Cits:
Rang'd in each Box were seen th'Angelick Fair;
Whose Footmen had since *Two* been posted there.
Round me I gaz'd with Wonder and Delight,
And wish'd that this had been the *Poet's Night.*

Ar. It promis'd well.
G. It did; but mark the End;
What boots a *Croud*, unless that *Croud's* your Friend?
The *Prologue* finish'd, in the (a)Doctor came, (a) Fossile
And with him, Hand in Hand, (b)th'Intriguing Dame. (b) Mrs. Townley
Silent a while th'attentive *Many* sate,
The Men were hush'd, the Women ceas'd their Chat;
But soon a Murmur in the Pit began,
And thence all round the *Theatre* it ran;
The Noise increasing as along it mov'd,

[1] *The Confederates*, pp. 2–5.

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Grew loud at last, and to a *Hiss* improv'd.
Nor Wit, nor Humour, could their Rage appease,
Clinket and *Plotwell* strove in vain to please;
Each smutty Phrase, and every cutting Line,
Was thrown away, and lost, like Pearls on Swine:
Some Females only (to the good old Cause
True Friends, I (a)ween) gave tokens of Applause.
(a) A Word much us'd by Mr. Gay, in his Shepherd's Week.

Disheartened, according to Breval, by this news of failure, the "confederates" decide to pack the house ("It is well known they did so," he notes); but first they find they must quell rebellion in the cast, for the players refuse to repeat their experience of insult. Mrs. Bicknell and Mrs. Oldfield demand a "present" from the authors if they are to go on. Cibber, similarly, agrees to re-enact the mummy only upon Pope's promise to revise for printing the "obnubilated" diction of *The Heroick Daughter*. When Cibber is gone, Pope is made to avow the insincerity of his promise: Of course he won't revise the play.[1] The guineas to buy up Oldfield and Bicknell seem not forthcoming, for Lintot when approached announces that he has already lost enough on the confederates' works. To Pope regarding his Homer, Lintot is made to say what was quite contrary to the fact:

> Thou little dream'st what Crowds I daily see,
> That call for TICKELL, and that spurn at thee.[2]

Suddenly, however, a footman with a purse appears and says he comes from

> three Ladies known full well;
> Their Names are G——n, B——ne, L—p—l;
> This Purse of Gold, and Letter, Sir, they send.[3]

This *deus ex machina* enables the three authors to bribe the actresses, and thus, Breval would have us think, the play kept going.

But what are we to think? Breval's "poem" seems a well-fused mixture of prejudice and fact. We might expect him to depict more violently the opposition to the first performance; yet it is certain that there was a demonstration against the play. The author of the 1761 "Key" says: "I went to the Theatre the first night, but could not find

[1] It was finally published in 1719 with a warm dedication to Steele. Did he finally make the desired revision of the style? "Obnubilated" is Parker's (*Complete Key*) borrowing of Gay's word.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 32. [3] *Op. cit.*, p. 34.

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the least room; every door that was opened to me, diffus'd more heat than a baker's oven, or the mouth of a glass-house."[1] The next evening with difficulty he found a place; and his superior rhetoric paints for us the second night as Breval probably should have described the first:

> Wilks spoke the prologue with his usual vivacity and applause! but he had no sooner ended, and thrown the fool's cap on the stage but the storm began, and the criticks musick of cat-calls join'd in the chorus.—The play was acted like a ship tost in a tempest; yet notwithstanding, through those clouds of confusion and uproar, I, as one of the neutral powers, could discover a great many passages that gave me much satisfaction; and while the inimitable Oldfield was speaking the epilogue . . . . the storm subsided—And to speak poetically, my friend—
>
> The billows seem'd to slumber on the shore.
>
> But when the play was given out for the third night, (Tho' the benefit of the author was not mention'd) the roar burst out again, like sudden thunder from two meeting clouds; but I with pleasure observ'd, the roar of applause overcame and triumph'd.
>
> I went a third night to the pit, where I saw the comedy perform'd to a numerous and polite audience with general applause.[2]

The author of the "Letter" appended to the Dublin, 1761, edition of the play gives an account of an amusing accident on the fourth night.[3] Pinkethman, who enacted the crocodile, "boasting much in the beauty of his long tale," clumsily turned and with the aforesaid tail knocked Sarsnet, Mrs. Townley's confidante, flat on the stage, "where she discovered more linnen than other habiliments, and, more skin and flesh than linnen; this began the first uproar in the audience." This event must have been near the end of the play, but "Pinky" had a further chance to upset the performance by falling backward into the mummy case, where he found himself so firmly wedged that the stage carpenters had to work for half an hour to get him out again. On the next night some of the audience called for a repetition of this horseplay.

We have, then, accounts of serious disorder during the first two performances of the play and of disorder apparently due to cabal. There is evidence of increasing kindliness of the audience on the third night—in fact, "Pinky's" mishaps on the fourth night are the only untoward episodes so far as we know during the last five performances.

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 210. [2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 210–11. [3] *Ibid.*, pp. 221–22.

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Was the play "picking up" on its own merits or were the houses packed?

This question brings us back to the "three ladies known full well" and to their purse. Breval's story is substantially found in Parker's "Key" where we are told that Gay "modestly gives out that . . . . the very *Ladies of Honour* rais'd him Four Hundred Guineas"[1] because of the play's merits. Breval is sufficiently explicit with regard to their names, which possibly he took from Pope's *Court Ballad* (published two weeks after *Three Hours* was first acted), and which were Griffin, Bellendene, and Lepell. The *Court Ballad*, then, becomes a lively expression of avowed intimacy and of covert gratitude for patronage of Gay when in difficulties. Pope long remembered the favor, and he complicates the story in a couplet written twenty years later. It is a couplet which, having provoked the *ne plus ultra* of Warburtonian annotation,[2] has proved a stumbling block to all editors since. It is found in the *Sixth Epistle of the First Book of Horace Imitated by Mr. Pope* (1738), where Pope writes of a strangely prodigal Timon, who

> if three ladies like a luckless Play,
> Takes the whole House upon the Poet's Day.[3]

This can hardly be an allusion to anything except the "three ladies known full well" who liked the luckless play of *Three Hours after Marriage*.

There is further obscurity on a small point important in our attempt to discover how the play kept alive. Breval represents the three ladies as sending their purse just after the first performance; i.e., on January 16. This seems plausible from the fact that Pope's exuberant *Court Ballad* bears internal evidence of composition on or before January 19. The last stanza begins most aptly:

> And thus, fair maids, my ballad ends;
> God send the king safe landing. . . . .

The king landed January 19;[4] hence one assumes the gift to Gay was made not later than the 19th. On the other hand, the author's benefit for *Three Hours* is not advertised until the sixth night, January 22.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 13. [2] Pope's *Works*, *ed. cit.*, III, 323. [3] *Ibid.*, ll. 87–88.

[4] For the typically Hanoverian demonstration of the Roebuck Society on this occasion, see *The St. James's Evening Post*, January 22, 1717.

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The last performance of the play was the 23d; and if Timon's gift came on the 22d, it hardly served to keep the play alive. It was, however, the practically invariable custom that the third night be for the author; hence Timon's generosity may have come (especially in view of the mention of the king's landing in Pope's *Ballad*) for the third day. In that case it may have helped keep the play alive. But, in that case, Gay had two benefit nights, a fact which would suggest that no financial difficulties attended the run of seven nights. It is also true that a present for the third night, while possibly useful, would hardly serve alone to keep a play going four nights more.

IV

A most important reason why *Three Hours* was dropped definitively after a record run to large houses lies in the fact that the play satirized not merely Dennis and Dr. Woodward, but also Cibber and the players. This seems impossible at first sight, for Cibber as Plotwell had the biggest rôle in the play. Plotwell appeared first as a playwright, next disguised as Dr. Lubomirski of Cracow, and lastly as the almost triumphant mummy. The rôle is so varied and the situations so entirely farcical that it probably never occurred to Cibber that the absurd remarks of Clinket to the playwright Plotwell might have a cutting edge. Cibber, like the fops he "created," was slow to take offense at perceiving himself a butt, yet the appreciation of the audience at various points must by the end of seven performances have convinced him that in Plotwell he was himself the object of satire.[1] Clinket reproves him: "You are never to perplex the *Drama* with Speeches *Extempore*," and he is made to reply: "Madam, 'tis what the top-Players often do."[2] Just afterward when Clinket is urging Plotwell to pretend to be the author of her play, she makes a speech (echoing Mrs. Centlivre) that many a discouraged playwright in the pit would applaud: "Your [Cibber's!] personating the Author will in-

[1] Parker in his "Key" (p. 8; cf. p. 20) explicitly states that remarks here are "levell'd at Cibber and the satire bites. . . . ." The 1761 "Key" says nothing about satire on Cibber, but says that the two players mean Wilkes and Booth (*ibid.*, p. 212). This comes to the same thing if we remember that Wilkes, Cibber, and Booth were managers of Drury Lane, and that the satire is aimed at their choice of new plays. The "Letter" appended to the 1761 edition of *Three Hours* represents the three authors as most friendly with Cibber during rehearsals, but such friendliness would be sheer necessity at such a crisis for any playwright.

[2] *Three Hours*, 1717, p. 16.

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fallibly introduce my Play on the Stage, and spite of their Prejudice, make the Theatre ring with Applause, and teach even that injudicious *Canaille* [the Managers] to know their own Interest."[1] In the same scene Clinket levels at Plotwell the remark that "a Parrot and a Player can utter human Sounds, but neither of them are allow'd to be Judges of Wit." Another fierce cut comes when Sir Tremendous [Dennis] takes occasion to say of Plotwell: "Between you and I Madam, who understand better things, this Gentleman [Plotwell-Cibber] knows nothing of Poetry." And a player agrees: "The Gentleman may be an honest Man, but he is a damn'd Writer." Could Pope have revised the "poetry" of *The Heroick Daughter* after that? It is evident that satire on players flowed readily from the pens of our authors before the episode behind the scenes in Drury Lane which hitherto has been thought the cause of Pope's dislike of players.[2]

For various reasons, then, *Three Hours after Marriage* was withdrawn from the stage. The wits at Button's did not like the play because they did not like the authors. Friends of Woodward and Dennis did not like it. The Maids of Honour to the Princess of Wales did like it, and so did others also. Cibber, we may conclude, finally grew hostile to the play; for he not merely dropped it; but in a revival of *The Rehearsal*[3] satirized the episode of the mummy and the crocodile, which to the public had become the crowning and impossible absurdity of the piece. Cibber's account of the circumstance is well known. It occurs in his *Letter from Mr. Cibber to Mr. Pope* (1742):

I, Mr. *Bays*, when the two Kings of *Brentford* came from the Clouds into the Throne again, instead of what my Part directed me to say, made use of these Words, viz. "Now, Sir, this Revolution, I had some Thoughts of introducing, by a quite different Contrivance; but my Design taking air, some of

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

[2] Genest (*Some Account of the English Stage*, II, 595) is almost the only person to have stressed properly the fact that *Three Hours* attacks Cibber and his management. With regard to Pope's dislike of players it ought further to be said that this enmity has been exaggerated. A study of *Alexander Pope and the Theatre* by J. R. L. Johnson (unpublished; in the University of Chicago library) shows that throughout his career Pope was revising plays and recommending them to the theaters. Such plays by Hill, Mallet, and Thomson were staged after 1717 in Drury Lane. Pope's attacks on Cibber are less scathing than Cibber had got from Fielding and from many anonymous journalists for years before he was crowned King of the Dunces. That coronation was in part due to the fact that Cibber was a popular butt—and to the fact that the preferment of Theobald to the place had not proved particularly popular.

[3] First revived on February 7, 1717.

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your sharp Wits, I found, had made use of it before me; otherwise I intended to have stolen one of them in, in the Shape of a *Mummy*, and t'other, in that of a *Crocodile*." Upon which, I doubt, the Audience by the Roar of their Applause shew'd their proportionable Contempt of the Play they belong'd to. . . . . But this, it seems, was so heinously taken by Mr. *Pope*, that, in the swelling of his Heart, after the Play was over, he came behind the Scenes, with his Lips pale and his Voice trembling, to call me to account for the Insult: And accordingly fell upon me with all the foul Language, that a Wit out of his Senses could be capable of—How durst I have the Impudence to treat any Gentleman in that manner? &c, &c. . . . . When he was almost choked with the foam of his Passion, I was enough recover'd from my Amazement to make him (as near as I can remember) this Reply, *viz.* "Mr. *Pope*— You are so particular a Man, that I must be asham'd to return your Language as I ought to do: but since you have attacked me in so monstrous a Manner; This you may depend upon, that as long as the Play continues to be acted, I will never fail to repeat the same Words over and over again."[1]

This is the story which was told by Cibber long after the event, and which has been generally accepted as fact. It was picturesque, and it revealed Pope in the irritable rôle for which his enemies were casting him. And it was an easy explanation of the 1743 *Dunciad*. It is almost the only anecdote in which Pope appears as altogether without self-control. From this fact (if the anecdote is fact) as well as from the fact that the *Rehearsal*, as revived this year, was one of the most popular offerings of the season,[2] one suspects that Cibber has minimized the use made of the now-notorious *Three Hours* in his revival. But shall we accept Cibber's story? There can be no doubt that he struck back at his playwrights in *The Rehearsal*, but the story of Pope behind the scenes (told twenty-five years after the fact) is not at all the story told by the enemies of *Three Hours* in 1717. The attacks of these enemies were largely aimed at Pope, and if Pope actually went behind the scenes to threaten Cibber, it is strange that the authors of *A Letter to Mr. John Gay* (*ca.* March 1, 1717) and of *The Confederates* (March 30, 1717) should omit it. What they give us is a quite different tale of how John Gay went behind the scenes, at Pope's instigation, and "like a boxing bard" gave Cibber physical chastisement. "Cibber," says the author of the *Letter*,[3] "may tell the rest with sorrow." Breval appends to his *Confederates* "A Congratulatory Poem;

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 18–19.

[2] Played February 7, 8, 9, 20, 23; March 21, 28 (*Daily Courant*).

[3] Dedication (unnumbered).

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Inscrib'd to Mr. Gay, on his valour and success behind Drury-Lane Scenes."[1] Gay is here classed among those bards who

> dare, to show that they're stout-hearted,
> Draw Sword, when certain to be parted.

Pope and he, like "a lame man and a blind" club their talents:

> So these our worthy Bards accord,
> Pope finds the Pen, and Gay the Sword;
> And may for Satire, and for Courage,
> B'esteem'd the Champions of our Age.

It may be urged that Pope and Gay may have gone behind the scenes on different occasions—the one to scold, the other to "box." That is the view taken by the author of the "Letter" in the Dublin, 1761, edition of *Three Hours*, who, however, incidentally tells us that "Mr. Pope's apparition to Mr. Cibber on this occasion was known to very few, but this of Mr. Gay was the common town and table-talk for some time."[2] Having come so far in our story, we must conclude that in 1717 gossip had wings. Had anyone in 1717 known of Pope's "apparition" to Cibber, the two narrators of the Gay-Cibber fight, both eager for material against Pope, would have mentioned it. They merely give Pope the task of urging Gay on and waiting safely at the club for his return from the battle. The natural conclusion is that Cibber, remembering with sorrow twenty-five years later, chose to remake the story into a version more creditable to himself and more applicable to a quarrel with Pope. The picturesque episode which he narrates, and which has hitherto done such service in explaining the *Dunciad*, must be suspected.

In any case the episode has been given undue emphasis by Cibber, for the satire on players contained in *Three Hours* shows that before this battle behind the scenes, Pope and Gay shared the widespread contempt felt for Cibber in any rôle but that of a stage fop. It was this satire on players in *Three Hours* that provoked Cibber to retaliate in *The Rehearsal*, and by the withdrawal of *Three Hours* from the stage our authors were probably encouraged to be more outspoken in their contempt than were writers of less assured reputations.

[1] Pp. 39–40.

[2] Pp. 218–19. The woman who writes this "Letter" gives a very detailed account of the scuffle, but either she was not skilful in describing such a fight or else was not (as she pretends) an eye witness. She is a partisan of Cibber; and her unconvincing details are too vivid for a pen writing probably at least thirty years after the event.

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It is curious how attacks on *Three Hours* persisted even after the play was withdrawn. Aside from the half-dozen pamphlets—the most interesting of which (*The Confederates*) came out over two months after the demise of the play—and aside from the quips in *The Rehearsal*, there were other interesting echoes in the theaters. At Drury Lane, April 2, was staged an after-piece (a dance?) called *The Shipwreck; or, Perseus and Andromeda.* Weaver was Perseus; Mrs. Bicknell (who had been Clinket) was Andromeda; and the Monster, enacted by Wade, was our old friend the crocodile—who had a busy season in 1717. The dance was performed at least four times.[1]

The other house, not to be outdone, on April 29 staged "a new dramatic entertainment of dancing, in grotesque characters" called *The Jealous Doctor; or, The Intriguing Dame.* The cast according to the *Daily Courant* was as follows:

Fossile.....Punch (Mr. Shaw?)
Plotwell.....Scaramouch (Mr. Thurmond?)
Underplot.....Harlequin (Mr. Lun?)
Ptisan.....Piero (Mr. Griffin?)
Mrs. Townley.....Columbine (Miss Schooling)

This dance had at least six performances during the season.[2] A further echo is found in the Prologue to Charles Johnson's *Sultaness.*[3] The Prologue to *Three Hours* had slurred dramatic translators. It had also protested that the play's satire was general, and it had thrown on the stage a fool's cap with the words: "Let him that takes it, wear it for his own." Johnson, who was of the wits at Button's—'famous for writing a play a year and for being at Button's Coffee-house every day in the year'[4]—made a reply to this Prologue at the end of his own. He avowed taking his play from Racine, and concluded his prologue as follows:

At least, 'tis hop'd, he'll meet a kinder Fate,
Who strives some *Standard* Author to translate,
Than they, who give you, without once repenting,
Long-labour'd Nonsense of their own inventing.
Such Wags have been, who boldly durst adventure

[1] Advertised in the *Daily Courant* as performed April 2, 6, 9, and 13.
[2] *Daily Courant*, April 29, 1717; May 1, 3, 4, 7, 21.
[3] Acted at Drury Lane, February 25–28, 1717 (see *Daily Courant* for those days).
[4] *Characters of the Times*, 1728, p. 19; cf. *Dunciad*, 1729, p. 83n.

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To Club a Farce by Tripartite-Indenture:
But, let them share their Dividend of Praise,
And their own *Fools Cap* wear, instead of Bays.

These echoes gradually died away leaving no added good-feeling between the collaborators and the wits at Button's. The attacks on Pope in connection with a play which was only in part his were too violent for anyone to forgive.[1] It was probably two or three years later that he began work on his *Progress of Dulness* which was destined—when Theobald's kingship became appropriate—to become the *Dunciad*. The enmity toward Cibber was not keen enough to give the satire life in 1720, though possibly—not probably—he may have been in the first forms of the poem the heir of Settle. That we do not know. We may safely conclude from the facts which we do know, that prejudice among the spectators, satire on Cibber, and the absurdity of the situations worked together for the ruin of *Three Hours after Marriage*, although it had (supported by its merit or by a present from "Timon" or the three ladies) a respectable number of performances. As to the attitude of the writers toward Cibber, it seems evident that it was formed before the play was written and was, consequently, a reflection of the general contempt men of brains felt toward the creator of stage fops rather than a reflection of private animosity. The treatment of Cibber in Pope's works does not warrant us in believing that much before 1742 private considerations[2] colored this contempt.

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[1] No attempt is here made to determine the parts each author invented or wrote. It is a doubtfully fruitful field for discussion. Pretty certainly Pope got most of the blame. One "dunce" (Gerard, *Epistle to the egregious Mr. Pope*, 1734, p. 12) echoes a common and prejudiced view:

The Grain of *Wit* was *Gay's*, the Mass of Scandal thine.

The violence of these 1717 attacks may be judged by the following:

No far-fetch'd Mummies on this Stage appear,
Nor Snake, nor Shark, nor Crocodile is here;
But, One Strange Monster we design to show,
(His Fellow you ne'er saw in Channel-Row)
On whom Dame Nature nothing good bestow'd,
In Form, a Monkey; but for Spite, a Toad.
Prologue to Breval's *Confederates*

The "Character of Mr. Pope" as depicted by Dennis in 1716 was appended to Parker's *Complete Key*, and, on February 9, 1717, was in part reprinted by *The Weekly Journal: or British Gazetteer*. The excerpt begins with "Mr. Pope is one whom God and Nature have mark'd for want of Common Honesty, and his own Contemptible Rhimes for want of Common Sense. . . . ."

[2] Cibber's retort on the *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot*, l. 97, found in his *Letter . . . . to Mr. Pope*, 1742, pp. 46–49, would arouse extreme animosity, but Pope had probably chosen Cibber as Theobald's successor before this *Letter* appeared.

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DOCUMENTS AND RECORDS

During their recent visit to European libraries Professors Manly and Rickert obtained photostats and abstracts of documents and records which they believe will be of interest to other scholars. They purpose to publish these with a minimum of discussion.

The first document to be presented is too extensive to be printed in full, but its interest for students of Chaucer and of fourteenth-century England seems to justify a larger amount of explanation and comment than will perhaps often be necessary. It was discovered by Dr. Hubert Hall, formerly of the Public Record Office in London, who, although he recognized its great value for economic history, generously insisted upon placing it at the disposal of Professors Manly and Rickert.

Other members of the departments of modern languages have promised materials from their respective fields. The editors of *Modern Philology* invite the co-operation of scholars everywhere in making this new department interesting and valuable.

EXTRACTS FROM A FOURTEENTH-CENTURY ACCOUNT BOOK

The document designated as E 101 509/19 in the Public Record Office of London seems to be the only one of its kind thus far discovered in that vast collection of incompletely calendared records. It is a book containing in its present form forty-seven folios[1] in which a merchant kept account of his financial affairs between 1390 and 1395. Most of these are given under a heading for the year and month, but at the beginning there is a long list of debts carried over from 46 Edward III (1372) preceded by a memorandum which explains that they have been transcribed from another book:

Anno xlvj° mens*is* Jul*ij*
Ces sont lez dett*ours* de Gybon Maufeld *trans*[c]riptz
del noir pap*er* com piert p*ar* le dit pap*er* p*ar* nombr[er] ie
dez foill[es] ap*res* escritz depuis le viij i*our* de Ju*yl* l*an* susdit
fol ij Sire Robert Crull.....iij li. sol[2]

[1] On f. xxxixb there is a reference to f. xlix.

[2] f.1a. Here and throughout final flourishes, which are demonstrably meaningless, are ignored.

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There follows a list of about eighty debtors with the sums they owed, many of the entries being canceled.

The name at the head of the list—Sir Robert Crull—is that of the newly appointed treasurer of Ireland to whom on May 9, 1386, Chaucer assigned almost two-thirds (4*l.* out of 6*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.*) of the money paid on his annuity.[1] This entry at once suggests the Chaucerian interest of the work.

Actually, the book is of interest to students of fourteenth-century literature in several definite ways: (1) It illustrates the life and business of a great London merchant of the type described in Chaucer's *Prologue;* (2) it contains many entries that concern the court and city circles in which Chaucer moved, including one item hitherto unknown about the poet himself; (3) it furnishes considerable material for the better understanding of life in fourteenth-century London; (4) although written in French, it contains a number of English words antedating the quotations in the *New English Dictionary;* and (5) it affords an excellent example of a personal letter in French and the fragments of another in English, which must be reckoned among the oldest known of their kind. Pending the publication of the manuscript as a whole, the following extracts have been chosen as of special interest.

Concerning the owner of the book, who gives his name—Gilbert Maghfeld —in the memorandum quoted above, there is enough information in the various types of public records to write a short biography. Here only enough will be given to explain the entries in the book.

The first notice of him found thus far shows him as agent in Dantzic for a London merchant in 1367.[2] He is last mentioned apparently as if still alive in the Patent Rolls on August 10, 1397,[3] and he is described as "late citizen," May 24, 1398.[4]

His career is perhaps comparable to those of the better-known Walworth, Philpot, and Brembre, with each of whom he was, in widely different ways, associated. He was a neighbor of the Walworths in Billingsgate;[5] like Philpot in 1377, in 1383 he and his partner, Robert Parys, with two "mariners," undertook the keeping of the sea;[6] and when Brembre's enemies in 1388 succeeded in bringing him to the scaffold, Maghfeld obtained some of his forfeited estates.[7] What was meant by "keeping the sea" is made clearer by the payment to the four men, which was 2,500 marks, plus the 6*d.* in the pound and 2*s.* a tun granted to the King by Parliament (except certain sums taken at Dover) and half of the fines collected for non-payment. The patrol district was from Berwick-on-Tweed to Winchelsea, including, it is to be supposed,

[1] *Life Records*, IV, 258.

[2] R. R. Sharpe, *Cal. of Letters of the Mayor and Corporation . . . . of London* (1855), pp. 154 f.

[3] *C.P.R.* (1396–99), p. 207.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 348.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 354, 358.

[6] *Ibid.* (1381–85), p. 278.

[7] *Ibid.* (1391–96), p. 690, and cf. *ibid.* (1388–92), p. 379.

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London. As controller of the customs on which these sums were collected, Chaucer certainly came into contact with Maghfeld at this time.

With the transfer of the staple to Middelburg early in 1384 there came a different arrangement;[1] but Maghfeld was in 1386 given the important office of customer in the port of Boston,[2] and in 1388 he and Hugh Sprot were appointed customers in London.[3] They were still in office in 1391 when Chaucer as clerk of the works was allowed to draw upon the customs returns for 29*l.* 18*d.*[4]

Maghfeld was several times elected alderman, and in 1392 served as sheriff under circumstances of dramatic interest, discussion of which in connection with the account book must be reserved until later.

His wealth also will be discussed later. Here it is perhaps enough to say that as early as 1377 he was one of many rich men who contributed five marks to the King;[5] but in December, 1394, as his account book shows, he advanced fifty pounds toward the King's expedition to Ireland.[6] Moreover, he and Hugh Sprot (together with John Helmeshale, clerk of the navy, and John Michel, sergeant-of-arms)[7] were appointed, June 16, 1394, to array for the King's use in going to Ireland three ships: the King's ship "la George," Sir Thomas Percy's ship "la Trinite," and the ship called "la Trinite" of Roger Bosewyn of Plymouth.[8] With Bosewyn Maghfeld had several years before had some legal difficulty, for he paid a clerk in the Chancery for writing "*cer*teins briefs deuers Roger Bosewynes de ply*m*mouth."[9] These ships were to be fitted out as an armada with artillery and so on. Of this enterprise there is an echo in the account book, on a page headed:

Anno xviij° mens*is* Junij P*our* larreyement dez nefs Joh*an* Mayheu R.....
Thom*as* de lynne p*our* la vyag*e* de Irland[10]

M*emorandum* q*e* moy Gybon Maghfeld auoir receuz de Rich*ard*
honyman a son dep*art* de loundr*es* vers son pays en argent comptans
Item receuz p*ar* diu*ersez* oblig*acions* p*ar* le temps q*e* le dit
Rich*ard* fuist en son pays de diu*erses* gentz. P*rimus* p*ar* oblig*acion*
de Symon Scheffeld .....v li.

[1] How far the removal of Maghfeld and his partners was due to inability to perform the task, to the jealousy of rivals, or to other causes it is not at present possible to say. There were complaints. As early as July 7, 1383, John Philpot and two sergeants-of-arms were appointed to "compose the dissensions which have arisen between subjects of the King who have assumed the custody of the sea towards the north and mariners and others of the Cinque Ports touching the partition of goods lately taken by them together in France" (*ibid.* [1381–85], p. 305; and cf. *C.C.R.*, 1381–85, pp. 367 f.).

[2] *Ibid.* (1385–89), p. 247.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 425.

[4] *Life Records*, IV, 295.

[5] *Cal. Letter Book*, H, p. 125.

[6] f. xliijb.

[7] Both appear in his account book.

[8] *C.P.R.* (1391–96), p. 420; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 489, 520 f.

[9] f. xxiijb.

[10] f. xxxixb. After Johan Mayheu a word or words beginning with *R* cannot be read. As John Mayheu was master of the King's ship, "la Trinite" (*C.P.R.* [1391–96], p. 511) and Thomas de Lynne, a Dartmouth captain with whom Maghfeld had many dealings, was master of the King's ship "la George" (*ibid.*), it seems probable that the missing words are the name of the third captain—Roger de Bosewyne of Plymouth.

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Item par obligacion de Johan Welde ..... xviij li.xvij s.x d.
Item par obligacion de Richard Barker ..... xliiij li.
Item par obligacion de Geo[rge] Deny ..... xiiij li. xij s.
Item par obligacion de William Wotton ..... xxix li. x s.
Item receuz de Johan Barlebourgh pour Bartelm Zabulon..... xxviij li.ix s. v d.
Item receuz de J. Barlebourgh pour Johan Welde ..... vij li. xxij d.
Item receuz de Richard honyman mesme ..... x li.
Item receuz de luy mesme ..... xl li.
Item receuz de luy mesme ..... l li.
Item receuz hors del somme qil lessa en mayn qant il depart de loundres vers son pays ..... } xx li.
Item receuz hors de dit somme ..... xx li.
Item receuz hors de dite somme ..... xl li.
Item receuz de Richard Merlawe pour Johan Stille de sandwych pour cordez achatez par Johan atte Nasshe ..... } vij li.xiiij s. x d.
Item iay assigne le dit Richard a paier as diuerses gentz ..... liij li.

Dont le dit Richard ad resceuz du dit Gybon vne taille leuez com piert apres escritz en le xlix° foille[1]

Within three years Maghfeld had died a bankrupt and his goods and chattels in Billingsgate had been seized into the King's hands[2]—undoubtedly including his account books, of which this one has been preserved ever since among government documents.[3]

Like Chaucer's Merchant, Maghfeld engaged extensively in both "bargaynes" and "chevisaunce." Of the numerous kinds of things in which he dealt the following list may give some idea: iron, copper, gravel, lead, stones, millstones, wainscot from Prussia, boards, wood, coal, quicklime, rock alum, grain, ginger, saffron, licorice, silk, wool, skins, furs, linen, hats, wines, stockfish, herring, sturgeon, salmon, pearls. Study of his prices would make a contribution to our knowledge of money values in the fourteenth century.

But equally important was his "chevisaunce." Apparently he was a professional moneylender. To what extent he practiced the usury complained of in the London Letter Books cannot be told from his book as he gives no indication of rate of interest but merely records the sum to be repaid in even pounds, marks, nobles, half-nobles, or shillings. It may safely be assumed that the borrower got less than he had to repay.

It would seem that the merchant's risks must have been considerable. The loan was commonly "par oblig" (i.e., obligation); rarely, "par plegg" (bondsman); still more rarely, by sealed indenture. Now and then articles were accepted as security for small loans, as: a "nouche" of silver, a silver

[1] f. xxxixb. June, 1394.

[2] *C.P.R.* (1396–99), p. 348.

[3] Whether he was ruined by the Irish expedition which did so much to ruin the King it is at present impossible to say. It may be noted that on ff. xlvib and xlvija of the book there is a long account with one Thomas Craft in which the expenses outweigh several times the receipts, running up to several hundred pounds.

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girdle, a covered beaker of silver, silver plate, a vestment and chalice, a baselard, a mazer. Once a book was pledged, its title *Tresor de Philosophie.*

The following example of a loan of this type is interesting also because it refers apparently to another set of accounts:

Frere Wault*er* Somerton doit en le veille de toutz Seintz sur ij petitz tabull*es* dor a paier a la Purificac*ion* nost*re* Dame . . . . . xl s.[1]

Maghfeld's clients and customers include scores of merchants of London and other English towns, representing more than thirty guilds,[2] besides merchants of Prussia (Hamburg and Königsberg), of La Rochelle, of Bayonne and Bordeaux, of Italy and Spain. In the book are also entries concerning a score or so of knights and squires in royal households, sergeants-of-arms, clerks in the Exchequer and Chancery, several controllers in the Custom House (Chaucer's successors), two "men of law," many chaplains and parsons, including nearly a dozen great ecclesiastics: the warden and treasurer of Canterbury cathedral; the abbots of Waltham and St. Mary Grace by the Tower; the bishops of Dublin, Ely, Exeter, St. David's, Durham,[3] and Winchester.[4] To the Mayor, the Chamberlain, and the Corporation of London as a body, Maghfeld made loans; and if we may judge from certain entries quoted below (and others like them) he dealt also with the Earl of Derby, the Duke of York, the Duke of Gloucester, and, possibly once, even the King himself.

The following extracts illustrate a few of the many transactions:

Mons*ieur* Thomas Percy doit p*our* subs*idie* de iij s. p*ar* ton jn le neif de Joh*an* Mayhew le xiiij io*ur* de Nou*embre* a*nno* xv° p*our* vij ton de vyn. . . . xxj s.[5]

Ad*am* Bam maire de Loundres doit en le Lundy de Pentecost p*our* j chaplet de soye de Tryple . . . . . xiij s. iiij d.[6]

Joh*an* Hauley de Dertemouth doit en le xv° io*ur* de Nou*embre* a paier deins

[1] f. xlija. October, 1394. In the margin to the left is added: "vacat *quia* in p*ar*uo pap*er*." Here as elsewhere the cancellation of the debt is shown by an irregular line scrawled over the item. Occasionally "sol" (for *solutum*) is added in the margin.

[2] Most of the Londoners appear in the Letter Books, and not a few of them are aldermen and mayors. Of other towns Boston and Dartmouth are perhaps mentioned most frequently. Among the crafts and trades represented may be listed: coppersmith, founder, ironmonger, smith; goldsmith; mason, carpenter, timberman, joiner; millmaker; saddler; bowyer; chandler, waxchandler; dyer, hatter, mercer, draper, linendraper, skinner; shearman; spurrier; shipman, boatman, mariner; glover; limner, scrivener; fishmonger, stockfishmonger, grocer, baker, brewer, vintner, taverner. The names without indication of business undoubtedly cover other occupations not yet worked out.

[3] Walter Skirlawe, with whom Chaucer was associated on an embassy to France in 1377 (*Life Records*, IV, 203 f.). The bishop of St. David's here named was successor to the one sent on the same embassy.

[4] William of Wykeham, the chancellor.

[5] f: xxxiiija. Under the heading Nov., 1393. Percy was steward of the King's household. In 1377 Chaucer had been sent with him to Flanders on a mission (*L.R.*, IV, 201).

[6] f. xlj*b*. May, 1391. Canceled. Was the goldsmith who made cups for John of Gaunt to give Philippa Chaucer a dandy?

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vn mois prochein apres ..... xl li.[1]
Sur plegge de vint milles de ferre longe

Margerete Spenser Selkwomman de Soperslane London doit par
obligacion en le vj^e^ iour de March anno xv° pour iiij^xx^ vij lb. ..... xxvij li.
& iij quarters dune lb. de soy crude qe face par pois de mercerie lxv lb.&
iij quarters a viij s. vj d. le lb. Summa ..... xviij s.
a payer al feste del Nativite S. Johan Baptiste prochein
auenir ix li.vj s. Et al feste de Michel donqes apres ensuantz
is li. vj s. Et al feste de Nativite nostre seignour donqes
prochein apres ix li. vj s. &c. Item dont receuz en biens ..... xxijs.[2]

Le Euesqe de Wyncestre doit pour iij Molez a iij li. le pere summa ix li.
Dont j pere a Eyscher ij [sic] pere a Farnham & j pere demourant le Caye de G Maghfeld
Dont Receu de Lauynton Clerk ..... iij li.
xv iour de Juyl anno xvij° par le mayns de Johan Brymmestone ..... vj li.
Et Eque[3]

Johan Clerc de Botelston doit qe il ad receuz del Counte
de Derby qe fuist appreste a luy en Pruce ouesqe autres
gentz de Loundres de lynne & Botelston chescun x marcz vj li.xiijs.iiij d.
desterling issint qe le dit Johan doit qe il ad recuz pour moy
R.de Blomvill vj li. xij s.vj d.[4]

Sire Thomas Worston Chancellere de monsieur Deuerwyke doit dapprest
par obligacion le xx iour de Nouembre a payer en le xv^e^ de
Pasche proschein apres ..... x li.[5]
qe fuist a Richard honyman com piert apres

Robert Corke Esquier ouesqe monsieur le Duc de Gloucestre doit
en le xxiij iour de Mart pour frett & aueryez dune pipe de vyn
qe fuist en le neif de Johan Senches de Spaigne ..... xij s. iiij d.[6]

[1] f. xvijb. Nov., 1391. Canceled, with "alibi" in the left margin.

Hauley was the piratical shipowner who may have owned the *Maudelayne* of Dertemuth, of which Chaucer's equally piratical Shipman was captain (see Manly, *New Light on Chaucer*). Between Aug. 14 and Dec. 12, 1391, he ceased to be escheator for Devonshire (*C.C.R.* [1389–92], pp. 386, 420). Does the large loan mean that he expected to need money in settling his accounts? It should not be overlooked that Maghfeld required a pledge to the full value of the loan (one "mille" of "ferre" is listed at xl s).

[2] f. xxb. Feb., 1392. *Not* canceled. In 1370 the silkwoman was living in Soperslane in a tenement belonging to Thomas de Grantham and evidently near the Chaucer property there. Richard Chaucer was one of the executors of the will of John de Grantham, father of Thomas, and Nicholas Chaucer witnessed the discharge of the surviving executor in 1355 (cf. *L.R.*, IV, 148, and *Cal. Letter Books*, G, pp. 37, 264).

[3] f. ixa. Under the heading Jan., 1391. Canceled.

[4] f. xvb. Aug., 1391. Canceled. Obscure as this transaction is, it shows Maghfeld repaying an advance made by Henry, Earl of Derby, while in Prussia.

[5] f. xlija. Nov., 1394. Entries concerning this or other loans for x li. are on f. xlijb and f.xlva, where the Chancellor is called Broughton.

[6] f. xxxvja. March, 1394. Unless the squire was speculating in wine, he was probably buying for the Duke.

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Memorandum qe iay aprestee al Gildehalle le xxij^{e} io*ur* de Dec*embre*
lan xvj° qe fuist paye a lez mains Henri Vannere....xx marcz....xx marcz
Item apprestee a William Staundon maire qe fuist pour le
Counte de Huntyngtoun.....x marcz.....x marcz
Item appreste pour le mommyng al Roy a Eltham al feste de Noell xl s.[1]

This entry is full of interest. Money is lent to the Guildhall as a corporation, passing through the hands of Henry Vanner, whom Chaucer knew in 1390,[2] and more money is given to the Mayor to be paid to the King's half-brother, the Earl of Huntington, who had a grant out of the customs. Money is advanced "for the mumming to the King at Eltham at the feast of Christmas."[3] This mumming it is highly probable Chaucer saw, for on January 9, during the Christmas revels, the King gave him ten pounds as a reward for his "good service" during the "present year."[4]

Passing over many other items of interest, we come to two which can hardly be omitted. In the first we see Maghfeld acting as a sort of contractor:

Item par G. Maghfeld pour seint Anton pour iij quarters Waynscot.....xv s.
[Irrelevant item concerning Thomas Blosse]
Item de Gybon Maghfeld djC de Wainscot.....x s.
Item deliuere a Macclesfeld pour seint Anton xx Wainscot.....
vacat quia paie al R. honyman
Item deliuere pour le pathyng du seynt Anton iiij milles pathyngtiel
Item paye par J. Schirbrok a ij pauyours & a lour vallet & pour
sonde & nonsenches par ij iours.....ij s.ix d.ob.[5]

Maghfeld, then, provided materials for the repair of St. Anthonin, a church in the neighborhood of the Chaucers and also for the laying of a pavement in or near it, the workmen being given their lunches.[6]

The second entry reads:

Memorandum qe Gybon Maghfeld ad paye a Noell as portours pour le
ston pour le graue del Euesqe Dexcestre & pour j bell j Cheste
a luy tout.....xxviij d.
Item paie a longe Johan pour le cariage du dit pere al Nief.....xvj d.
a xxvj d. le lb.
Item paye pur iiij lb. vij vns de Grenegyngyuer par son Catour.....ix s.vij d.
Item pour mesounger pour le pere & tout.....ij s.
Sire Thomas More Clerke doit pour Rynges door.....iiij li.[7]

The bishop was Thomas Brantingham, Bishop of Exeter from 1370 to 1394. In 1369, he was controller of the king's household when Chaucer was a

[1] f. xxviija. Dec., 1392. Nothing canceled.

[2] *L.R.*, IV, 284.

[3] Translated literally; but the meaning may be that the money was advanced to some person unnamed for the mumming to be given in the King's presence at Eltham.

[4] *L.R.*, IV, 315.

[5] f. xiija. 1390–91. Canceled. The line under "vacat," etc., is stricken through.

[6] On pavements in front of churches where markets were held, see *Letter Book*, H, p. 133, and for a market by this very church (*ibid.*, p. 301).

[7] f. viijb. Dec., 1390. Only the last item is canceled.

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yeoman there, and in 1378 he was the treasurer who disbursed Chaucer's expenses to Italy.[1]

But the entry remains puzzling. Apparently the Bishop ordered his gravestone some four years before his death. Perhaps, like Richard II and other notables, he wished to make sure of one to his liking. And the combination with bell and chest and green ginger is strange. The gold rings may have been a different purchase, as the cancellation suggests.[2]

In the book altogether there are thirty to forty names of persons who either appear in the *Life Records* or are in some other way unmistakably associated with Chaucer. Of such items four at least must be given here:

Henr*i* Scoggan doit dappr*est* en le ij io*ur* de sept*embre* appaier al feste
p*ar* oblig*acion*
de seint Mich*el* proschei*n* apr*es*.....xxvj s.viij d.[3]

Three entries concern Henry Yevele, chief mason in charge of the works when Chaucer was clerk and on his pay-roll:

Mestre henr*i* yeuele doit p*our* mellestones.....vj li.[4]
Item j oblig*acion* fait a henr*i* yueley le xviij io*ur* de march a*nno* xviij°
a paier en le xv io*ur* de Dec*embre* apr*es* p*our* leuesqe Dely.....cxxx li.[5]
Meistre henr*i* yuele doit dappr*est* p*our* vj C iij q*uarters* xiiij lb. de
plomb a x marcz le Fodo*ur*.....xlij s.iij d.[6]

Was Yevele, then, the master-mason in the repair of Westminster Hall, engaged in the building operations which seem to have been going on at Ely at the end of the fourteenth century? In Maghfeld's book, just above the second item about Yevele, we find the Bishop himself with two parsons giving a recognizance for 119*l.* 15*s*,[7] and entries in the Close Rolls show him borrowing elsewhere at this time.[8]

To a "John Gower Esquire" the allusions are as follows:

M*emorandum* qe Gybon Maufeld ad paye p*our* Joh*an* Gower Esquier
a j Schippman p*our* frett dune bras pott mis p*ar* l*ettre*
de lynne iesqes a loundres.....xvj d.
Item il ad paye deuant p*our* car*iage* dune chest al Ewe p*our*
envoier au dit Joh*an* a Hull.....iiij d.[9]

[1] *L.R.*, IV, 163, 171, 173; 217.

[2] Long John, elsewhere in the book called a "lyghterman" (ff. xxb and xxvijb) got into the Patent Rolls through an accident. While he was conveying wines and other goods in his barge, a man fell overboard and was drowned. The boat, worth twenty marks, was confiscated; but later, in view of the lighterman's great age and weakness, was restored to him (*C.P.R.* [1388–92], p. 508, and *ibid.* [1391–96], p. 36).

[3] f. iijb. Sept. 2, 1390. Not canceled. Scogan and three other men—one Roger Elinham or Elmham, Chaucer's successor as clerk of the works in 1391—were bound as mainpernors for a detinue of 106*s.* 8*d.* on Sept. 7, 1390 (*C.C.R.* [1389–92], p. 286). Had this anything to do with Scogan's need of ready money?

[4] f. va. Sept., 1390. Canceled.

[5] f. xlb. Under the heading August, 1394. Canceled.

[6] f. xliija. Nov., 1394. Canceled.

[7] f. xlb. August, 1394. Canceled.

[8] *C.C.R.* (1392–96), pp. 228, 500.

[9] f. xxvija. October, 1392. Canceled.

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Johan Gower Esquier doit dapprest par obligacion en le veille de seint Johan Baptiste a paier deinz iij symaignes prosceinz apres.....iij li.vj s.viij d.[1]

That this man was the poet it is perhaps impossible to prove; but the "esquire" shows that he was not the parson of that name; and the nature of the entries and the amount borrowed suggest a person of the poet's rank and means. Perhaps at present no more can be said.

The last entry to be quoted concerns Chaucer himself:

Geffray Chauxcer doit dapprest en le xxviij jour de juyl a paier en le samedy proschein apres.....xxvj s. viij d.[2]

As no evidence has been produced to show that there were two Geoffrey Chaucers, perhaps we may assume that the entry refers to the poet. If so, the curious thing is that he should have been borrowing this comparatively small sum only fifteen days after he had received at the Exchequer the large sum of 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* Perhaps this is not more odd, however, than that the Exchequer should have left unpaid the small sum of 12*s.* 4*d.* still due on his account as clerk of the works. But as to the sudden need for money which sent him to a moneylender for an advance of six days we can only speculate.[3]

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[1] Undated; last item, last page. The second item above is dated June 15, 18th year [1395]. Canceled.

[2] f. xxiiija. July, 1392. Canceled.

[3] This spelling of the name agrees with that of the root word—*chaux*—also used in the book.

[To be continued]

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REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Le Opere di Dante Alighieri, a cura del DR. E. MOORE, nuovamente rivedute nel testo dal DR. PAGET TOYNBEE. Quarta Edizione. Oxford: Nella Stamperia Dell' Università.

From 1894 to 1921 the Oxford Dante, in three successive editions—the second of 1897, the third of 1904—held the field as the most authoritative text of the complete works of Dante; and upon its enumeration of poems, chapters, lines, etc., were based the references in Dr. Toynbee's Dante dictionaries and in the Dante concordances issued since 1900 by the American Dante Society.

In 1921, however, there appeared the complete *Opere di Dante* of the Società Dantesca Italiana, which superseded the Oxford Dante both in respect to the definition of the Dante canon and in text. And at about the same time the third edition of the Oxford Dante went out of print.

A fourth edition of the Oxford Dante has now appeared, edited by Dr. Toynbee, who had helped Dr. Moore in the preparation of the earlier editions.

The particular justification for the issuance of this new edition is the desirability of having a text to be used in connection with the dictionaries and concordances referred to above. There is a sentimental justification as well—the Oxford Dante has rendered such service and won such affection, particularly in the English-speaking world, that it is a pleasure to have it again in renewed youth.

The greatest change in respect to content is in the *Rime*. Barbi's canon of fifty-four lyrics (in addition to those of the *Vita nuova* and the *Convivio*) as being Dante's beyond question is accepted, and Toynbee gives these lyrics an arrangement better and simpler than that of Barbi. Toynbee includes only eleven of the twenty-six lyrics which Barbi prints as *rime dubbie* and adds thereto one sonnet, *E' non è legno di sì forti nocchi*, which Barbi classes as spurious. There would hardly seem to be adequate reason for the retention of the fourteen lyrics which Toynbee classes as spurious, or for the retention of the Seven Penitential Psalms and the Profession of Faith, which were anachronisms even in the third edition.

The three Batifolle letters are also included.

Toynbee has profited in text by the edition of the Società Dantesca Italiana, by various other works, and by research of his own. His work is done, as always, with great care; and he shows much ingenuity in making the new edition, with its various changes, convenient for use in connection with the works of reference based upon the earlier editions.

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Mediæval Romance in England. A Study of the Sources and Analogues of the Non-Cyclic Metrical Romances. By LAURA A. HIBBARD, PH.D., Associate Professor of English Literature in Wellesley College. New York: Oxford University Press, 1924.

The production of such bibliographies as Wells's *Manual of Writings in Middle English* and Carleton Brown's *Register of Middle English Religious Verse* requires and involves a scholarship no less accurate and extensive than the most accomplished original investigations; and they are of high value to scholarship, especially in the suggestions they carry as to the present state of our knowledge and the problems which still confront us. A worthy addition to this group is the volume on the non-cyclic metrical romances by Professor Laura A. Hibbard (now Mrs. Roger Loomis) published by Wellesley College in the series celebrating its semi-centennial.

The author has taken for her field that interesting body of romances which, notwithstanding their great number and their vogue, escaped the famous classification of Jean Bodel, and she emphasizes their value both for the social historian and for the student of literature. Scholars will in general approve of her plan of work and the manner in which it is executed. This plan involves a survey of previous investigations of each romance, of the principal contributions due to each investigator, and of the problems left unsolved. The bibliography appended to each romance includes a complete list of texts, but in general only such studies as have appeared since 1900. Some critics may perhaps disapprove of this limitation of the bibliography, but there are many advantages in the simplification it effects, and it is hard to see how it involves any serious disadvantages, as all important discussions of an earlier date are listed and summarized in the text.

The romances are classified in three groups, and the classification is fairly satisfactory, although not based upon a single principle, and although certain romances might equally well be included in one of the other groups. One of them, indeed, hardly seems to belong to the general type, although we may well be grateful for its inclusion here. The groups are as follows:

I. Romances of Trial and Faith
   Isumbras
   Florence of Rome
   Emare
   Erle of Tolous
   King of Tars
   Gowther (Robert the Devil)
   Robert of Cisyle
   Amis and Amiloun
   Amadas
   Cleges

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II. Romances of Legendary English Heroes
King Horn
Horn Childe
Havelok the Dane
Beves of Hampton
Guy of Warwick
Reinbrun
Athelston
Richard Coeur de Lion
Gamelyn
III. Romances of Love and Adventure
Apollonius of Tyre
Seven Sages of Rome
Floris and Blancheflur
Orfeo
Partonope of Blois
William of Palerne
Ipomedon
Generides
Chevalere Assigne (Knight of the Swan)
Knight of Courtesy (Châtelain de Couci)
Squyr of Lowe Degre
Octavian
Eglamour
Torrent of Portyngale
Triamour
Roswall and Lillian
Lay le Freine
Degare
Degrevant
Eger, Grime, and Graysteele

As this list shows, the selection is a rich one, and very varied in its quality and interest. All students of medieval romance will wish to use the volume and, it may confidently be said, will feel grateful to the author for the accuracy and fulness of the discussions, for the clearness with which the present state of knowledge and opinion on each romance is set forth, and for the frequent suggestions of further problems.

In books of this sort typographical inconsistencies and errors seem inevitable. The present volume has perhaps fewer than most, but that it has not escaped the common fate the following specimens will indicate: "Asloan" is spelled "Aslone" on page 177, although correctly given on page 181. "Bodleian" is badly disfigured as "Bodleran" on page 163. The names of a few authors suffer from editorial carelessness. Thus Professor Albert S. Cook appears on page 199 as "A. Cook," Professor W. P. Ker, page 199, as W. Ker, Professor W. H. Schofield as W. Schofield, page 199. But perhaps Mr. H. G.

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Leach suffers most, appearing as he does on page 108 as H. Leach and on page 163 as H. S. Leach. Errors of this sort, though of little importance in themselves, may easily cause an inexperienced student a great deal of unnecessary trouble. Titles of books and articles are in general printed with remarkable accuracy, but "der" is misprinted "de" in the note on page 204, and "Melusinensage" somehow gets an extra *g* in note 14, page 207. In general the style of the volume is admirably simple and clear, but there are two sentences in which the author hardly seems to have expressed her meaning with entire success: "Skeat thought the poem was written before 1303, asserting that he caught echoes in it from Robert Manning's *Handlyng Synne*" (p. 105); "In this, as in *Orfeo*, Etain, the happy wife of Eochid, high king of Ireland, is stolen away by Midir, a fairy king, to whom in a former life she has been wedded" (p. 198). But I have noticed singularly few errors, considering the nature of the work and the vast amount of detail involved; and the positive merits of the book are many and of a very high order.

JOHN M. MANLY

Volkskundliche Bibliographie für das Jahr 1917. By EDUARD HOFFMANN-KRAYER. Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1919. Pp. xv+108.

Volkskundliche Bibliographie für das Jahr 1918. By EDUARD HOFFMANN-KRAYER. Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1920. Pp. xvii+126.

Volkskundliche Bibliographie für das Jahr 1919. By EDUARD HOFFMANN-KRAYER. Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1922. Pp. xvi+142.

Volkksundliche Bibliographie für das Jahr 1920. By EDUARD HOFFMANN-KRAYER. Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1924. Pp. xviii+212.

Few subjects of philological interest stand more in need of bibliographical assistance than does folklore and few have been as poorly served in the history of scholarly endeavor. A strangely unfavorable star has been in the ascendent at the birth of almost all enterprises designed to improve the facilities for the study of folklore. Of the latest effort the first four annual numbers are before me. Notwithstanding the obvious difficulties in the editor's way—among numerous hindrances the first two issues were compiled during the war—the task has been well performed. The latest number attains the very respectable total of 2,768 entries, a number somewhat increased by the repairing of many deficiencies of the earlier issues. The student of folklore may, therefore, reckon with an annual output of something like 2,000 titles. Clearly the number is sufficient to justify, indeed to demand, a critical survey of the annual accumulation. The scope of the publication is perhaps a little larger than the English-speaking reader might expect, for under *Volkskunde* are included such subjects as primitive art, utensils employed by the folk,

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types of houses, migrations and settlements of races, as well as the more familiar themes of popular customs, superstitions, and literature.

In order to appreciate properly this new undertaking, it should be seen in perspective as the climax of a long series of efforts. One must review, if only hastily, the bibliographical history of folklore, although one cannot be certain in such an untrodden field of mentioning all the publications that have appeared. Three stages may be seen in the advance to the *Volkskundliche Bibliographie* of Professor Hoffmann-Krayer. The first is that in which folkloristic materials are collected more or less casually and unsystematically by philological bibliographers. An early and rather meritorious example of this kind was the annual bibliography compiled by Karl Bartsch for *Germania*, VIII (1863) to XXIV (1879), covering the years 1862–78. For the student of Germanic literature it is now superseded by more convenient and more serviceable cumulations, but the student of folklore will still find many a useful item here. This undertaking was brought to an end by the long sickness and death of Bartsch and by the rise of a competing annual bibliography, which has become the standard authority in its field: the *Jahresbericht über die Erscheinungen auf dem Gebiete der germanischen Philologie*, 1879——. In the *Jahresbericht* Germanic folklore has been treated more or less regularly, but the material has never been completely assembled from even one Germanic language nor has the subject been treated as a unit. The Scandinavian sections, for example, are generally rather useful, but they stand alone, quite separate from English folklore, which is but casually included, and from German folklore, which has prospered in the hands of Johannes Bolte. The tradition of including titles from this field in philological bibliographies is further exemplified by the brilliant, one-sided, and incomplete article of F. S. Krauss, which covers the publications of the quinquennium 1892–97, in Vollmöller's *Kritischer Jahresbericht*. The experiment was repeated for the succeeding quinquennium. Here we have a single section of the bibliography devoted to folklore and covering all the languages within the scope of the report. Apparently the experiment did not commend itself to the editors, for in later issues the folkloristic notes are scattered under linguistic divisions. A similarly ill-fated essay toward a folkloristic bibliography may be found in the *Jahresbericht für neuere deutsche Literaturgeschichte*, where it bore the captions "*Kulturgeschichte*" and "*Stoffgeschichte*" for a brief term. In all these indispensable summaries of scientific and scholarly progress—in the *Jahresberichte* of one kind and another, in the *International Catalogue of Scientific Literature* (Section H: "Anthropology"), and even in our own *Index Medicus*, which was until its latest revision a year or two ago handy and serviceable for this purpose—one finds titles which belong in a folklore bibliography, but the references are often casual and always incomplete.

The efforts to form a bibliography, either cumulative or annual, of the folklore literature in a single language have been equally various. In the early years of the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* an attempt was made to

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provide a review of Slavic contributions, but it was soon discontinued. Its place was filled by the reviews in Wisla, by the elaborate and careful collections of Zíbrt in *Český Lid*, and by the bibliography in the *Národopisny Sborník* [later *Věstník*] *Československý*, but for readers of west European languages there existed no survey of Slavic publications until, at the beginning of the century, it was once more undertaken by the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* under the management of Brückner and Polívka. Contemporary with the early efforts to provide a Slavic bibliography was the endeavor in the British *Folk-Lore Journal* to create a bibliography of English folklore, which attained only to the letter *D*. These struggles found completion in only one country: Pitrè furnished a model for later undertakings in the *Bibliografia delle tradizioni popolari d'Italia*, Turin and Palermo, 1894, with 603 pages and 6,680 entries. Beside this, the standard folklore bibliography of a single country, there can be put only a single work, an annual cumulation for a single country. This second model regional bibliography is the little-known section entitled *"Volkskunde"* in the *Kritisch-bibliographischer Jahresbericht der estnischen Philologie*. Of this, two issues have already appeared: that for 1918 (Dorpat, 1922), 37 pages, 66 entries; and that for 1919 (Dorpat, 1923), 44 pages, 105 entries. Although this bibliography is a section in an annual philological bibliography and might, therefore, be classed with those mentioned in a preceding paragraph, it deserves separate mention as the work of Walter Anderson, professor of comparative folklore. It is so complete, so excellent in its arrangement, and so easily utilized that it belongs in a class by itself. As further examples of bibliographies of folklore within certain regional limitations there may be mentioned the occasional reports in the *Revue d'ethnographie et des traditions populaires* and the excellent annual listing of Swiss publications in the *Archiv für schweizerische Volkskunde*.

Among the bibliographies of folklore considered internationally, the first has apparently been usually overlooked: Karlowicz, *"Najnowsze badania podań i ich zbiory,"* *Ateneum* (Warsaw), XXX (1883), No. ii, 49, which was also issued separately. It is known to most readers only by the favorable review of F. S. Krauss (*Am Urquell*, I [1890], 144). A new epoch in which scholars are at no time without a comprehensive bibliography, from one or another source, may fairly be said to begin with the publication of the *Volkskundliche Zeitschriftenschau*, a supplement to the *Hessische Blätter für Volkskunde* during the years 1903–5. This was the first effort to collect on a large scale the international contributions to folklore study. It limited itself to excerpting with the utmost thoroughness a surprisingly long list of journals. Despite its size it is not as readily usable as it might be, for each journal is excerpted in turn and the only attempts at classification appear in the grouping of the journals and an insufficient index. On its decease there appeared, as if to carry on the work of international bibliography, a list of titles which restricted itself to works published in the British Empire or by subjects of the British Empire: N. W. Thomas, *Bibliography of Folk-lore*. This, like the *Zeitschrift-*

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enschau, attained to three issues: the first (for 1905) published in 1906 under the auspices of the British Folk-lore Society and two further issues (for 1906 and 1907), which the society did not sponsor. Clearly the curious restrictions put upon it greatly reduced its usefulness. It was followed by an enterprise which enjoyed a still shorter life: a very meritorious bibliography (L. de Wolf, *Bibliographia Folklorica Periodica*, Bruges: Plancke) issued as a supplement to the Belgian periodical *De Biekorf*. This, the first comprehensive and systematically arranged bibliography, appeared only for the years 1908–10. A descendant of the *Zeitschriftenschau* was A. Abt, *Die volkskundliche Literatur des Jahres 1911* (published 1912) of which a second issue (for 1912), long listed among Teubner's publications, attained only to the stage of galley-proof. This was an excellent bibliography and one can only regret the shortness of its life. Contemporary with it was A. F. Chamberlain, *Current Anthropological Literature 1912 and 1913*, which sprang from a bibliography first published in the columns of the *Journal of American Folk-lore*. With the death of its compiler it ceased to exist. Although it was primarily an anthropological bibliography, the catholicity of Professor Chamberlain's interests prevented it from becoming narrowly specialized, and the folklore student finds it a useful tool. In a casual way E. Mogk listed a number of titles dealing with folklore in the *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, XII (1916), 231–70, 456–500. He provides a working list of the more important works of the past twenty or thirty years, without, however, making any effort at completeness or seeking to include magazine articles. On these many ephemeral publications there now follows the *Volkskundliche Bibliographie*. By attaining to four issues it has already outlived the span of life allotted to the ordinary folklore bibliography. Although the turbulent and checkered history of its predecessors is no good omen, the folklore scholar cannot but hope for its success.

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MODERN PHILOLOGY

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AN ASPECT OF THE WORLD-CONQUEST MOTIF IN LITERATURE

In the thirty-third chapter of the *Gargantua* Rabelais represents Picrochole and his captains as formulating a comprehensive plan of world-conquest. This chapter of Rabelais marks the climax in the literary development of a mythological motif whose origin harks back to the infancy of the race in its cradle in Asia, and whose first appearance in literature occurs in the "history" of Alexander generally called the "pseudo-Callisthenes."

Everywhere among primitive peoples a thin line of demarcation divides heroes and gods. A great leader usually is considered, even in his lifetime, as wholly or partly divine, and is sure to be deified upon his death. Linked with this universal tendency is found in the legendary history of the populations that dwelt on the Chaldean plains, long before state and religion began to be dissociated even in thought, the belief that a hero-god of their race who had vanished would reappear some day and unite the peoples of the earth under his sway. This rôle seems originally to have been ascribed to the legendary kings Sargon and Nimrod; the first great historical ruler on whom it was definitely fixed was Nebuchadnezzar. To him legend transferred traits borrowed from the mythical Sargon and Nimrod, among them the trait of the disappearing and reappearing king.

This notion of a universal empire subsequently penetrated into the consciousness of the Jewish and the Greek races following their contact with the ancient Chaldean civilization. In Daniel, chapter 2, four great epochs in the history of the world are predicted, after the

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last of which God will set up his Kingdom on earth. Xenophon introduced the world-empire conception among the Greeks, though it never gained currency with them since it ran counter to the individualistic and democratic traditions of the race. The idea found more fertile soil among the Jews, by whom the Kingdom of God foretold by Daniel was interpreted to refer to the advent of a messiah-king destined to unite the world in a theocracy with Jerusalem as its capital and center.

The first world-conqueror who seems to have fulfilled the requisite conditions to the satisfaction of the various races was Alexander. No sooner was his career of conquest initiated than he began to be considered as the reappearing king of the ancient myth. This was especially true in Egypt, where he was regarded as the son of Jupiter Ammon, by Philip's wife Olympias, and hailed as the deliverer from the Persian yoke promised by the oracles. Alexander was not slow to seize upon this popular belief in his divinity and his mission as a subduer of the peoples and extend it beyond the borders of Egypt in support of his ever expanding schemes of conquest.[1] The Jews likewise, who, in accordance with the old Babylonian myth, had in their earlier legends seen in Solomon the expected pacifier of the earth, welcomed Alexander as their messiah-king. Their geographical position between the Egyptians and the Asiatic peoples had made of them the football of these races, and as a result of long periods of oppression the spirit of prophecy had early been aroused among them. They had just witnessed Alexander overwhelm in a brief space the empire of the Persians and lay low at one stroke the power of Egypt. They saw in consequence in the subduer of the hereditary enemies the founder of the world-empire and the pacifier of the peoples whose advent had been predicted in the Book of Daniel. Among the Greeks, also, Alexander was deemed destined to play a rôle analogous to that of the messiah-king of the Hebrews.

A syncretism of the age-old myths of the oriental races of Asia Minor resulted from the meteoric career of the youthful conqueror. Alexander immediately began to be invested with the traits formerly attributed to Sargon, Nimrod, Nebuchadnezzar, and the messiah-king whom the Jews had been awaiting since the time of Solomon. Thus there began to center around him a vast complex of legends and myths

[1] Arrian, *The Anabasis of Alexander, passim.*

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whence soon an extensive body of literature arose which at first consisted in letters dealing with particular aspects of his fabulous exploits, such as the famous letter from him to Aristotle recounting the wonders of India, and which eventually assumed the form of romances.[1]

The old popular beliefs maintained themselves by the side of this new literary tradition. The later apocalyptic books of Elias,[2] Daniel, and pseudo-Methodius repeat the prophecy of a king who was to bring peace to earth, and the pseudo-Methodius adds that his name had once filled the world.[3] The brilliant exploits of Alexander were still alive in the minds of men, and his return was expected in fulfilment of the prophecy. Emperor-worship had its origin in the Roman provinces of Asia Minor. Supported as well by the oriental belief in the divinity of kings as by the Alexander legend, it eventually became established, in spite of its discouragement by Augustus, in the provinces of the western Roman Empire, and many of the later emperors saw in themselves the returned Macedonian king.[4] From the twin streams of popular belief and literary tradition the primitive myth was transmitted to the Middle Ages,[5] when it found political expression in the Holy Roman Empire of Charlemagne, philosophical expression in Dante's *De Monarchia*, and literary expression in the romances.

The purpose of this paper is to trace the literary history of the motif of world-conquest, whose origin and history has just been briefly sketched, in its direct line of descent. The motif frequently recurs in the pseudo-Callisthenes,[6] a romance marking the climax of a literary

[1] See on this Franz Kampers, *Alexander der Grosse und die Idee des Weltimperiums in Prophetie und Sage* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1901), pp. 2–48. Kampers' interesting study entirely disregards the aspect of the question treated in this article.

[2] This book was composed in Egypt in the period of confusion following the downfall of the emperor Valerian in 260 A.D. It predicts as at hand the return of Alexander who shall restore order to the empire. A curious example of the re-emergence of this old belief is found in the career of David Joris, the Anabaptist leader in Holland of the first half of the sixteenth century. Basing his claims on the apocalyptic books, especially that of Elias, he claimed he was the universal dominator whose advent they had predicted. See A. Jundt, *Histoire du panthéisme populaire au moyen âge et au seizième siècle* (1875), pp. 163–97.

[3] See Kampers, *op. cit.*, p. 24, on these apocalyptic predictions.

[4] See J. Toutain, *Cultes païens dans l'empire romain* (1907–20), *passim;* also E. Beurlier, *Essai sur le culte rendu aux empereurs romains* (1890), p. 15.

[5] It is preserved chiefly in the body of prophecies attributed to the Tiburtine Sybil (Kampers, *op. cit.*, p. 25).

[6] See Ernest A. Wallis Budge, *The History of Alexander the Great, Being the Syriac Version of the pseudo-Callisthenes* (English translation and notes) (1889), Book I, chaps. 3, 7, 11, 16, 17, 19, 34, 38; Book III, chap. 1.

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tradition whose end was to exalt Alexander from a Greek hero into the national hero of the East, and to invest him with the dignity and the attributes of a world-ruler. It assumes its most typical form in the letter of Alexander to Darius (i. 38):

Thou hast also sent me a whip and a ball and a box of gold. Now though I know that thou hast sent them to me in mockery, yet I have accepted them as a good omen, an augury of victory, and a prophecy of the gods. I have received the whip, and as chief and head of kings I will smite and subdue with my weapons all my enemies. As for the round ball it is a sign that I shall hold the whole world; for the world is round and resembles a sphere exactly. . . . .

The earliest date assigned to the pseudo-Callisthenes, the only extant Greek romance of Alexander, is about 200 A.D. But the legends contained in it, as already indicated, go back for the most part to a very remote antiquity, and the numerous letters incorporated in it undoubtedly were current some hundreds of years before. It is from these letters accordingly, or possibly from some earlier romance no longer extant, that Plutarch got the idea for the celebrated passage in his *Life of Pyrrhus* (chap. 14), in which the world-conquest motif occurs, in a conversation between Pyrrhus and his trusted counselor, Kineas. It seems more than a coincidence that in this conversation so circumstantially reported almost four hundred years after the death of Pyrrhus his proposed itinerary roughly corresponds with the western itinerary of Alexander in the pseudo-Callisthenes. One day Kineas thus spoke to Pyrrhus:

"Pyrrhus," said he, "the Romans are said to be good soldiers and to rule over many warlike nations. Now, if heaven grants us the victory over them, what use shall we make of it?" "You ask what is self-evident," answered Pyrrhus. "If we can conquer the Romans, there is no city, Greek or barbarian, that can resist us, and we shall gain possession of the whole of Italy, a country whose size, richness, and power no one knows better than yourself." Kineas then, after waiting for a short time, said, "O king, when we have taken Italy, what shall we do then?" Pyrrhus, not yet seeing his drift, answered, "Close to it Sicily invites us, a noble and populous island, and one which is very easy to conquer; for, my Kineas, now that Agathokles is dead, there is nothing there but revolution and faction, and the violence of party spirit." "What you say," answered Kineas, "is very probably true. But is this conquest of Sicily to be the extreme limit of our campaign?" "Heaven alone," answered Pyrrhus, "can give us victory and success; but these conquests would merely prove to us the stepping-stones to greater things. Who could refrain from

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making an attempt upon Carthage and Libya when he was so close to them, countries which were all but conquered by Agathokles when he ran away from Syracuse with only a few ships? And if we were masters of these countries, none of the enemies who now give themselves such airs at our expense will dare to resist us." "Certainly not," answered Kineas, "with such a force at our disposal we clearly could recover Macedonia, and have the whole of Greece at our feet. And after we have made all these conquests, what shall we do then?" Pyrrhus, laughing, answered, "We will take our ease and carouse every day and enjoy pleasant conversation with one another." Having brought Pyrrhus to say this, Kineas asked in reply, "But what prevents our carousing and taking our ease now, since we have already at hand all those things which we propose to obtain with much bloodshed, and great toils and perils, and after suffering much ourselves and causing much suffering to others?"

The literary career of the Alexander legend, initiated by the pseudo-Callisthenes, was helped by the Latin translation of Julius Valerius, *Julii Valerii res gestae Alexandri Macedonis translatae ex Aesopo Graeco*, who is supposed to have lived about the third or fourth century A.D. His work was one of the sources of the *Itinerarium Alexandri*, composed toward the middle of the fourth century, through which the peoples of the west and northwest of Europe became acquainted with the fabulous history of Alexander. Another translation was made by Leo the Archpresbyter, entitled *Historia Alexandri regis Macedoniae, de proeliis*, which appeared for the first time in the eleventh century.[1] These two versions furnished the material and inspiration for a vast florescence from the twelfth century on of "histories" of Alexander in almost all the modern European languages, in which the motif of world-conquest continued to play its rôle, but of course the writers of these romances scarcely were aware of the original eschatological significance of the legend. The first of these "histories" was Albéric de Besançon's *Le Roman d'Alexandre*, which appeared before 1130 and whose source is to be looked for in Leo the Archpresbyter rather than in Julius Valerius. The motif is found in the *Historia de proeliis* i. 38:

Quia direxisti nobis curvam virgam et speram atque auream cantram, intellego hoc per virgam curvam: curvantur ante me potentissimi reges; per

[1] See Budge, *op. cit.*, pp. liv–lv and notes, on this and subsequent Latin translations in the Middle Ages; to the editions given by Budge may be added Friedrich Pfister, *Der Alexanderromanen des Archpresbyters Leo*, Heidelberg, 1913. Also Paul Meyer, *Alexandre le Grand* (2 vols.; 1886), Vol. I. In Vol. II Meyer has a study of the legend in medieval French literature.

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speram rotundam intellego, quia tenebo rotunditatem tocius mundi; per cantram auream me esse victorialem intellego et censum ab omnibus recipere, quia et a te, qui magnus es, ego, qui parvus sum, cantram auream recepi.

The passage is lost in Albéric's romance, but it occurs in Lamprecht's *Alexander* (ed. Karl Kinzel, Halle, 1884). In lines 13–14 Lamprecht acknowledges his indebtedness to Albéric:

Alberîch von Bisinzo
der brâhte uns diz lît zû.

Although Lamprecht did not slavishly translate his model, the presumption is conclusive from an examination of the Alexander romances that the passage from the German poem (ll. 1535–44), in which the world-conquest motif occurs, is a rendering of a similar passage in Albéric:

Den bal hât er mir gesant,
dâ mite hat er mir bekant,
daz iss alliz an mir sol stân,
daz der himel hat umbevan,
und ih hêre sule werden
noh an diser erden
ubir alle di rîche
di sint in ertrîche,
und ubir alle di lant,
di ie wurden genant.

From the Alexander romances[1] the motif passed into the other romances of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, in which it became more and more stressed until it reached its highest literary development in the famous chapter of Rabelais.

The *Lancelot du Lac*, so far as the writer is aware, is the first indigenous French romance in which the motif appears. In the *Lancelot*, Galehaut, the young king of Sorelois and the Illes Loingtaines, conceives the idea of conquering "one hundred and fifty kings" and "the whole world." When he makes his first appearance in the romance he has already conquered thirty kingdoms and he wishes to add

[1] The motif is found without further development in all the Alexander romances the writer has been able to examine. See Heinrich Michelant, *Li Romans d'Alexandre par Lambert li Tors et Alexandre de Bernay* (1846), fols. 11d and 12d, for its first occurrence in an extant French romance.

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Logres to these before being crowned. Fortunately for Arthur, Lancelot prevails upon Galehaut, whose fast friendship he has won by his matchless prowess, to abandon this scheme. Galahaut agrees upon a year's truce with Arthur, and returns to his kingdom of Sorelois, accompanied by Lancelot. After a year Galehaut again invades Arthur's kingdom. On this occasion the truce is converted into a treaty, which is sealed by the admission of Galehaut to be one of the Knights of the Round Table. A second time Lancelot accompanies Galehaut to Sorelois. On their return thither they pass one day by a recently built castle, called Lorguellouse Emprise, which Galehaut had designed to be Arthur's prison after his capture. It is on this occasion that Galehaut relates to Lancelot his scheme of world-conquest.

Certes biaus douls compains [he tells Lancelot] se vous savies comme de grant cuer il fut commenchies. Vous le diries bien. Car iou baoie a *conquerre tout le monde*. Se vous dirai une merveille dont iou ferai comme fols du dire. Nus beubans nest si haut montes qu'il ne soit aussi tost descendus.[1] Et iou avoie orgoel empris de trop grant desmesure. Dont laiens a moult grant partie. Car il a en cele baille et en cele tor C et L kerniaus tout par compte. Et iou avoie empris tant a conquerre que iou y metroie C et L roys dessous ma seignorie. Et quant iou lez avroie conquis si les ameneroie tous o moi en chest chastel. Et lors mi feroie couronner. Et par lonnour de moi portaissent tout couronne ensamble et iou y tenisse cort si grande et si haute comme a ma hauteche apartenist pour chou que tous li siecles parlast de moi apres ma mort. ...

Ha sire diex [said Lancelot to himself] comme chies homme me deust hair qui toutes ches choses li ai destorbees a faire. Si ai ce mest avis fait du plus viguereus homme del monde le plus lent. ...[2]

Whether from the Alexander romances alone, or also in conjunction with the *Lancelot*, and perhaps with Plutarch's *Life of Pyrrhus*, the motif passed into the Italian comic romances. In these it attains its most striking form in the *Orlando innamorato*. It occurs for the first time in Book I, xx, 44–46,[3] in which Marfisa thus apostrophizes

[1] This of course is what happens in the case of Pyrrhus, of Agramante, and of Picrochole. The rôle of Lancelot in this connection has an analogue in the rôle of Ruggiero in the *Orlando innamorato*. Also somewhat like Lancelot's function as mediator between Arthur and Galehaut is that of Parzival as mediator likewise between Arthur and Feirefis.

[2] H. O. Sommer, *The Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances* (1908–14), III, 210, 253; IV, 6–7.

[3] It might be worth nothing that in stanza 20 of this same canto there is an allusion to the Isole Lontane, probably Galehaut's Illes Loingtaines. This would indicate not only Bojardo's familiarity with the story of Lancelot and Galehaut, which may be taken for

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Rinaldo, whom she is besieging in a castle:

. . . . . .
Poi che disfatta avrò la rocca a tondo
Vo' pigliar guerra contra *tutto' l mondo.*

Primo Gradasso voglio disertare,
Ch'è Re del gran paese Sericano;
Poi Agricane ando a ritrovare,
E tutta Tartaria porto per mano.
Indi in Ponente mi convien andare,
E disfaro la Francia e Carlo Mano;
Nanti a quel tempo levarmi di dosso
Maglia, nè usbergo, nè piastra non posso.

Chè fatto ho sagramento a Trivigante
Non dispogliarmi mai di quest arnese,
Insin che le provincie tutte quante,
E castelli e cittadi non hò prese. ...

The motif is taken up again and greatly expanded in Book II, i. Agramante, the Saracen king, who, we learn in stanzas 30 and 36, is a descendant of Alexander,[1] summons to a consultation in his capital

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granted, but that this story very likely was in his mind at the very moment when he introduced the motif of world-conquest in his romance.

Cf. with the passage from Bojardo, *Morgante maggiore*, XXV, 193–94. Marsilio, in addressing his vassals, says:

"Ma se ancor taglian pur le nostre spade
Noi piglierem *tutta Christianitade.*

Noi piglierem la Francia e la Borgogna,
Inghilterra, la Fiandra e la Brettagna,
La Normandia, Navarra e la Guascogna,
La Piccardia, Provenza, e poi Lamagna;
E basta solo a me, quel che bisogna,
Conservar la mia sedia antica e magna,
Il resto, imperii e regni si sia vostro;
Chè senza voi son nulla, e tutto è vostro."

The motif occurs also in Wolfram's *Parzival*, Canto XV. When Parzival meets Feirefis for the first time the latter has under his command in his expedition against Arthur twenty-five armies recruited from as many kingdoms, which he has already conquered for the love of Sekundillé. In his enumeration of the rulers he has vanquished Feirefis calls out thirty-one names.

[1] Here might be brought together the indications pointing to the three possible sources of this incident. In stanza 21 it is said of Agramante's palace:

"Adornavano al muro ogni figura
Però ch'ivi intagliata con gran gloria,
Del Re Alessandro vi è tutta storia."

The story of Alexander as sketched in the canto tallies closely with the romances of Alexander. In the preceding note reference has been made to the allusion to the Illes Loingtaines, and hence to Galehaut's story in the *Lancelot*. In stanza 36, speaking of the motives of Alexander in conquering the whole world, Agramante says:

"Nè vi crediate, che Alessandro il grande,
Vincesse il mondo, ne per star in festa,"

words which may possibly be an echo of Pyrrhus'.

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of Biserta his thirty-two vassal kings in order to deliberate over an invasion which he is meditating of Charlemagne's kingdom with a view of extending the creed of Mohammed.[1] Branzardo, king of Bugia, tries to dissuade him by saying that this war will prove vain and baneful to him. King Sobrino exposes the difficulties of such an expedition. The soothsaying king of Garamanta prophesies the disasters that will overtake the Saracen hosts. Nevertheless, Agramante decides on war (stanzas 63–64) in these boastful words:

Signor, io pur voglio passare
In ogni modo contra a Carlo Mano
E voglio che ciascun debba venire,
Chè io soglio commandar, non obbedire.

Nè vi crediate, poi che la corona
Sarà di Carlo rotta e dissipata,
Aver riposo sotto mia persona.
Vinta che sia la gente battezzata,
Addosso gli altri el mio cor s'abbandona,
Fin che la terra hò tutto soggiogata.
Poiche batturo avrò tutta la terra
Ancor nel Paradiso io vo' far guerra.

Next we come to the *locus classicus* of this motif, *Gargantua* 33. Rabelais[2] essays in his turn the ancient theme, and with inimitable verve, with many comic and even grotesque enlivenments, for some of which he is indebted to Plutarch, he succeeds in pouring new life into it, and expanding it into a tableau of epic amplitude.

Picrochole, intoxicated with the flattery of his captains, forms the project of conquering the whole world—or at least that part of it worth conquering then. In pursuance of this grandiose scheme his army is to be divided into two parts. The first part, after annihilating Grandgousier's forces and subduing his kingdom, is to pass on into Spain and Africa, and, turning eastward, to conquer both littorals of the Mediterranean and everything in between. Reaching Asia, it is to subdue all of Asia Minor, then turn back and end its labors with the

[1] Galehaut has already conquered *thirty* kings when he attacks Arthur; Feirefis has under his sway twenty-five kingdoms and enumerates *thirty-one* rulers who have fallen under his lance; Agramante is the suzerain of *thirty-two* kings. These three numbers, which are nearly the same, would seem to indicate a relationship subsisting between these different variations of the same motif.

[2] The writer in his study, *The Influence of the Arthurian Romances on the Five Books of Rabelais* (University of California Press, 1926), chap. ii, has shown that there were accessible to Rabelais most of the prior romances in which the motif occurs.

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capture of Constantinople. The second half of the army is to conquer, in the meantime, Brittany first, then likewise turning towards the east, is to subdue the middle and northern half of Europe, and meet in Constantinople the first army, now on its way back from its Asiatic conquests.[1]

A last echo of the motif is found in Corneille.

Rabelais' romance was quite popular in the first half of the seventeenth century:[2] In its first third it went through nine editions, though through five only in its last two-thirds; the old romances of chivalry were still in vogue;[3] Alexander's personality and career aroused as al-

[1] Among those present at the meeting when this all-embracing scheme of conquest is adopted is an old "gentilhomme, esprouvé en divers hazars et vray routier de guerre" named Echephron. His character corresponds closely with that of Sobrino and may have been suggested by it. After listening in silence to this fantastic project, he remarks: "J'ay grand peur que toute ceste enterprinse sera semblable à la farce du *pot au lait*, duquel un cordouanier se faisait riche par resverie; puis le pot cassé, n'eut de quoy disner." With Echephron's warning cf. La Fontaine, *La Laitière et le pot au lait*, VII, 10:

"Le récit [Perrette's misadventure] en farce fut fait
Et on l'appela le Pot au lait.
. . . . . .
Pierochole, Pyrrhus, la laitière, enfin tous. ..."

From Echephron's warning and La Fontaine's words it is clear that both Rabelais and La Fontaine by linking together the *pot au lait* motif: (*a*) the fantastic day-dream of a highly imaginative person (*b*) which is shattered in some whimsical manner, with the world-conquest motif: (*a*) a fantastic dream of universal conquest (*b*) which from one cause or another does not become translated into reality, recognized in all these stories two aspects of the same basic idea. The *pot au lait* motif has twice been admirably studied: by Max Müller, "On the Migration of Fables," *Contemporary Review*, 1870, and by A. Joly, "Sur deux fables de La Fontaine," *Mémoirs de l'Academie de Caen* (1877), pp. 399–509. On the farces mentioned by Rabelais and La Fontaine see Petit de Julleville, *Répertoire du théâtre comique du moyen âge* (1886), pp. 311–12.

[2] Pierre Villey, *Marot et Rabelais* (1923), pp. 332–33, mentions the following admirers of Rabelais: Régnier and his imitators in satire, Cigogne and d'Esternod; Furetière; the libertine school: Lamothe-Levayer, Naudet, Gassendi, Patin, and Cyrano de Bergerac; the burlesque school: Saint-Amant, Scarron, and d'Assoucy. In addition he mentions Molière, who borrowed not only many ideas from Rabelais, but also, as Brunetière has shown in the article, "La Philosophie de Molière," *Etudes sur l'historie de la littérature française* (4th series, 1912), his philosophy of naturism; Racine, La Fontaine, and Mme de Sévigné. Villey should not have overlooked La Bruyère and Boileau.

[3] In his *French Classicism* (1920), C. H. C. Wright says, on p. 138: "The seventeenth century classicism was absolutely unable to appreciate the spirit of the old medieval epic. The *chansons de geste* and the romances had disappeared, except insofar as in their prose form they were considered uncouth legends for which nobody, save unexpectedly Chapelain, had a good word." This statement is perhaps excessive. The old romances, in the forms which began to appear in print about 1478 and continued to appear far into the eighteenth century, were widely read in the first half of the seventeenth century, and if in the second half their popularity waned it was due to the competition of the romances of the school of Mlle de Scudéry. The writer is under the impression that the old romances are frequently mentioned by writers in the seventeenth century. Among others, Voiture mentions with approbation the *Amadis de Gaule* in his *Epître à Monseigneur le Prince sur son retour d'Allemagne*. La Fontaine tells us in Ballade vii (*Regnier*, IX, 22) that *Perceval le Gallois* was one of the romances he read, and Boileau in Epître xi alludes to the *Maugis d'Aigremont*, the *Quatre fils Aymon*, and *L'hystoire d'Alexandre*.

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ways a lively interest and admiration; Plutarch was widely read. From any or all of these sources Corneille may have secured the idea for the imaginative flight of the Infante, *Le Cid*, II, v, 529–52, in which she sees in Rodrigue a *nouveau conquérant* who will equal all the exploits of the *plus fameux guerriers*.

L'INFANTE

Si Rodrigue une fois sort vainqueur du combat,
Si dessous sa valeur ce grand guerrier s'abat,
Je puis en faire cas, je puis l'aimer sans honte.
Que ne fera-t-il point, s'il peut vaincre le comte!
J'ose m'imaginer qu'à ses moindres exploits
Les royaumes entiers tomberont sous ses lois;
Et mon amour flatteur déjà me persuade
Que je le vois assis au trône de Grenade,
Les Maures subjugués trembler en l'adorant,
L'Aragon recevoir ce nouveau conquérant,
Le Portugal se rendre, et ses nobles journées
Porter delà les mers ses hautes destinées;
Du sang des Africains arroser ses lauriers;
Enfin tout ce qu'on dit des plus fameux guérriers,
Je l'attends de Rodrigue après cette victoire,
Et fais de son amour un sujet de ma gloire.

LÉONOR

Mais, madame, voyez où vous portez son bras,
Ensuite d'un combat qui peut-être n'est pas.

L'INFANTE

Rodrigue est offensé, le comte a fait l'outrage;
Il sont sortis ensemble, en faut-il davantage?

LÉONOR

Eh bien ils se battront puisque vous le voulez;
Mais Rodrigue ira-t-il si loin que vous allez?

The passage from *Le Cid* seems to be a *donnée*, to be sure *en raccourci*, quite analogous with the famous consultation between Picrochole and his captains. Of course it is not possible to say with assurance that Rabelais inspired Corneille. However, the similarity in architectonics between Rabelais' chapter and the lines from Corneille, i.e. (*a*) a

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vision of extensive conquests, and (*b*) a warning, would seem to indicate that if Corneille consciously had a model in mind it must have been the Rabelaisian romance.

In résumé, three points might be stressed. First, the idea of world-conquest goes back to the dawn of the race, where it is found in myths and is invested with an eschatological meaning; second, with the pseudo-Callisthenes it passes into literature and eventually loses all eschatological significance, but to offset this loss it progressively undergoes expansion under its new guise of a literary motif; third, it is a striking illustration of the viability of an idea and its ability to suffer change in response to the changing requirements of time.

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SOME OBSCURE POINTS IN THE LIFE OF SOR JUANA INÉS DE LA CRUZ

I

The biography of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz is yet to be written. Though much has appeared on the subject, many things still remain unexplained. Material of the period in which she lived is very limited. The fact that she was a nun made her figure less in the works of her contemporaries than would otherwise have been the case, and the period of literary stagnation following her death contributed still further to the oblivion in which she rested. When interest in Sor Juana finally revived in Mexico, it was already too late to preserve the documents that existed in the convent of St. Jerome and elsewhere. The laws of reform and the final closing of convents and monasteries scattered books of inestimable value. It is possible, however, even at this remote date to glean a few facts from the meager material that has come down to us. The present article is an attempt to answer in the light of contemporary books and manuscripts a few questions asked over and over again by her many biographers.

One question often raised is: Why did Sor Juana go into a convent? Why did she not remain in the world where she was admired for her beauty and her mental attainments? It will be remembered that Juana became lady-in-waiting to the Marchioness of Mancera, whose husband was the Viceroy of Mexico from 1664 to 1673. Endowed with a pleasing personality and gifted with unusual talents, she quickly attracted powerful friends at court, and met the outstanding people of her time. One would naturally expect that her life would here reach its climax in a blaze of glory. But in 1667, when not quite sixteen, she suddenly retired from the court and entered a convent. Why?

Some of her biographers believe that she must have taken this step because of an unfortunate love affair. Amado Nervo says:

Dicen ... que cierto caballero ... se le adentró en el corazón, logrando inspirarle un gran afecto; añaden unos, que este gentilhombre estaba muy alto

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para que Juana, hidalga, pero pobre, pudiese ascender hasta él; otros, que se murió en flor cuando iba ya a posarse sobre sus manos unidas la bendición que ata para siempre. Juana de Asbaje, inconsolable, buscó alivio en el estudio y en el retiro.[1]

This romantic legend has long been connected with Juana's name. The story is based on nothing more substantial than the fact that her works contain a large number of love lyrics. This is insufficient evidence on which to build a case.

A few have accepted Juana's own explanation of the decisive change in her life and have declared that she entered a convent to find a place where she could devote herself to her intellectual interests. It must be remembered that she was one of the most unusual personalities developed in the New World, and is hardly to be judged by ordinary standards. José Vigil, one of the first to appreciate her remarkable personality, says:

> Muchos se han ocupado en conjeturar que la resolución de Sor Juana para haber adoptado la vida monástica, puede haber procedido de un amor desgraciado. ... Yo creo, sin embargo, que tal opinión se apoya en un conocimiento imperfecto del carácter de la escritora mexicana.
>
> Yo veo en Sor Juana uno de esos espíritus superiores, ... que son incapaces de sucumbir a debilidades vulgares.[2]

According to her own confession, she had been, from the age of three, a most enthusiastic devotee of learning. She had devoured any and every book that came within her reach. At the age of fifteen she had already established a reputation as the most learned woman in Mexico. That she sought refuge in her books because of a broken heart is impossible. It was because of her learning that she gained a position at the viceregal court. Her books were her first love, and they were probably one of the reasons that impelled her to seek the seclusion of a cloister.

One looks in vain for a religious motive underlying this important step in her life.[3] She even hesitated because she was afraid that con-

[1] *Juana de Asbaje* (Madrid, 1910), p. 78.

[2] *Discurso pronunciado en la velada literaria que consagró el Liceo Hidalgo a la memoria de Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz* (Mexico, 1874), pp. 48–49.

[3] For a discussion of this side of the question see Nemesio García Naranjo, "Biografía de Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz," *Anales del Museo Nacional de México, segunda época*, Vol. III, No. 1 (Mexico, 1906), pp. 567–68.

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vent life would interfere with her intellectual labors. She herself says that she did not wish any

... ocupacion obligatoria, que embaraçasse la libertad de mi estudio, ni rumor de Comunidad, que impidiesse el sossegado silencio de mis Libros. Esto me hizo vacilar algo en la determinacion, hasta que alumbrandome personas Doctas, de que era tentacion, la vencì con el favor Divino ... .[1]

The biographer of her confessor testifies that she hesitated before taking the step.

Se sintió llamada de Dios al retiro ... mas retardabale el parecerle cõdicion indispensable á las obligaciones de esse estado, aver de abandonar los libros, y estudios, en que desde sus primeros años tenia colocados todos sus carîños. Consultó su vocació, y temores con el Venerable Padre Antonio Nuñes .... Ya tenia el Padre noticia de las prendas, y dones singulares, que avia el cielo depositado en aquella niña ... y ... aprobò ... la vocacion ... animandola á sacrificar á Dios aquellas primeras flores de sus estudios, si conociesse, que le avian de ser estorvo à la perfeccion ... .[2]

Juana knew that the religious state might interfere with her labors. In spite of this fact, however, she finally decided to become a nun. There must have been, then, another and a more powerful reason that caused her to take the veil. What was it?

Most of Juana's biographers have examined this point in her life with the eyes of the present instead of with the eyes of the past. To understand Juana's motives one must go back to the period in which she lived, and study the social conditions of her time. She lived in a most licentious age. A careful study of contemporary writers shows that moral conditions in Mexico were very bad. The presence of many races, of adventurers, of loose women and worse men brought about conditions that were possibly unequaled elsewhere in the world. How bad they were the following entry in a contemporary chronicle shows:

En 12 murió el Br. Antonio Calderón de Benavides, natural de Méjico, uno de los más singulares clérigos que ha tenido este arzobispado: sobre ser muy galán, de muy linda cara y muy rico, fué constante opinión que se conservó virgen.[3]

[1] "Respuesta de la poetisa a la muy ilustre Sor Philotea de la Cruz," *Fama y obras posthumas* (Barcelona, 1701), p. 18. References hereafter will be to this edition.

[2] Juan de Oviedo, *Vida y virtudes del Venerable Padre Antonio Nuñes de Miranda* (Mexico, 1702), p. 133.

[3] Antonio de Robles, "Diario de sucesos notables," *Documentos para la historia de Méjico, primera serie*, Vol. III (Mexico, 1853), under date of July 12, 1668.

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Had this not been an astonishing fact, the chronicler would not have taken the pains to record it. The male element of the population was under no restraint (even the priesthood was no exception) and roamed at will, preying on society. Not only immorality, but depravity and bestiality reigned. Things came to such a pass that the Inquisition brought the attention of the civil government to this state of affairs. In a letter written by the inquisitors in 1664 we read:

> ... veemos de tres ó cuatro años á esta parte en las causas que han ocurrido, principalmente de religiosos, que se halla comprehendido en este crimen mucho número de personas eclesiásticas y seculares ... si á este cáncer no se pone remedio, ... parece muy dificultoso que después lo pueda tenar. ... si el Santo Oficio no lo remedia, la justicia seglar no parece que ha de ser suficiente.[1]

The civil government, however, refused to interfere. The church was therefore forced to devise ways and means of combating this evil. If they could not fight it through the men, they could fight it through the women. By building convents and houses of refuge and putting women in them they hoped to improve matters somewhat, and protect women at the same time.

In all of this the attitude of the church toward women was medieval. They were looked upon as an ever present source of temptation to man. Ecclesiastics who did not wish to be tempted avoided them. The biographer of Francisco de Aguiar y Seixas, Archbishop of Mexico from 1682 to 1698, says:

> ... ponderaba [su Ill^ma] quã necessario era para conservar la castidad el recato de la vista; encargaba que no se visitassen mugeres sin grave causa, y aun entonces, quando era necessaria la visita, no se les avia de mirar à la cara ... le oymos decir algunas vezes, que si supiera avian entrado algunas mugeres en su casa, avia de mandar arrancar los ladrillos que ellas avian pisado ... .
>
> Y este género de orror, y aversion a las mugeres fue cosa de toda su vida, predicando siempre contra sus visitas, y sus galas ... . Tenia por beneficio grande de Dios el aver sido corto de vista.[2]

Juana's confessor, Antonio Núñez, was just as discreet. His biographer says that his motto was "Con las Señoras gran cautela en los ojos, no dexarme tocar, ni besar la mano, ni mirarlas al rostro, o

[1] José Toribio Medina, *Historia del tribunal del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición de México* (Santiago de Chile, 1905), pp. 321–22. Part of this document is unprintable.

[2] José Lezamis, *Breve relacion de la vida, y muerte del Doctor D. Francisco de Aguiar y Seyxas*, Mexico, 1699. Not paged. See chapter entitled: "De su castidad, mortificacion, y penitencia."

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trage, ni visitar a ninguna ... ." And that he might not be tempted, he says: "Por las calles iba siẽpre con los ojos en el suelo, de la misma manera estaba en las visitas ... . Por evitar qualquiera ocasion de que ... le tocassen, ò besassen las manos ... las llevaba siempre cubiertas con el manteo."[1] Many similar instances could be cited.

It was in such a world that Juana grew up. On the one hand, extreme license; on the other, extreme prudery. Out of such a state of society the famous *Redondillas* were born. Is it not this very attitude and these very conditions that she challenged so boldly in "Hombres necios, que acusáis a la mujer sin razón"? Is it not the terrible dissoluteness of the men of her time that she epitomizes with the words "Juntáis diablo, carne y mundo"?

To remedy this state of affairs, the church began to build *recogimientos*. Some of these were for *mujeres malas;* others for widows, orphans, and single women. The Bishop of Puebla, Manuel Fernández de Santa Cruz, built a number of such *recogimientos* in his diocese, but they would not accommodate all the women clamoring for admission. His biographer writes:

Franqueadas las puertas de su Palacio empezaron à entrar por ellas en busca de su Pastor ... muchas mugeres que deseaban guardar intacta la Flor de la pureza, que hasta entonces habian conservado, ... pero recelaban timidas perderla ò por ser muy pobres, ò por ser por hermosas, muy perseguidas.[2]

Of the Bishop's efforts on their behalf the same writer says:

Compuesta ya en la forma dicha la Casa de las recogidas, determinò el Señor Don Manuel aplicar el remedio que le pedia la pureza de pobres nobles, y hermosas Doncellas para su resguardo; y aunque yà en la Ciudad avia un Collegio de Virgines, en que pudo assegurar algunas de las que reconocio en mayor peligro, assi por la corta capacidad de dicho Collegio, como por el numero de las pretendientes, tan crecido, que le viniera estrecho el mas espacioso Claustro, discurriò con su animo generoso, comprar la possession de cierto sitio, para eregir a las Flores de la Virginidad un Collegio; pero como cada dia escuchaban sus atentos oydos mas y mas clamores de pobres Doncellas, se hallò obligado à formarles dos Collegios, ô cerrados Huertos, donde negadas à el examen de la ossadia, conservassen intactos los candòres de su virginal pureza.

De los dos dichos Collegios, como de floridos Huertos, salieron muchas Doncellas a florecer transplantadas en Monasterios religiosos, en que man-

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 153–54.

[2] Miguel de Torres, *Dechado de principes eclesiasticos* (Puebla, 1716), p. 123.

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teniendo el credito de la virtud, subieron cõ presurosos pasos à la cumbre de la perfecciõ; otras sugetandose à las coyundas de el Matrimonio desempeñaron bien la buena educacion ... .[1]

This was the state of affairs in the diocese of Puebla. In Guadalaxara and other places conditions were the same. How about Mexico City? The biographer of Domingo Pérez de Barcía says:

No puede negarse la heroicad, y grandeza de la obra de enclaustrar mugeres, que voluntariamente se retiren, huyendo del Mundo, y sus peligros, para no caer en sus lazos, ni dàr en sus precipios, viendose expuestas, yá por la libertad en que viven, yà por la necessidad en que se hallan à vender su hermosura, à costa de su honestidad, valiendose de sus cuerpos para perdicion de sus almas. De la grandeza de esta obra se via privada esta Ciudad de Mexico, y tan necessitada de ella, quanto se atendia de mugeres mas abastecida, que no pudiendo todas entrar en Monasterios, se lloraban en el siglo en manifiestos peligros ... .[2]

He goes on to say that various attempts were made to establish *recogimientos*, but lack of funds always prevented the realization of the project. A Jesuit, Luis de San Vitores, even wrote a book on the need of a *refugio*, and[3] finally, with the help of Father Xavier Vidal, a house big enough to accommodate six hundred women was built. But money was lacking for the maintenance of the place, and so Payo Henríquez de Ribera, Archbishop of Mexico from 1668 to 1680, was obliged to give the house to the Bethlemites for a hospital.[4]

During this time Juana was living at the viceregal court in *la publicidad del siglo*. She was the talk of the town because of her brilliant attainments. What her situation was she describes clearly in *Los empeños de una casa:*

Era de mi patria toda
El Objecto venerado
De aquellas adoraciones,
Que forma el comun aplauso,
. . . . . .
Llegò la supersticion
Popular à empeño tanto
Que ya adoraban Deydad
El Idolo que formaron.
. . . . . .

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 124–25, 150. Also see José Gómez de la Parra, *Panegyrico funeral de Manuel Fernandes de Santa Cruz* (Puebla, 1699), p. 64.

[2] Julián Gutiérrez Dávila, *Vida y virtudes de Domingo Peres de Barcia* (Madrid, 1720), pp. 27–28.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 30.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

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Que aviendo sido al principio
Aquel culto voluntario,
Llegò despues la costumbre,
Favorecida de tantos,
A hazer como obligatorio,
El festejo cortesano,
. . . . . .
Sin temor en los concursos
Defendia mi recato
Con peligro del peligro,
Y con el daño del daño.
. . . . . .
Mis padres en mi mesura,
Vanamente assegurados,
Se descuidaron comigo:
Que dictamen tan errado.[1]

She was a curiosity, a veritable *monstruo de la naturaleza*, and must have been the object of persistent and in many cases unwelcome attentions. If ordinary women were in danger, the beautiful Juana Inés certainly was. To be sure, she had the protection of the Viceroy. But how long would the Marquis of Mancera retain that office? In a change of administration what would be her fate? Her family was poor, and besides, in her day the chimney-corner for the spinster member of the family had not yet been heard of. Moreover, she was a *criolla* living at a Spanish court. She was therefore at its mercy. That her position was not safe, we may gather from the biography of her confessor:

... el Padre Antonio ... aviendo conocido ... lo singular de su erudicion junto con no pequeña hermosura, atractivos todos á la curiosidad de muchos, que desearian conocerla, y tendrian por felicidad el cortejarla, solia decir, q̃ no podia Dios embiar asote mayor a aqueste Reyno, que si permitiesse, que Juana Ines se quedara en la publicidad del siglo.[2]

He goes on to tell why she left the convent of St. Joseph and adds: " ... le fue forçoso salir, y buscar otro puerto en donde atendiendo cõ menos peligros de enfermedad ... se viesse libre de las muchas olas que la amenazaban."[3] Her biographer, Father Calleja, expresses the same idea. She realized, he says, that " ... la buena cara de una muger pobre es una pared blanca donde no hay necio, que no quiera echar

[1] *Segundo tomo de las obras de Soror Juana Ines de la Cruz* (Sevilla, 1692), Act I.
[2] Juan de Oviedo, *op. cit.*, p. 133. [3] *Ibid.*, pp. 134–35.

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su borron: que aun la mesura de la honestidad sirve de riesgo, porque ay ojos, que en el yelo deslizan mas: ... ."[1] And she herself says of this step: " ... con todo, para la total negacion que tenia al Matrimonio, era lo menos desproporcionado y lo mas decente, que podia elegir en materia de la seguridad ... de mi salvacion."[2]

It was, undoubtedly, necessary for her to retire from public life at court. There was no *recogimiento* where she might live until she could decide definitely on her future occupation. She was, therefore, practically forced to choose convent life, or be at the mercy of the world. Juana Inés was, perhaps, even lucky to get into a convent, for there was not room for all who applied. With the powerful influence, however, of the Viceroy and of Father Núñez, a haven was found for her. The influence of the latter in this decisive step is not to be overlooked. He it was who finally persuaded her and hastened the ceremony lest the devil should tempt, meanwhile, his beloved Juana Inés.

We may safely conclude that the deep, underlying reason for Juana's retirement from the world is to be found in the social conditions of her time. She was persuaded to take the step, too, in the hope of being somewhat favorably situated for a continuation of her intellectual labors. And when she came under the influence of that powerful *norte de la Inquisición*, the pious Father Núñez, she accepted his advice and took the veil. That she tried convent life a second time shows what serious and what pressing reasons she had for taking the step.

II

Another question recently brought to the fore is whether Juana should properly be called Juana de Asbaje or Juana Ramírez. Amado Nervo, writing in 1910, called her Juana de Asbaje. Fernández del Castillo, writing in 1920,[3] calls her Juana Ramírez, and insists that this is correct, since she herself signed her name that way. He tries to

[1] "Aprobación," *Fama y obras posthumas.*

[2] *Fama y obras posthumas*, p. 18. As for matrimony, it is possible that the Viceroy had already selected a husband for her. This seems to have been the regular procedure, at any rate, and Juana had no reason to suppose that he would not select one in her case. Doña Oliva Merleti, a lady-in-waiting at the court, entered the Capuchin order in preference to marrying a man selected for her by the Marquis of Mancera. See Ignacio de Peña, *Trono mexicano en el convento de Capuchinas* (Madrid, 1726), p. 213.

[3] Francisco Fernández del Castillo, *Doña Catalina Xudres Marcayda* (Mexico, 1920).

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prove that she was related to the Hernán Cortés family on her mother's side, her mother's name being Isabel Ramírez de Santillana. Speaking of her name, he says:

> Sor Juana, según el uso actual, debería de llevar el apellido Asvaje, que era el de su padre, ... pero en aquella época cada hijo llevaba, diferente apellido, lo que origina no pocos trastornos en las investigaciones genealógicas; de suerte que, aun cuando le correspondía el apellido Asvaje, como ella firmaba Juana Ramírez, ese es el suyo verdadero, con el que se le debe mencionar, y así consta en su retrato que se conserva en el Museo Provincial de Toledo ... .[1]

The inscription on the picture mentioned reads: "En el siglo fue conocida por D.ª Juana Ramirez (por q̃ assi firmaba)."[2] A careful study of this document shows that it is incorrect on two points. The author of the inscription goes on to say: "Tomo el Havito de Religiosa en el Conv.to dl Eximio D.r de la Iglesia S.a Geronimo de esta Ciud. de Mex.co ẽ 24 de Feb.o de 1668 a.s a los 17. de su edad ... ." This is inaccurate as to her age, for she was only sixteen. Another error in the inscription is the following: " ... haviendo vivido 44 años, 5 meses, 5 dias, y 5 horas." It should read: "43 años, 5 meses, etc." It seems possible, therefore, that the writer was also mistaken in regard to her signature. But Fernández del Castillo goes on to say:

> Se podría objetar que el retrato de la religiosa que se conserva en Toledo es muy posterior a la muerte de la poetisa, pero habiendo sido sacado según datos tomados del Convento de San Jerónimo en donde vivió, es claro que las religiosas sabrían cual era el verdadero nombre de Sor Juana.[3]

It is, in fact, more than likely that in the convent of St. Jerome she was always thought of as Juana Ramírez, rather than as Juana de Asbaje. It is a well-known fact that her mother was a *criolla* and her father a Spaniard (Basque). As Juana Ramírez she was a *criolla*. As Juana de Asbaje she was Spanish. It is also a well-known fact that in Mexico at that time the only avenues of preferment open to the *criollos* were the university and the church. In fact, so strong were the *criollos* becoming in the church during the seventeenth century that by the time of the Marquis of Mancera the Augustinians were demanding that all candidates for admission to the order be native

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 83.

[2] For a copy of this document see Amado Nervo, *op. cit.*, opp. p. 96.

[3] *Loc. cit.*

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born.[1] This caused constant bickering between the two factions. The convent of St. Jerome belonged to the Augustinian order. To enter it, therefore, one had to be a native of New Spain. That such was the case the following passage shows:

> Estaba yá para tomar el Avito cierta doncella, en el Convento de S. Geronimo, y no teniendo la dote para ello, entraba con nombramiento de algunos, que en dicho convento ay dotados; pero al fin, se advirtiò faltarle a esta doncella una de las condiciones, que la fundacion pedia; conviene, a saber, el que sean nacionales de Mexico, y esta no lo era; por lo qual huvosele de impedir su entrada ... .[2]

When one considers that this was a foundation for *criollos*, that the hatred between the natives and the governing class was increasing, and that toward the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth this hatred was becoming more and more open, one can well understand why the nuns of St. Jerome might have given out that Sor Juana was Juana Ramírez. To date, however, no such signature has been found.

There is evidence, on the other hand, that while she was at the viceregal court she went by the name of Asbaje. In 1668 Diego de Ribera published a poem by Doña Iuana Ynés de Asuage.[3] In November of the preceding year Juana had left the convent of St. Joseph. If she was known as Juana de Asbaje in 1668 she must have been so called before she entered the convent in August, 1667. In other words, this was certainly her name at court. It was, undoubtedly, to her advantage to go by her Spanish name as lady-in-waiting to the Vicereine. Whether she had been known as Juana Ramírez before she went to court nobody knows. It is possible that the *criollos* knew her by that name. However, in the absence of more definite proof favoring the name Ramírez it seems preferable to continue to call her Asbaje since we know that she actually went by that name in 1668.

An easier question to answer is: Which name did she herself prefer? In the *Libro de Prophessiones* of the convent of St. Jerome she wrote: "Yo soror Ju[a] ynes de la chruz hija legima de don p[o] de

[1] Vicente Riva Palacio, *México a través de los siglos* (Mexico: Ballescá y Cía), II, 669.

[2] Julián Gutiérrez Dávila, *op. cit.*, pp. 351–52.

[3] This appeared in *Poetica descripcion de la pompa plausible que admiró esta Ciudad de Mexico en la Dedicacion de su Templo* (Mexico, 1668). This is cited by Medina, *La Imprenta en México* (8 vols.; Santiago de Chile, 1907–12), No. 1004. A copy of this work exists in the *Biblioteca Palafoxiana* in Puebla, Mexico.

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asvaje y bargas machuca Y de isabel rramires, etc."[1] It will be noticed that she signs her father's name in full. This seems to indicate that at that time she preferred that name. Vargas Machuca is an honored name in the annals of Spanish arms, and the name Asbaje aligned her with the Basques, who must be credited with notable achievements in the New World. Was she a *criolla* or a Spaniard at heart? Her works show both tendencies. With their publication, however, she seems to have put herself definitely on the Spanish side. Her second volume, which appeared in Seville in 1692, was dedicated to Don Juan de Orue y Arbieto, a Basque. In that dedication she says: " ... siendo, como soy Rama de Vizcaya, y Vm. de sus nobilissimas familias de *las Casas de Orue y Arbieto*, vuelvan los frutos à su tronco, y los arroyuelos de mis discursos tributen sus corrientes al Mar à quiẽ reconocen su Origẽ." In some of her works she even used the Basque dialect. She was proud of her Basque ancestry. This, too, argues in favor of the name Asbaje.

III

Another question that has been discussed is: Why did Juana, when she was at the height of her fame, renounce fame? It seems impossible at first glance that Sor Juana, having made herself famous, having earned the title of *la décima musa*, and having published in Spain two volumes of poetry, should suddenly renounce her intellectual labors, her mathematical and musical instruments, her library of four thousand volumes, and everything that for her made life worth living to devote herself to a life of cilices and scourges, fasts and vigils. She had lived in the convent of St. Jerome a quarter of a century. She had lived on terms of intimacy with the most prominent people of the city. In Spain she had been the object of dozens of laudatory poems and articles. But for the second time in her life she suddenly retired from the world, and this time it was to lead the life of an ascetic, the life of a martyr. Why?

The blame for this strange renunciation has been generally laid at the door of the Bishop of Puebla, Manuel Fernández de Santa Cruz. A few attributed it to the Inquisition or to Father Núñez. Others

[1] This manuscript is now in my possession. González Obregón was the first to reproduce any part of it. See *El Renacimineto, segunda época* (Mexico, 1894), pp. 237–38.

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have frankly declared it inexplicable. To understand the situation, let us go back and review briefly the preceding period in the life of Sor Juana.

In the year 1680 a new viceroy, the Count of Paredes, came to Mexico. The *cabildo* of the cathedral asked Juana to write a poem for one of the *arcos* erected in his honor. Placed thus in the limelight, it is not surprising that a friendship developed between Juana and the Count and Countess of Paredes. This was the beginning of a brilliant and happy period for the gifted nun. Her new patrons encouraged her in her literary ambitions. It was for them that she wrote some of her best works. During their residence in New Spain, Sor Juana devoted much more time than the church approved of to worldly things. The Viceroy and his wife were frequent visitors at the convent. The nun became very popular in court circles, and was the object of many attentions, of gifts, of letters, of poems. She was in constant contact with the world. She was in such demand socially that she could hardly find time for her literary work. In the spring of 1688, however, her patrons returned to Spain. With their departure Juana lost her most powerful protectors in New Spain. Though on friendly terms with the Conde de Galve, viceroy from 1688 to 1696, there was not the strong personal bond that bound her to his predecessor. It is to the Countess of Paredes that we owe the first volume of Juana's works.

The period just sketched had disastrous consequences for Sor Juana. Her worldly life brought down upon her the criticism of the more sinister, the more fanatical element in the church. Father Núñez broke off all relations with her. Oviedo says in this connection:

> Bien quisiera el Padre Antonio que tan singulares prendas se dedicassen solo á Dios, y que entendimiento tan sublime tuviesse solo por pasto las divinas perfecciones del Esposo que avia tomado. Y aunque se han engañado muchos, persuadidos, á que el Padre Antonio le prohibia á la Madre Iuana el exercicio decente de la Poesia sanctificado con los exemplos de grandes siervos, y siervas de Dios, estorvabale si quãto podia la publicidad, y continuadas correspondencias de palabra, y por escrito con los de fuera; y temiendo que el affecto a los estudios por demasiado no declinasse al extremo de vicioso, y le robasse el tiempo que el estado santo de la Religion pide de derecho ... le aconsejaba con las mejores razones que podia, á que agradecida al cielo por los dones conque la avia enriquecido olvidada del todo de la tierra pusiera sus pesamientos ... en el mismo cielo.

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Viendo pues el Padre Antonio, que no podia conseguir lo que desseaba, se retirò totalmente de la assistencia à la Madre Juana ... .[1]

Father Núñez was one of the most powerful ecclesiastics in New Spain. Because of his learning he was popularly known as the "encyclopedia of the Jesuits." There is plenty of evidence to show that all important cases of the Inquisition passed through his hands. The break,[2] therefore, between him and Sor Juana was a most serious matter. The fact that Father Núñez disapproved of her conduct must have ranged against her some of the other intolerant churchmen of the time, such men as José Vidal and the Archbishop himself.

The latter was something of a fanatic. His character was very different from that of his precedessor, the much esteemed Fray Payo in whose honor Juana wrote several poems. Her relations with Aguiar y Seixas must have been quite different, for she never mentions him. If the biographer of the Archbishop is to be trusted, there was probably a good reason why he and Juana were not on intimate terms. He says:

Para remediar los pecados importa mucho el quitar las rayzes de ellos: en esto ponia el Señor Arçobispo mucho cuydado. Una causa muy principal de muchos pecados, suelen ser las comedias, y fiestas de toros; por lo qual aborrecia mucho su Ill.ma estas, y otras semejantes fiestas, à que concurren muchos de todo genero de personas, hombres y mugeres. Predicaba con gran acrimonia contra estos toros, y comedias, y los estorvò siempre que pudo: quando andabamos en las visitas mandaba que en las solemnidades de los Santos, aunque fuessen titulares, no huviesse semejantes fiestas; ... .

Otro medio de que usaba el Señor Arçobispo para desterrar los vicios, y plãtar las virtudes, era el procurar acabar con los libros profanos de comedias, y otros; y repartir libros devotos. Quando venimos de España, truxo unos mil y quinientos libros, que se intitulan *Consuelo de pobres*, que tratan con especialidad de la limosna, para repartirlos entre los ricos, y trocarlos por otros libros malos; y assi lo hazia. Persuadia à los libreros, que no tomassen libros de comedias; y trocò con algunos de ellos todos quantos tenian por los dichos arriba de consuelo de pobres: y luego quemaba los de las comedias: ... .[3]

That Aguiar was a bitter enemy of the worldly life of the times is shown by the following extract from a contemporary:

Il Lunedi 27. dovea andare la Signora V. Regnia, con suo marito, in S. Agostino *de las Cuevas*, invitati dal Tesoriere della Casa della moneta; ma poi

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 134, 136.

[2] It is impossible to fix the exact date of this rupture. It must have taken place at some time during Juana's greatest worldly activity, i.e., between 1680 and 1690.

[3] *Op. cit.*, chapter entitled: "De la oracion, contemplacion, amor de Dios y del proximo del Señor Arçobispo."

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se n'astennero, per far cosa grata a Monsignor Arcivescovo, il quale biasimava quel passatempo, como scandaloso.[1]

Life in Mexico changed under his administration. It took on a gloomier aspect. Many festival days were abolished,[2] and an effort was made to reform the habits and customs of the people.

Under such an archbishop Juana passed the last days of her life. That Juana wrote *comedias* and even published them must have been a crime in his eyes. In Mexico during his administration no *comedias* and almost no secular verse were finding their way into print.[3] Conditions in Mexico were quite different from what they were in Spain, though even in Spain a movement which opposed the theater was gaining ground. Conditions in Spain, nevertheless, were liberal as compared with those that obtained in New Spain. What the difference was becomes plain when we consider that the books of Sor María de Jesús de Ágreda which were taken off the Index abroad (even the celebrated *Mística Ciudad de Dios* being cleared by the Pope)[4] were prohibited in Mexico by an edict of the Inquisition in 1690.[5] Moreover, the fact that Sor Juana's works appeared in Spain is significant. This was due to the strict censorship[6] on books that existed in New Spain, rather than to other difficulties of publication such as expense and scarcity of paper. The fact that of all her works the most popular one in Mexico was a religious work, the many times reprinted *Ofrecimientos para un Rosario de quince Misterios*, is also highly significant. One is forced to the conclusion that the publication of her collected works would have been impossible in Mexico. The fact that she published them in Spain must have widened the breach that was gradually

[1] Gio. Francesco Gemelli Careri, *Giro del mondo, sesta parte* (Naples, 1700), p. 169. He visited Mexico in 1697.

[2] Francisco Aguiar y Seixas, *Edicto pastoral sobre los días festivos*, Mexico, 1688.

[3] Less than 25 per cent of the books printed in Mexico City were secular in character. These figures are based on tables developed from Medina, *La imprenta en México*, for the period between 1682 and 1698. From 1666 to 1682 about 32 per cent of the books were secular. These figures are only approximate since Medina is not complete, and besides, some of the material of the period has, undoubtedly, been lost. Of these secular works some were official documents, some were *gacetas*, and a few were scholarly works. There was very little of a purely literary character.

[4] Emilia Pardo Bazán, "Prólogo," *Vida de la Virgen María según Sor María de Jesús de Agreda* (Barcelona, 1899), p. 7.

[5] Antonio de Robles, *op. cit.*, under date of September 24, 1690.

[6] The censorship in Mexico during the seventeenth century has not yet been studied. For methods used during the sixteenth see Francisco Fernández del Castillo, "Libros y libreros del siglo XVI," *Publicaciones del archivo general de la nación*, Vol. VI (Mexico, 1914).

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establishing itself between her and the church. The first volume of her works appeared in Madrid in 1689. It contains a large number of secular poems: lyrics of love and friendship, satirical verse, and burlesque poems in the Italian manner. Whether the book came back to Mexico I do not know. But enough information about it must have traveled back to make things slightly uncomfortable for Juana.

At about this same time Sor Juana committed another crime in the eyes of the church. She wrote a refutation of a sermon preached in Lisbon by the brilliant Jesuit, Antonio de Vieyra. The latter had set up his own opinion in opposition to that of the Church Fathers, Aquinas, Augustine, and Chrysostom. Juana defended the Church Fathers with logic and erudition. Her refutation found its way into the hands of Manuel Fernández de Santa Cruz. He had it published late in 1690,[1] together with a letter, the famous letter signed Sor Philotea de la Cruz. In it he said in part:

> Para que V. md. se vea en este Papel de mejor letra, le he impresso, y para que reconozca los tesoros, que Dios depositò en su alma, y le sea, como mas entendida, mas agradecida ... . pocas criaturas deben a su Magestad mayores talentos en lo natural, con que executa al agradecimiento, para que si hasta aqui los ha empleado bien ... en adelante sea mejor.
>
> No es mi juizio tan austèro Censor, que estè mal con los versos, en que V. md. se ha visto tan celebrada ... .
>
> No pretendo, segun este dictamen, que V. md. mude el genio, renunciando los Libros; si no que le mejore, leyendo alguna vez el de Jesu-Christo. ... Mucho tiempo ha gastado V. md. en el estudio de Filosofos, y Poetas; yà serà razon que se mejoren los Libros.[2]

This is the letter that has long been held responsible for Sor Juana's renunciation. It is quite clear from the letter that the Bishop did not really approve of her secular writings, but it is also clear that he did not ask her to give up her literary labors. All that he asked her to do was to devote herself to religious works. He was himself a lover of learning, and had during his youth written three books of commentary on the Scriptures. He is said to have bought many books for the Colegio de San Pablo in Pueblo. What gave the letter such force was the fact that it was printed along with the *Crisis*, and that

[1] Her refutation was reprinted under the title of "Crisis de un Sermón" in the second volume of her works.

[2] *Fama y obras posthumas*, pp. 2–4.

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in it he asked her to pay less attention to *las rateras noticias del dia.* It amounted to a public censure.[1]

Of the cause and effect of this letter, the biographer of the Bishop writes as follows:

> Era muy celebrada en esta Nueva España la Madre Sor Juana Ines de la Cruz, ... assi por la grande capazidad, y soverano entendimiento de que Dios la havia dorado, como por la gracia de saber hazer y componer ... versos: con esta ocasion era visitada de muchas personas, y de las de primera clase: corria la fama por todas partes ... ; llegò la noticia à nuestro amantissimo Obispo ... , y ... condolido ... de q̃ un sujeto de tan relevantes prendas estubiera tan distraido, y combertido à las criaturas, ... resolvio escrivirla la carta siguiente ... .
>
> Tubo esta carta el deseado efecto ... .[2]

More than two years were to elapse, however, before Juana's renunciation. It does not seem possible, then, that this letter was the cause of the step she took. It was another sign of the times, however, and a thorn in the flesh of the brilliant nun.

In March, 1691, Juana wrote an answer to the famous letter. Her letter is astonishingly frank. One wonders how she dared so reveal her innermost soul. Her answer could certainly have done nothing to mend matters.

Meanwhile, the *Crisis* was receiving wide publicity. In 1692 it was published in Mallorca. In the same year it was reprinted in the second volume of her works, and in the following year it appeared again in the second edition of that volume.[3] It was received with great enthusiasm in Spain. Why did it arouse a storm of criticism in

[1] The signature, Philotea de la Cruz, is pregnant with meaning. The name itself means "lover of God." The Bishop pretended that the letter was written by a nun of that name in the convent of the Holy Trinity. There may have been a nun of that name. But why did the Bishop choose that name? One of his predecessors in the bishopric of Puebla, the famous Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, published in Madrid in 1659 a book called *Peregrinacion de Philotea al santo templo y monte de la Cruz.* He says it was written in imitation of a "Philotea Francesa" because it had seemed to him "no inutil emulacion, sino espiritual y santa: que ... otra Philotea Española instruyesse a las demas, con manifestarse humilde seguidora de la Cruz ... ." The books of Palafox were very popular. It is probable that Fernández de Santa Cruz had this book in mind when he wrote Sor Juana. If so, the significance of the signature could not have been lost upon her.

[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 416, 421. The 1722 edition says that it was her *estudio de libros profanos* that called forth the letter.

[3] The subject of the *Crisis* was kept alive until 1731, when a defense of Father Vieyra's sermon, written by Sor Margarita Ignacia, a Portuguese nun, was translated into Spanish by Iñigo Rosende in a volume entitled *Vieyra impugnado*, published in Madrid.

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Mexico? Was it heretical? It was so considered there. In her answer to the Bishop Juana wrote:

> Si el crimen està en la Carta Athenagorica, fue aquella mas que referir sencillamente mi sentir ... ? ... Llevar una opinion contraria de Vieyra, fue en mi atrevimiento, y no lo fue en su Paternidad, llevarla contra los tres Santos Padres de la Iglesia? ... ni faltè al decoro, que à tanto varon se debe ... . Ni toquè à la Sagrada Compañia en el pelo de la ropa; ... . Que si creyera se avia de publicar, no fuera con tanto desaliño como fue. Si es (como dize el Censor) Heretica, porquè no la delata?[1]

We gather from this that it was declared heretical. In Spain, however, Navarro Vélez, *Calificador del Santo Oficio*, declared that it contained nothing contrary to the faith.[2] That it was so strongly condemned in Mexico is due to the fact that conditions there were different. The Jesuits were all powerful. They were practically in control of the Inquisition. Father Vieyra was a Jesuit, and it was felt that the *Crisis* was an attack on that order. How Father Núñez felt about it one can easily guess. Juana had brought herself face to face with the Inquisition. At the time she wrote her reply she had not been brought to trial. No record has been found to show that she ever was. It is not likely that the Inquisition would have waited more than two years to do so. It does not seem possible, then, that it was directly responsible for her renunciation.

Did Juana, upon receiving the Bishop's letter, immediately stop writing about secular things? Not at all. Early in 1691 she wrote a *silva* celebrating a victory won by the *armada de Barlovento* against the French off the coast of Santo Domingo. This was published the same year by Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora in his *Trofeo de la justicia española*. In 1692 she was still sending manuscripts abroad for the second edition[3] of the second volume of her works. It seems likely that early in 1692 she was still writing some poetry and collecting it for that volume. Sometime in 1692 or 1693 she also wrote a poem thanking her newly found friends in Spain for the laudatory poems and articles which appeared in her second volume. This poem was never finished, and is probably her last work.

[1] *Fama y obras posthumas*, pp. 50–51.

[2] Juan Navarro Vélez, "Censura," *Segundo tomo de las obras de Soror Juana Ines de la Cruz*, Sevilla, 1692.

[3] This edition, published in Barcelona in 1693, has on the title-page: "añadido en esta segunda impression por su autora." It also contains some *villancicos* dated 1691.

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Sor Juana's renunciation took place in 1693.[1] In March, 1691, when she wrote her answer to the Bishop, she was not yet ready for her great sacrifice. She still defended herself vigorously, claiming for herself the right to study. The letter is, in fact, a defense of the rights of women, a memorable document in the history of feminism. In the light of it, her renunciation is even more startling than it would be had the letter never been written. Yet in it she reveals, too, a struggle in which she was as a house divided against itself. What it was and how insidiously it undermined what a lifetime had built up, the following passage will make clear:

Pues aun falta por referir lo mas arduo de las dificultades;—faltan los positivos [estorvos], que directamente han traido à estorvar, y prohibir el exercicio. Quien no creerà, viendo tan generales aplausos, que he navigado viento en popa, y mar en leche, sobre las palmas de las aclamaciones comunes? Pues Dios sabe, que no ha sido assi: porque entre las flores de essas mismas aclamaciones, se han levantado, y despertado tales aspides de emulaciones, y persecuciones, quantas no podrè contrar; y los que mas nocivos, y sensibles para mi han sido, no son aquellos, que con declarado odio, y malevolencia me han perseguido, sino los que amandome, y deseando mi bien ... me han mortificado, y atormentado mas, que los otros, con aquel: *No conviene a la santa ignorancia, que deben este estudio; se ha de perder, se ha de desvanecer en tanta altura con su mesma perspicacia, y agudeza.* Què me avrà costado resistir esto? Rara especie de martyrio, donde yo era el martyr, y me era el verdugo! ... todo ha sido acercarme mas al fuego de la persecucion, al crisol del tormento: y ha sido con tal extremo, que han llegado a solicitar, que se me prohiba el estudio.

... fuè tan vehemente, y podorosa la inclinacion à las Letras, que ni agenas reprehensiones (que he tenido muchas) ni propias reflexas (que he hecho no pocas) han bastado à que dexe de seguir este natural impulso, que Dios puso en mi: su Magestad sabe ... que le he pedido, que apague la luz de mi entendimiento, dexando solo lo que baste para guardar su Ley, pues lo demàs sobra (segun algunos) en una muger; y aun hay quien diga, que daña.[2]

We gather from this that she was the object of constant persecution, and to such a degree that she began to ask herself if, after all, she was wrong. Should she give up her literary labors and devote herself to the *camino de perfección?* This was the struggle that was going on in

[1] Both Oviedo and Calleja testify to this. The date can be established by the fact that in February and March, 1694, she signed her *Profesión de la fe* and the *Renovación de los votos religiosos.* To do this she must have served her year as novice. Her *Petición,* undated, says: " ... es mi voluntad bolver a tomar el Abito, y passar por el año de aprobacion." This must have been written early in 1693.

[2] *Fama y obras posthumas,* pp. 15, 26–27, 34–35.

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her soul and that reached a climax in 1693. It had probably been going on a long time before it came out into the open with the publication of her works. She must have had many enemies. What she suffered we can but guess. Slowly but surely the criticisms of friends and enemies destroyed her peace of mind. Even so, it is doubtful if Sor Juana would ever have given up her books and studies had not events in Mexico so shaped themselves that she felt upon her an inward compulsion.

It now becomes necessary to take a look at what was happening in Mexico between 1691 and 1693. In the summer of 1691 rains and floods were beginning to cause terrible suffering. A contemporary writes:

> Lo q.e se experimento de trabajos en Mexico en estos trece dias no es ponderable. Nadie entrava en la Ciudad por no estar andables los caminos, y las calsadas. Faltò el carbon, la leña, la fruta, las hortalisas, las aves ... . El pan no se sasonaba por la mucha agua ... y nada se hallava de quanto hè dicho, sino à exsecivo precio ... .
>
> El crecimiento con q.e se hallava la Laguna de Tescuco à veinte y dos de Julio, dio motivo a los pusilamines para que dixesen à vozes *que se anega Mexico.*[1]

The crops were ruined and by the end of the year the city was in the grip of a famine. By the beginning of 1692 conditions were so bad that the Viceroy asked that secret prayers be said in convents and monasteries for the relief of the city. Many a day there was no bread. Moreover, the supply of grain in the *alhóndiga* was getting low. The populace began to threaten violence, blaming the Viceroy and his government for their sufferings. Finally, on the night of June 8, 1692, the Indians marched upon the viceregal palace and stormed it, setting fire to it and the surrounding buildings. The Viceroy and his wife took refuge in the monastery of St. Francis. Everybody sought monasteries and other places of security. The soldiers were helpless. Hordes of Indians pillaged the plaza and the surrounding neighborhood. Nothing could be done to stop the terrible riot. Bells rang all night. In the nunneries and monasteries prayers were said. Jesuits and Franciscans went in procession to the plaza in an effort to quiet the rioters, but they were hissed and their images were treated with

[1] *Copia de una Carta de don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora a don Andrés de Pez acerca de un tumulto acaecido en México* (MS), August 30, 1692.

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disrespect. After days and nights of terror, during which the churches ceased to function, the civil government succeeded in restoring order. Weeks and months of *azotados* and *ahorcados* kept alive the memory of the tumult. Famine continued to take its toll, for there was no bread. Disease followed. Toward the end of the year the *peste* was general throughout the land. Those were dark days for Mexico. Why had this affliction visited the country? The consensus of opinion was that it was a punishment for the sin, the license and irreligiosity that had reigned in Mexico. Robles says:

> Las causas de este estrago se discurren ser nuestras culpas que quiso Dios castigar, tomando por instrumento el mas debil y flaco, como es el de unos miserables indios, desprevenidos, como en otros tiempos lo ha hecho su Divina Magestad, como parece por historias divinas y humanas. ... Dios nos mire con ojos de misericordia! Amen.[1]

Sigüenza y Góngora says, speaking of the floods: "Oyese por este tiempo una voz entre las ... del bulgo q.e atribuia à castigo de las pasadas fiestas la tempestad en el monte, el destroso en los Campos, y la inundacion de los arribales ... ."[2] He says, furthermore: " ... yo no dudo q.e mis pecados y los de todos le motivaron [a Dios] à q.e amenazandonos como Padre con azote de agua prosiguiese despues el castigo con hambre p.a nuestra poca enmienda ... ."[3] Another contemporary writes: " ... hallándonos con un príncipe tan benigno por virey, ... son tantos nuestros pecados, que no ha bastado su santidad y celo para que la justicia de Dios no nos castigue, como lo estamos esperimentando."[4]

The tragic events just narrated gave point to the remonstrances addressed to Juana on the score of her failure to walk in the *camino de perfección*. Where she had before stopped to reflect occasionally on her duty in the matter, now, with suffering and death on every hand, her own heart, her own conscience, must have taken a hand. It is not unlikely that she blamed herself somewhat for the sad state of affairs in Mexico. Death was everywhere. It took two of her lifelong friends, Juan de Guevara[5] and Diego de Ribera.[5] It laid a heavy hand on the

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 97. [2] Letter cited. [3] *Ibid.*

[4] "Copia de una carta escrita por un religioso grave ," *Documentos para la historia de México, segunda serie*, III (Mexico, 1855), 311.

[5] *Sucesos*, 1676–96 (MS), under date of April 11 and September 7, 1692.

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convent of St. Jerome, where ten nuns died[1] between April 24, 1691, and August 5, 1692. And in September, 1692, news came from Spain of the death of her beloved patron, the Count of Paredes. Life was becoming stern. But it was not too late. She could yet make amends. It is something of this spirit that shines through the fanaticism of the last two years of her life. Stern religious counselors had turned her eyes inward upon herself. Could outward compulsion alone have worked such a change? Does it not bespeak inward conviction? Sor Juana had very much a mind of her own. The Inquisition could have made her give up her books, her instruments, her literary labors, but it could not make her *volar a la perfección*. Inner conviction was needed for that.

Does not Juana herself express this in the *Peticion que en forma causidica presenta al Tribunal Divino la Madre Juana Ines de la Cruz, por impetrar perdon de sus culpas?* In it she says:

... en el pleyto que se sigue en el Tribunal de nuestra Justicia contra mis graves, enormes, y sin igual pecados, de los quales me hallo convicta por todos los testigos del Cielo, y de la Tierra, y por lo alegado por parte del Fiscal del crimē de mi propia consciencia, en que halla que debo ser condenada à muerte eterna, y que aun esto serà usando conmigo de clemencia, por no bastar infinitos Infiernos para mis inumerables crimenes y pecados: ... reconozco no merezco perdon ... con todo, conociendo vuestro infinito amor, è misericordia, y que mientras vivo, estoy en tiempo, y que no me han cerrado los terminos del poder apelar de la sentencia ... con todo, por quanto sabeis vos que ha tantos años que yo vivo en Religion, no solo sin Religion, sino peor que pudiera un Pagano: ... es mi voluntad bolver à tomar el Abito, y passar por el año de aprobacion. ... [2]

Undoubtedly force of circumstances joining hands with many parallel influences had brought about a crisis in Juana's life; not one cause, but many, working toward a common end, gradually broke the strong spirit and made her accept the martyr's rôle.

How did Juana carry out her penitence, for such it was? Oviedo says, speaking of this and of Father Núñez' part in it:

Quedose la Madre Iuana sola con su Esposo, y ... el amor le daba alientos á su imitacion, procurando con empeño crucificar sus pasiones, y apetitos con tan ferveroso rigor en la penitencia, que necessitaba del prudente cuidado, y

[1] *Libro de Professiones.*

[2] *Fama y obras posthumas*, pp. 129–31.

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atencion del Padre Antonio para irle á la mano, porque no acabasse à manos de su fervor la vida. Y solia decir el Padre alabando à Dios, que Iuana Ines no corria sino que volaba á la perfeccion.[1]

Everything she had she sold for the relief of the poor. The same writer says:

... se deshizo de la copiosa libreria que tenia, sin reservar para su uso sino unos pocos libritos espirituales que le ayudassen en sus santos intentos. Echô tambien de la celda todos los instrumentos musicos, y mathematicos singulares, y exquisitos que tenia, y quantas alhajas de valor, y estima la avia tributado la admiracion, y aplauso de los que celebraban sus prendas como prodigios; y reducido todo à reales, fuerõ bastantes á ser alivio, y socorro de muchissimos Pobres.[2]

This, too, confirms the theory that the suffering in Mexico had much to do with her renunciation. She was joined in her charitable enterprise by Aguiar y Seixas, who also sold his library for the relief of the poor.

Two years later her penitence reached the heights of the heroic when, during the plague that invaded the convent of St. Jerome, Juana labored night and day nursing the sick, comforting the dying, and laying out the dead. Her fragile spirit, broken by the storms that had beaten about her, gave up the unequal struggle, and she who once had been the object of hatred and jealousy died in the odor of sanctity, revered and loved by all.

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[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 137.

[2] *Loc. cit.*

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A NOTE ON THE ITALIAN GENEALOGY OF DU BELLAY'S *OLIVE*, SONNET CXIII

Sonnet CCCLV of Petrarch's *Canzoniere*[1] runs as follows:

O tempo, o ciel volubil che fuggendo
Inganni i ciechi e miseri mortali,
O dí veloci piú che venti o strali,
Or ab experto vostre frodi intendo.
Ma scuso voi e me stesso riprendo:
Ché Natura a volar v'aperse l'ali,
A me died'occhi; et io pur ne' miei mali
Li tenni, onde vergogna e dolor prendo.
E sarebbe ora, et é passata omai,
Di rivoltarli in piú secura parte
E poner fine a l'infiniti guai.
Né dal tuo giogo, Amor, l'alma si parte
Ma del suo mal; con che studio, tu 'l sai;
Non a caso è vertute, anzi è bell'arte.

The poet is reorienting himself in his universe after Laura's death, and realizing how the swift years have carried him on in an earthly rather than in a spiritual attachment to her. His reproach to the years is however slighter than his self-reproach, in so far as time must by its very nature fly onward, while Petrarch has misused the vision which nature granted him, and has kept it directed toward an unworthy object in the physical charm of Laura. Now in his later life he suffers from the thought of this error, and is further humiliated to feel that it is only Laura's death which is making him turn his thought to her celestial qualities—his new virtue is compulsory at best.

The sonnet has its interest as a document in what is sometimes miscalled Petrarch's Platonism of thought; but it also stands as a starting-point for a train of ideas which pass down into French poetry through Sannazaro, Bernardino Daniello, and Joachim du Bellay. It is this train of ideas, with their varying expression, which I wish to study here.

[1] *Le Rime di Francesco Petrarca ... commentate da Giosuè Carducci e Severino Ferrari* (Firenze: Sansoni, 1915), p. 490.

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In the eighth *versus* of the *Arcadia*,[1] beginning with the words of Eugenio, "Ove si sol," there appear the following lines, in which Eugenio is exhorting Clonico not to give himself up to despair in his unhappy love:

Questa vita mortale al dì somigliasi:
Il qual, poy che se vede giunto al termine
Pien di scorno al'ocaso renvermigliasi,
Cossì quando veghiezza advien che termine
Y mal spesi anni, che sì racti volano,
Vergognia & duol convien che al cor si germine.
Ad che le menti cieche se consolano,
Si nostri affanni un fumo alfin diventano,
E l'hore ladre y nostri beni involano?
Dunque è ben tempo omay che si risentano
I spirti tuoy sepulti anzi le esequie
Nel fango; onde convien ch'al fin si pentano.

The correspondence between these verses and those of Petrarch above is at once evident. Eugenio is making the same appeal to Clonico that Petrarch is making to himself, pointing out that time passes rapidly and that it becomes increasingly urgent to turn from an unworthy love to a loftier contemplation. The sentiment itself is not such an unusual one that one need call Petrarch the source of Sannazaro's verse in this passage, were it not for the verbal echoes which appear. Petrarch apostrophizes time, which "Inganni i ciechi e miseri mortali"; his successor uses the metaphor of the "hore ladre" which "i nostri beni involano," and speaks of the "menti cieche" which live in a fools' paradise. Where Petrarch addresses the lightning-swift days of man's life, Sannazaro shifts his attention to the years which "si racti volano." Petrarch in his seventh and eight lines feels "vergogna e dolor" at the thought of his misused power of insight; Sannazaro condemns the "mal spesi anni" whose passage arouses in him "vergogna e duol." For Petrarch the hour is now come or even "passata omai" for him to turn his eyes to more permanent things; for Sannazaro's Eugenio "è ben tempo omay che si risentano I spirti tuoi." As it is Petrarch's "alma" which is now turning to a celestial

[1] *Arcadia di Jacopo Sannazaro ... con note ed introduzione di Michele Scherillo* (Turin: Loescher, 1888), p. 157. Scherillo gives several references to Petrarch for scattered expressions in this *versus*, but fails to indicate the above-cited sonnet as the most important source.

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object, so "spirti" conveys the idea for the later poet. Petrarch feels keenly the need of "poner fine a l'infiniti guai," while Sannazaro expresses the same thought in similar terms: "convien ch' al fin si pentano."

The close parallelism of thought and phrase in these two passages is neatly supplemented by the juxtaposition with them of that well-known sonnet of Bernardino Daniello, found in the *Rime Diverse*[1]—that collection of which Joachim du Bellay made such good use for the *Olive*. The sonnet runs:

Se 'l viver nostro è breve oscuro giorno
  Press'a l'eterno, e pien d'affanni e mali;
  Et piu veloci assai che venti, o strali
  Ne vedi ir gli anni, e piu non far ritorno
Alma; che fai? che non ti miri intorno
  Sepolta in cieco error tra le mortali
  Noiose cure? e poi ti son date ali
  Da volar a l'eterno alto soggiorno,
Scuoti le trista ch'è ben tempo homai
  Fuor del visco mondan ch'è si tenace,
  E le dispiega al ciel per dritta via;
Ivi è quel sommo ben ch'ogni huom desia;
  Ivi 'l vero riposo; ivi la pace
  Ch'indarno tu quagiu cercando vai.

In this sonnet the underlying idea is the same as that of the two earlier passages, even though the occasion for it is no longer expressed as a personal thing like an unhappy love-affair. Here again, as above, the evident similarity of thought is not so great (especially in a period when such matters exercised the soul and versifying power of every lyric poet) as to prove offhand that Daniello was copying Petrarch or Sannazaro or both. But, also as above, a glance at the parallels in phraseology makes the relationship certain beyond peradventure.

Daniello has kept the metaphor of man's life as a rapidly passing day; here he is borrowing from the *Arcadia* and not from the *Canzoniere*, in which appears merely the notion of the speed with which life passes. Two lines later, however, he finds to his hand terms used by both Petrarch and Sannazaro to express that speed. Petrarch has addressed the days of man's life as "veloci piú che venti e strali";

[1] Lodovico Domenichi, *Rime Diverse di Molti eccellentissimi auttori nuovamente raccolte* (Venice: Giolito, 1546), Book I.

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Sannazaro has said of the years that they "racti volano"; but Daniello echoes Petrarch exactly in his "piu veloci assai che venti, o strali." Next, Daniello qualifies this life as "pien d'affanni e mali"; the second noun he has found in the seventh line of Petrarch's sonnet, while "affanni" comes straight from the eighth line of the excerpt cited from the *Arcadia*. Then comes the appeal to the soul, "Alma; che fai?" which Du Bellay uses with such effect in the one hundred and thirteenth sonnet of the *Olive*. Petrarch used it first, in his eleventh line, and *mutatis mutandis* in the same sense; the equivalent "spirti" takes its place in Sannazaro's penultimate line. Now Daniello picks up another metaphor from the Neapolitan poet which is not in their common original: the widespread medieval picture of the soul caught in the filth of earthly desire. Sannazaro represents the "spirti ... sepulti ... nel fango"; Daniello, using now the image of the winged soul (from Plato's *Phaedrus* possibly), bids the soul take flight "fuor del visco mondan ch'è si tenace." He moreover emphasizes the need for instant action in the words "ch'è ben tempo homai," as Sannazaro has said, "è ben tempo omay," and Petrarch, "E sarebbe hora, et è passata omai." Describing the present state of the soul, Daniello speaks of it as buried "in cieco error tra le mortali ... cure"; Sannazaro's corresponding expression is "le menti cieche" of mankind, while Petrarch has used the term in his "ciechi e miseri mortali."

Thus it is evident both that Petrarch's ideas and words have passed directly to Daniello's verse, and that Daniello laid Sannazaro under contribution as well for the more picturesque of his figures.[1]

The debt acknowledged by all students of Joachim du Bellay to Joseph Vianey[2] needs no recapitulating; but to complete the chain whose other links are the above-studied passages from Petrarch, Sannazaro, and Daniello, the scholar is urged to examine Du Bellay's famous Sonnet CXIII of the *Olive*, whose provenance may be made somewhat clearer by the consideration of its several Italian forebears.

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[1] Incidentally, it is worth while noting that Daniello has caught very closely the music of Petrarch's lines by the simple device of using five rhyme-words found in the earlier sonnet.

[2] "Les Sources italiennes de l'Olive,'" *Annales nationales d'histoire* (vi[e] sec.; Paris, 1900), pp. 71 ff.

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GLOSSES ON DU BELLAY

I

HEUREUX QUI COMME ULYSSE ...

It is well known that Catullus "aux vers sucrés"[1] was one of Du Bellay's favorite authors during his stay at Rome, but it has not yet been pointed out that the famous thirty-first sonnet of the *Regrets* bears distinct traces of his preference for the Lover of Lesbia.

Is it a mere coincidence that Catullus, too, in his thirty-first elegy sings of his happiness at his return to the "gem of isles and peninsulas," his native Sirmio?

> Quam te libenter quamque laetus inviso.

He hardly believes himself to be really again at home:

> Vix mi ipse credens Thyniam atque Bithynos
> Liquisse campos et videre te in tuto.

Du Bellay did not merely translate the poem; his nostalgia is a variation on the theme familiar enough to the migrating humanists.[2] He impressed the theme with a truly modern sensitiveness, and yet the sentiments, nay even the words, of Du Bellay's sonnet very closely resemble those of Catullus in the following four lines by which the latter exults at his own coming home. At the hearth of his ancestors he will repose from the fatigues of his wanderings:

> O quid solutis est beatius curis,
> Cum mens onus reponit, ac *peregrino*
> *Labore fessi venimus ad larem nostrum*
> Desideratoque aquiescimus lecto.

Also the immortal *Loire gaulois* has its model in the poem of Catullus, the *labuae lacus undae* which the Latin poet greets with rapture.

[1] "Hymne de Santé," *Poésies françaises et latines de J. Du Bellay*, ed., Courbet, II (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1918), 88. On Catullus in the Renaissance cf. J. Burckhardt, *Die Cultur der Renaissance in Italien;* E. A. Seemann, I (Leipzig, 1898[6]), 295; and A. Sainati, *La Lirica latina del Rinascimento*, I (Pisa: Spoerri, 1919), 4 ff.

[2] Marullus envied the breezes which were permitted to visit the shores of Bosporus (*Neniae*, Impressum Fani in aedibus Hieronymi Goncini, 1515); Sannazaro sighed for Naples in France (cf. Sainati, *op. cit.*, p. 192).

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The longing for the faraway home necessarily changed the tone of Du Bellay, the distance from France to Rome made his emotion less eruptive than that of Catullus, and the craving for his *petit Lyré* could not break forth with the overwhelming effusion of his master:

Ridete quidquid est domi cachinnorum.

Horatian philosophy[1] moderated Du Bellay's praise of his modest little home, but when preferring his house to "des palais romains le front audacieux," he used a reminiscence of *Aeneid* iv. 88–89:

. . . . minaeque
murorum ingentes . . . .

which he had translated with "Et des palais le front audacieux" in his version of the *Aeneid*.[2]

"Le marbre dur," likewise, occurred in the same translation of Du Bellay.[3] It is the rendering of Virgil's "solido de marmore."[4]

Thus, besides the inspiration of Du Bellay, Homer, Horace, Ovid, Virgil, and chiefly Catullus were at work in creating the "King of the French Sonnets."

II

DU BELLAY'S CONCEPTION OF THE IDEAL POET

The ninth ode of Du Bellay's *Recueil de Poésie* (1549) is little more than a mosaic of well-known Horatian ideas. *Les Conditions du vray Poëte* is a brief synopsis of all that Horace said of himself. It is the merging of four passages of Horace, two of which are recorded by Chamard's authoritative edition of Du Bellay.[5] Chamard does not mention the first ode of the first book of the *Carmina*, and the first poem of the second book of the *Epistolae*,[6] in which Horace portrayed his model poet.

But the combination of all the four passages had already been done before Du Bellay, and presumably not without his knowledge.

A little collection of Latin poems by Girolamo Angeriano, published in 1520[7] in Naples, must have been known to the French humanists of the sixteenth century, as it was republished in Paris in

[1] On the relationship of Du Bellay and Horace, cf. E. Stemplinger, *Herrigs Archiv*, CXII, 80 ff.

[2] *Ed. cit.*, I, 282. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 338. [4] *Aeneid* vi. 69.

[5] *Œuvres poëtiques*, III (1912), 120.

[6] *Epistolae* ii. 1. 118–31.

[7] The first edition, listed by Brunet, does not contain *De vero Poeta*.

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1542, not long before the date of publication of Du Bellay's ode.[1] A lengthy poem in distichs, entitled *De vero Poeta*, is added to Angeriano's *Erotopaegnion* which like Du Bellay's ode attributes universal value to the emotions of Horace and bases the ideal of the poet on Horatian philosophy and inspiration. Angeriano, like the early theorists of the Italian Renaissance,[2] emphasizes the *vates*-like qualities of the poet, who loves leisurely solitude, avoids the mob, seeks refuge in forests, meadows, and caves, and on flowery shores of rivers, who despises riches and the favor of the court, and

> Effugit a turba immiti, dulcesque recessus
> Poscit, et Aonios excitat ore sonos.

Du Bellay's poet acts in the same manner:

> Il fuit volontiers la vile,
> Il hait en toute saison,
> La faulse tourbe civile,
> Ennemie de raison.

The following passage of Angeriano's poem

> Fontanas non spernit aquas, scopulosa nec antra,
> Nec fugit undisona littora grata maris ...

seems to be the original of Du Bellay's

> Il tarde le cours des ondes,
> Il donne oreilles aux bois,
> Et les cavernes profondes
> Fait rechanter soubs sa voix.

These agreements, however, might be explained by the fact that both poets imitated Horace, Du Bellay more closely than the Italian humanist. But, at any rate, it is likely that the French poet borrowed the idea of combining scattered Horatian thoughts in one poem from the Italian, as it is indicated by the similarity of the titles of both poems.

[1] Cf. on Angeriano, F. Lo Parco, *Un accademico pontaniano del secolo XVI precursore dell' Ariosto e del Parini* (Ariano, 1898), reviewed by F. Flamini in *Rassegna bibl. della lett. it.*, VI, 289 ff.; and Ginguené's article in Michaud's *Biographie Universelle*. Scarce notes on his life and works are found in Mazzuchelli, *Scrittori d'Italia*, II (Brescia, 1753), 772–73; in Toppi, *Biblioteca Napoletana*, p. 155; Nicodemo, *Addizioni alla Biblioteca di Toppi*, p. 134. Morhof, *Polyhist. Lit. I*, Lib. VII, Cap. III, num. 4, and Tiraboschi, *Storia della Lett. it.*, VII (Firenze: Molini, Landi e Cia, 1812), 1367, merely mention him. Grässe, *Lehrbuch einer allg. Literärgeschichte*, Vol. III (Leipzig, 1852), Part I, p. 508, records a sixteenth-century French novel dealing with Angeriano.

[2] Cf. Karl Vossler, *Poetische Theorien in der italienischen Frührenaissance*. Berlin: E. Felber, 1900.

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The *Recueil de Poésie* was published in the same year as the *Deffence*,[1] in which Du Bellay gave for the first time vigorous and enthusiastic expression to the ideals which the true poet, in his opinion, had to strive for.

The first lines of Angeriano's *De vero Poeta*,

> Ocia amat vates et tecto et umbra
> . . . . . .
> Plectra movet, grati perquirit flabra favoni,
> In viridi flores carpere gestit humo,

seem to be paraphrased in the following passage of the *Deffence:* "Les uns [i.e., poets] ayment les fresches umbres des forestz, les clers ruisseaux doucement murmurans parmi les prez ornez et tapissez de verdure."[2]

The Renaissance ideal of the *doctus poeta* appears in the passage of the *Deffence* in which Du Bellay demands that the poet be "instruict de tous bons arts et sciences, principalement mathematiques."[3]

Angeriano's poet is a superman, who in an almost divine omniscience does not share the superstitions of the populace. "Impavidus stat semper . . . ," like another Hercules.[4] He knows mathematics and astronomy:

> Scit Phoebum, et Phoebi candentia signa sororis,
> . . . . . .
> Scit coeli motus.[5]

He knows history:

> Scit bene mutari vario sub tempore leges
> Et fieri a pravis regibus usque truces.

He is conversant with medicine:

> Scit morbi causas, sinuosi et corporis atros
> Secessus, medicae deserit artis opus.

Like Du Bellay's poet who does not shun the realities of life, because he must not be "ignorant des parties et offices de la vie humaine," Angeriano's model poet "In fora conductus leges observat."

[1] H. Chamard, *ed. critique*. Paris: A. Fontemoing, 1904.

[2] *Op. cit.*, Book II, chap. v, pp. 233–34.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 233.

[4] Similar ideas are expressed by a contemporary of Angeriano, Antonio Mancinelli; cf. Vossler, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

[5] Cf. the astronomical poems by Pontano, Palingenius, and Buchanan.

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Du Bellay's poet sings "non troublé d'afaires domestiques, mais en repoz et tranquilité d'esprit"; Angeriano's, from his ivory tower, looks on the tribulations of life with supreme equanimity:

> Sors quaecunque dedit fert aequo pectore, verus
> Protheus in cunctis rebus adesse solet.
> In praesens hilaris non differt gaudia, mente
> Ille hilaris pulsa nube serena colit.

P. Villey, without having positive proofs, suspected that the poetics of the *Deffence*, like the apology of the French language, was copied from some Italian author.[1] Literal agreements could not be proved between Angeriano and Du Bellay, but the general trend of Du Bellay's ideas, his picture of the ideal poet, very closely resemble the portrait painted by the Italian humanist. Both followed Horace, but Angeriano undoubtedly preceded Du Bellay. Du Bellay must have known him, and thus we may suppose that Angeriano was the direct model whom Du Bellay imitated both in his *Conditions du vray Poëte* and the quoted passages of the *Deffence*.

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[1] P. Villey, *Les Sources italiennes de la Deffence de Du Bellay* (Paris: Champion, 1908), p. 79.

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THE BLACKFRIARS MYSTERY

On January 29, 1661, that pertinacious patron of the drama, Mr. Samuel Pepys, asserts that he "went to Blackfryers (the first time I was ever there since plays begun), and there . . . . I saw three acts of *The Mayd in ye Mill* acted to my great content." Since this play of Fletcher's was among those allocated to Sir William D'Avenant when he and Tom Killigrew, sharers in the theatrical monopoly, cavalierly divided the existing stock of "old plays,"[1] we can be fairly certain that the performance was by the company which five months later was to open the new house in Lincoln's Inn Fields and impose on the English theater, for better or worse, the picture stage of the Italian opera.

This particular entry of the usually accurate diarist has been the occasion of misleading notes by several historians of the stage, though by most of the fraternity it has been ignored. It raises the interesting question, "Was there, during the season of 1660–61, another London theater than those commonly recognized, and did D'Avenant's company play there?" I think I have guessed the answer, and venture to hope it may find favor despite my inability conclusively to prove its correctness. But before considering it we must review the pertinent facts.

Although D'Avenant's patent for a theatrical company was issued on August 21, 1660, it was not till November 5 that Betterton and his other players signed on as parties to the new venture. Among the articles of the agreement, which is designed principally to regulate the finances of the projected theater in Lincoln's Inn Fields, were the following specifications:

[1] Professor Allardyce Nicoll believes there was a definite principle controlling this division, though in his comment on my note concerning "The Restoration Play Lists" (*Review of English Studies*, I [October, 1925], 446) he does not respond to my solicitation of the evidence which establishes a close "connection between Beeston's boys of 1640 and the Duke's players of 1662." No one knows better than those who have trodden the maze of London stage history for the months directly after the reopening of the theaters that the possibility of egregious error must restrain dogmatism, yet I confess I still see little necessity for an elaborate theory at this point, much less for one which relies on hypothetical sources for the Restoration quartos after the real sources have been established. The plays had to be divided. Killigrew specialized in the popular Jacobeans, Jonson and Fletcher; D'Avenant went in for opera and for Shakespeare the Elizabethan, whose more archaic scenes called, he thought, for operatic embellishment. (The actual allotment of plays as found in the lord chamberlain's records is somewhat misleading.)

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1. That D'Avenant erects the actors named into a company to play in any theatre "untill the said Sir William Davenant shall provide a newe Theatre with scenes."

2. That the company is authorized by D'Avenant to act "Tragedies, Comedies, and playes in the Playhouse called Salisbury Court Playhouse, or any other house."

3. That on one week's notice the Company is to cease playing and move to the new house "and Joyne with the said Henry Harris,[1] and with other men and women prouided or to be prouided by the said Sir. Wm. Davenant, to performe such Tragedies, Comedies, Playes, and representacions in that Theatre to be publiquely prouided by him the said Sir William as aforesaid."

On the same day that saw these articles signed, Killigrew's troupe, the "Old Actors," withdrew from the Cockpit in Drury Lane[2] to their old haunts at the Red Bull. We have several lists of plays drawn up by Sir Henry Herbert in furtherance of his claims for adjusted compensation; one of these contains the following marginal note: "Nouember '60. This is a List of plays acted by the Kings Companie at the Red Bull and the new house in Gibbon's Tennis Court near Clare Market."[3] The list begins:

Monday the 5. Nouember. '60.	Wit without Money.
Tusday the 6. No.	The Traitor
Wensday the 7. No.	The Beggers Bush
Thursday the 8. No.	Henry the fourthe.
	First Play Acted at the new Theatre.

The King's company, then, acted for three days at the Red Bull, probably because the Vere Street house was not ready for them. *Henry the Fourth* was apparently the third Restoration revival of Shakespeare;[4] it is noteworthy that a Shakespearean play was selected to open the new theater. This was a much smaller house than the Red Bull, being a remodeled tennis court in Vere Street, Clare Market.[5] Here His Majesty's Servants acted till 1663, when the first

[1] The scene-painter and actor, Pepys's friend.

[2] It will be noticed that despite Professor Nicoll's doubts (*Restoration Drama*, p. 274) I adhere to the theory of Robert W. Lowe (*Thomas Betterton*, p. 68) that there was for a time a united company at the Cockpit in Drury Lane. My reasons must be reserved for a fuller treatment of the London companies during these months, which I have included in a brief history of the Restoration stage shortly forthcoming.

[3] J. Q. Adams, *Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert*, pp. 116–18; Malone (1803), III, 329–32, (*Var.*) III, 273; Halliwell-Phillipps, *Collection of Ancient Documents Respecting the Office of the Master of the Revels, etc.*, pp. 34 ff. The man's name was actually *Gibbons*.

[4] The first seems to have been *Pericles* and the second *Othello*.

[5] "Clare Market, Lincoln's Inn Fields, between Lincoln's Inn Fields and the Strand." Cunningham-Wheatley, *London Past and Present*, I, 407; see also the more authoritative notes of Haslewood in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, LXXXIII (ii, Oct., 1813), 333.

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Theater Royal in Drury Lane was built by them. It was not till they occupied the latter house that they made use of scenes. The authority for this statement is the *Historia Histrionica* of Joseph Wright (1699), which makes it categorically:

LOVEWIT. Yes, presently after the Restauration, the King's Players Acted publickly at the Red Bull for some time, and then Removed to a New-built Play-house in Vere-Street, by Claremarket. There they continued for a Year or two, and then removed to the Theater Royal in Drury-lane, where they first made use of Scenes.[1]

Mr. Lawrence confirms this statement emphatically, but remarks that he anticipates being asked "a somewhat ugly question"—why did Killigrew remove and fit up this new theater (pronounced by Pepys on November 20, 1660 "the finest playhouse, I believe, that ever was in England") if not to secure the advantages of scenery? Mr. Lawrence's answer, which he considers inadequate, is the greater accessibility of Vere Street.[2] But the other disadvantages of the Red Bull, its being an old house, partly open to the weather, and very large, are reasons enough for the removal. When the Old Actors united with Rhodes's company in the fall of 1660, they elected to play at the Cockpit in Drury Lane and not at the Red Bull. Mr. Lawrence may have discounted this fact, which depends of course on acceptance of Lowe's theory of a united company. At any rate, in describing Killigrew's removal to Vere Street, he states that the King's players had been acting at the Red Bull for at least three or four months.[3] If I do not mistake, they had been there but three days—November 5, 6, and 7—and moved on the eighth. I believe they returned to the Red Bull because Vere Street was not quite ready for them, and never intended that their stay there should be more than temporary.

About a week after the King's company, under Killigrew, had opened at Vere Street, the other company, soon to be known as the Duke's, under D'Avenant, began acting at the Salisbury Court house. The date usually given for their first performance there is November 15, 1660, but I have never seen authority for it. The date appears to rest on a statement of Malone, which he probably based on a reference in Sir Henry Herbert's declaration in his action against Betterton,

[1] Joseph Wright, *Historia Histrionica*, repr. Lowe's ed. Cibber's *Apology*, I, xxxii.

[2] The Red Bull was in St. John's Street, Clerkenwell (Cunningham-Wheatley, III, 153 ff.). For its previous history see J. Q. Adams, *Shakespearean Playhouses*, pp. 294–309.

[3] W. J. Lawrence, *Elizabethan Playhouse, Second Series*, p. 139. It is of course well known that they had been at the Red Bull during the previous summer.

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May 6, 1662.[1] Herbert charges the defendant with acting without their having been licensed "10 new Playes and 100 revived Playes" from November 15, 1660, to date. This seems to imply that the new company began to perform at Salisbury Court on November 15. Their agreement with D'Avenant, already cited, clearly indicates that this season was intended merely to occupy the interim till the new house in Lincoln's Inn Fields should be ready. D'Avenant was wrapped up in his scenic obsessions and probably paid little attention to his troupe, aside from accepting his daily share of the profits.

A more ticklish question is whether this company remained at Salisbury Court until they began rehearsals for the new theater in Lincoln's Inn Fields. In Herbert's reply (July 11, 1662) to D'Avenant's petition for relief from his interference, the indignant Master of the Revels presents an itemized statement of the fees he considers due. Among these he demands the customary rakeoff, or as he terms it "allowance,"[2] "for new and old playes acted by Sir William Dauenantes pretended company of players at Salisbury Court, the Cockpitt, and now at Portugall Rowe in Lincoln's Inn Fields, from the 5th Novemb. 60. the tyme of their first conjunction with Sir William Dauenant."[3]

There are three possibilities, if Herbert is correct in his statement that this company acted at the Cockpit after November 5, 1660. The first is that after the agreement made on that date they remained in Drury Lane and gave performances there, presumably because Salisbury Court was not ready for them. This would account for the sudden return of the King's men to the Red Bull and their inconvenient season of three days there. But against this hypothesis is Herbert's selection (in his declaration against Betterton) of November 15 as the date of D'Avenant's commencing operations.[4] A second possibility is that the company came back to the Cockpit in Drury

[1] Malone (1803), III, 316. In December, 1661, Herbert had won a similar case against Mohun and several other members of the King's company. This verdict is referred to in a treaty of amity between Killigrew and Herbert, drawn up June 4, 1662 (Adams, pp. 113–15), and in a subsequent agreement by Killigrew to pay the costs of Herbert's suit against his own actors (*ibid.*, pp. 115–16).

[2] Cf. Herbert's use of the word in the first item of his list: "Allowance for charges of suites at law." It is clear that "allowance," as he uses it in this document, does not refer to the licensing power but to the fee.

[3] The whole document is reprinted as follows: Adams, pp. 120–23; Malone (1803), III, 320–24, (*Var.*) III, 266 ff.

[4] Adams, pp. 108–10; Halliwell-Phillipps, pp. 39 ff.

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Lane for at least one special performance after they had set up in Salisbury Court; and the third is that Herbert is referring to special performances in the royal Cockpit at Whitehall. That he intended to collect fees for such performances is clear enough from the last item in his schedule of "allowances," already cited: "That rehearsall of plays to be acted at court, be made, as hath been accustomed, before the Master of the Reuells, or allowance for them."

Of these three possibilities the last seems to me on the whole the most likely. If Herbert were referring to performances at the Cockpit in Drury Lane before the opening at Salisbury Court, the natural order of listing the theaters would give first place to the Cockpit. Furthermore, the silence of Pepys would be hard to account for if D'Avenant's company had given a season there. Pepys was a regular patron of theirs and a great admirer of Betterton; he records during this period frequent visits to Salisbury Court but none to the Cockpit in Drury Lane. Finally, the sudden removal of the King's company to the Red Bull might have been occasioned by the ousting of Beeston from Salisbury Court and his occupation of the Cockpit in Drury Lane, where we know his troupe was acting a little later in the season.

Probably, then, Herbert's reference to the Cockpit is to the theater in the palace.[1] The fact is that from November 5, 1660, when D'Avenant organized his company, till late in June, 1661, when he opened his theater in Lincoln's Inn Fields, we know almost nothing about its operations except from Pepys; and several investigators have been completely mystified, while others have calmly ignored the existence of dubious problems. The silence of Downes is maddening; he quite passes over this interim except to indicate the location of rehearsals for the new house. This reference has more than once been mistakenly identified with that of Pepys to the mysterious Blackfriars theater.

Downes records a solitary aberration from Salisbury Court, as follows:

His Company being now Compleat, Sir William in order to prepare Plays to Open his Theatre, it being then a Building in Lincoln's Inn Fields, His Company Rehears'd the First and Second Part of the Siege of Rhodes; and

[1] Malone is vague on this point. He says: "On the 15th of Nov. 1660, Sir William D'Avenant's company began to act under these articles at the theatre in Salisbury-court, at which house or at the Cockpit they continued to play till March or April 1662" (Malone [1803], III, 315 ff.). The opening of the new theater was actually in June, 1661. On p. 332 Malone says that D'Avenant's company, "after having played for some time at the Cockpit in Drury Lane, and at Salisbury Court, removed . . . ."

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the Wits at Pothecaries Hall: And in Spring 1662 Open'd his House with the said Plays, having new Scenes and Decorations, being the first that e're were Introduc'd in England.[1]

The reader should note in the first place that Downes says nothing about *performances* at Apothecaries' Hall, only *rehearsals*.[2]

On Pepys's account of his visit to "Blackfryers" Miss McAfee makes this note: "Probably . . . . a theatre in what was known as Cobham House, which stood in Water Lane, Blackfriars, on the site of Apothecaries' Hall before the Great Fire."[3] She follows Wheatley: "At Apothecaries' Hall, where Davenant produced the first and second parts of 'The Siege of Rhodes.' Downes says in his 'Roscius Anglicanus' that Davenant's company acted at 'Pothecaries Hall' until the building in Lincoln's Inn Fields was ready."[4] This note is extremely inaccurate. As we have seen, Downes says explicitly that "in order to prepare Plays to Open his Theatre" D'Avenant's company "*Rehears'd* the First and Second Parts of the Siege of Rhodes; and the Wits at Pothecaries Hall; and [later] . . . . Open'd his House [i.e., in Lincoln's Inn Fields] with the said Plays."

As for identification of Pepys's "Blackfryers" with Downes's "Pothecaries Hall," Wheatley offers no reason for making it, while Miss McAfee says merely that Cobham House stood in Water Lane, Blackfriars. But what does Pepys himself say? "Went to Blackfryers (*the first time I was ever there since plays begun*)." Obviously, then, Pepys is referring to *a regular theater*. Let us now compare his statement with the others in which he records first visits to playhouses.

1. Pepys's first visit to the Cockpit in Drury Lane, August 18, 1660: "To the Cockpitt play, the first that I have had time to see since my coming from sea."

[1] John Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus* (ed. Knight), p. 20.

[2] Joseph Knight (Preface to his edition of Downes's *Roscius Anglicanus*, pp. xiv ff.) follows Cunningham-Wheatley, I, 55) in stating that Apothecaries' Hall was not built till 1670, and in assuming the existence of an earlier structure. I am indebted to Professor Kittredge for references to C. R. B. Barrett, *The History of the Society of Apothecaries* (1905), pp. 42–43, 77, 79 ff., whence I learn that the building in question was purchased by the society in 1632 from Lady Ann Howard, of Effingham, for a hall, which lasted till it was partially or wholly destroyed by the Fire of 1666. There was, therefore, an Apothecaries' Hall at the time referred to.

[3] Helen McAfee, *Pepys on the Restoration Stage*, p. 289, n. 1.

[4] Pepys's *Diary* (ed. 1893–96), I, 312, n. 2. Mr. Allardyce Nicoll ends his discussion of the "wandering troupes" of the Restoration by noting that Pepys mentions a performance at the Blackfriars (*Restoration Drama*, p. 279), but later he omits it from the list of "theatres already mentioned" (p. 280).

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2. Pepys's first visit to the Duke's house in Lincoln's Inn Fields, July 2, 1661: "To Sir William Davenant's Opera; this being the fourth day that it hath begun, and the first that I have seen it."

3. Pepys's first visit to the King's house, Vere Street, Clare Market, November 20, 1660: "to the new Play-house near Lincoln's Inn Fields (which was formerly Gibbons' tennis court) . . . . and indeed it is the finest play-house, I believe, that ever was in England."

4. Pepys's first visit to Killigrew's first Drury Lane theater. He refers September 24, 1662, and February 6, 1663, to its building. May 7, 1663, he writes: "This day the new Theatre Royal begins to act with scenes the Humorous Lieutenant, but I have not time to see it." His first visit was on the next day: "To the Theatre Royall, being the second day of its being opened." He goes into some detail in criticizing the construction of the new house.

5. Pepys's first visit to the Red Bull, March 23, 1661: "Then out to the Red Bull (where I had not been since plays come up again)."

The reader must have been struck by the particularity with which Pepys mentions, in every one of these cases, either that it is his first visit, or that the house is new. I have purposely omitted, for the present, the account of his first visit to the Salisbury Court theater; but I have listed every other. From the similarity of their phraseology, and the likeness of the "Blackfryers" reference to them, it seems reasonably clear that Pepys is there, too, referring to his first visit to a public playhouse. This could not have been the famous old Blackfriars theater, for that had been pulled down on August 5, 1655.[1]

As Pepys's first visit to D'Avenant's company at Salisbury Court, Miss McAfee gives[2] (though not in full) the entry for February 9, 1661: "To Whitefriars to the Play-house and saw 'The Mad Lover,' the first time I ever saw it acted, which I like pretty well." Why Pepys mentions Whitefriars she explains with entire clearness:

> The term "Whitefriars" is used to designate the quarter so-called (between Fleet Street and the Thames, east of the Temple), in which stood the Salisbury Court theatre, rebuilt in 1660, and not to designate the old Whitefriars theatre of the pre-Restoration period. It will be noted from a comparison of the entries for March 19 and March 26 [1661] that Pepys used the term "Whitefriars" and "Salisbury Court" interchangeably.[3]

[1] "Notes on London Buildings and Churches, A.D. 1631–1658," *Harrison's England*, Vol. II (New Shaks. Soc.), cited by Cunningham-Wheatley, I, 201.

[2] McAfee, p. 302.

[3] This use of *Whitefriars* to refer to the Salisbury Court theater is in fact not uncommon. Cf. H. Moseley's letter of August 30, 1660, to Sir Henry Herbert (Adams, p. 90).

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Now if this were Pepys's first visit to the Salisbury Court theater it would be his only entry of a first visit to a public playhouse in which he failed either to mention that fact or to describe the house as new. This discrepancy neatly coincides with our inability to explain Pepys's visit to a Blackfriars theater. What more likely than that "Blackfriars" is a slip, on the part of the transcriber, the editors, or Pepys himself, for "Whitefriars," and that the entry of January 29, 1661, records his first visit to Salisbury Court?

Such a mistake would not be unnatural even for Pepys. Though the old theater was no more, members of the old company were still active, and its tradition was the accepted standard in matters theatrical.[1] Moreover, it was to see D'Avenant's actors that Pepys went chiefly at this time; and presumably they were at Salisbury Court on this date. As we have seen, the reference is clearly not to Apothecaries' Hall, but to a regular theater. Why should the Duke's company have left Salisbury Court except for performances before the King at Whitehall, or to rehearse for the new theater in Lincoln's Inn Fields? That they played regularly at Salisbury Court during the later winter and spring is shown by Pepys's own record; for he went there repeatedly to see plays that were on D'Avenant's reserved list. He saw Massinger's *The Bondman* three times during this period (i.e., November, 1660—June, 1661), and notes that "above all that ever I saw, Betterton do the Bondman best." He saw Fletcher performed several times, and his favorite actor again in the great rôle of Deflores in *The Changeling*. The dates of Pepys's visits during this period are: February 9, 23; March 1, 2, 16, 19, 25, 26; April 1, 2, 6. To these I think we can safely add the visit on January 29 to the "Blackfryers" and the three acts of *The Maid in the Mill*.

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[1] Witness Herbert's order to the Cockpit players (October 13, 1660) to reduce their charges to the scale of the old Blackfriars company (Adams, pp. 93–94). Also the reference to Blackfriars plays in the Restoration play lists, as reprinted by Mr. Nicoll in his *Restoration Drama*, e.g. (p. 314), "Whereas S^{r} William Davenant, Knight hath humbly p^{s}ented to us a proposition of reforming some of the most ancient Playes that were played at Blackfriers . . . ."; (p. 315): "A Catalogue of part of His Ma^{ties} Servants Playes as they were formerly acted at the Blackfryers and now allowed of to his Ma^{ties} Servants at y^{e} New Theatre." Is it possible that in concluding that the Theater Royal of the Restoration was the heir of the pre-Wars Blackfriars company Mr. Nicoll has attached any significance to these references?

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THE INFLUENCE OF MARLOWE'S SOURCES ON *TAMBURLAINE I*

In *The Academy* for October 20, 1883, Professors C. H. Herford and A. Wagner announced that Marlowe's sources for *Tamburlaine I* were Mexia's *Sylva de varia lecion* (Seville, 1543), Part II, chapter xiv, and Perondinus' *Vita Magni Tamerlanis* (Florence, 1551); that Mexia's work, translated in 1571 from Spanish into English under the title *The Foreste, or Collection of Histories* and reprinted in 1576, was Marlowe's chief source of information, though Perondinus furnished some additional details; and that, though Marlowe followed history in keeping to its chronology, he added Zenocrate and made Tamburlaine more imposing and terrible than history did. Since this important announcement, the potent influence of these sources on Marlowe's first drama has not been discussed. I shall try to show (1) their meagerness, which, forcing on Marlowe liberties that he used and even overstepped, nevertheless made the sources binding; and (2) their influence in giving the play most of its so-called Marlowesque features.

I

Marlowe's sources for *Tamburlaine I* were potent, chiefly because the facts they reported were few and well known. Although Europe had been astonished by the conquests of Tamburlaine, which ended only shortly before his death in 1405, there was no adequate account of his life until 1595,[1] almost a decade after Marlowe's play was written. Mexia, writing in 1543, complained that he had had to piece together scraps of information, "scarce lendyng you any shewe of his conquirous exploytes, the same also confusely, and with out any order."[2] A very short account—only about one-sixth as long as Plutarch's life of Coriolanus or of Antonius—is the result of his study. The history of Perondinus, though four times as long, furnishes only a few additional incidents, and some military details ill adapted to the stage.

[1] Jean du Bec, *Histoire du grand Tamerlan.*

[2] *The Foreste* (1571), p. 83.

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Scantiness of information forced Marlowe, not only to use every scrap of material, and so to write a chronicle play, but to invent and elaborate. The meager historical basis for the first two acts follows:

Of whiche newes [Tamburlaine's robberies] in the ende, the Kinge of Persia advertised, sent forth under the conducte of one, of his capitaines, a thousande horses well appointed to apprehende and take hym; at whose commyng, he so well knewe in this matter howe to beare hym, that of his enimie he soone had made hym, his assured frende, and companion; in suche sorte that they ioigned both their companies together, attempting, then before, enterprises much more greate, and more difficill. In the meane tyme a certaine discorde or breache of amitie grewe, betwixte the Kyng of Persia and his brother, by occasion where of Tamburlaine tooke parte with the Kynges brother, where he so ordered the matter in suche sorte, that he deposed the King, and advaunced the other. After this, by this newe prince, in recompence of his service, he was ordained generall of the greater parte of his armie, who under pretexte that he woulde conquire, and subdue, other provinces to the Persians, mustered still, and gathered, more Souldiars at hys pleasure, with whom he so practised that they easely revolted like Rebels followyng hym, subduyng their Leage, and Soveraigne. Thus havynge nowe deposed, whom he before advaunced, he crouned hymself Kyng, and Lorde of that country.[1]

From this undetailed account Marlowe constructed nine scenes, creating from scarcely a hint the court of the silly Mycetes in Act I, and the seven military scenes of Act II.

The very lack of sequence that Mexia deplored aided the dramatist. It was by effective arrangement of incidents loosely related to the main narrative in time and place that Marlowe built up a climax in the last two acts. With an indefinite fairy-tale beginning, Mexia introduces a gruesome incident:

On a tyme beseigyng, a strong and riche citie, which neither on the first, or second would yelde to him, which only daies, were daies of mercie, ... on the third day nevertheless affiyng on hope uncertaine, to obtaine at his handes some mercie, and pardon, opened their gates, sendyng forth in order towardes hym, all their wemen, and children in white appareled, bearing eche in their handes a branche of Olive, criyng with haute voice, humbly requestynge, and demaundyng pardon, in maner so pitifull, and lamentable to beholde, that besides him none other was but woulde have accepted their solemne submission. This Tamburlaine, notwithstandyng that beheld theim a farre of, in this order issuying, so farre then exiled from all kinde of pitie, that he

[1] *The Foreste*, p. 83. *U*'s and *v*'s are modernized when *The Foreste* is quoted.

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commaunded forthwith, a certaine troope of horsemen to over runne, to murther, and kill theym, not leauyng one a live, of what condition soever, and after sackyng the Citie, rased it, even unto the verie foundations.[1]

The dramatist was also at liberty to attach to the story of any siege Tamburlaine's custom of signaling his foes with white, red, and black flags. Into any part of the play after the capture of Bajazeth, Marlowe could insert details of Tamburlaine's cruelty to the Turk. Thus the three most striking incidents of Tamburlaine's life were at the service of dramatic purpose. Yet, though the sources were so meager[2] as to allow invention, even necessitate it, and so indefinite in time and place as to permit effective rearrangement of material, they were at the same time so few, striking, and well known that they gave the play its most distinctive features—except, of course, literary style, for which the author is responsible.

Lest their influence be imputed to the dramatist's historical fidelity, it is necessary to show that when Marlowe wrote *Tamburlaine I*, he had only perfunctory respect for fact. He evidently considered his obligation to history discharged if he recorded chronologically the main historical events.

That his distortion of fact was due to conscious will and not to forgetfulness is certain; for minute correspondences between play and history show that Marlowe had his sources at hand or freshly in mind when he wrote. In mentioning Tamburlaine's pride in the appearance of his camp,[3] as well as his foolish foes' reliance on its being lawless,[4] Marlowe evidently had in mind the orderliness of Tamburlaine's camp, described in *The Foreste* as so well conducted that it "resembled one of the best, and richest Cities of the worlde, for all kinde of offices were there founde in order, as also greate heapes of marchauntes to furnishe it with all necessaries. He in no case permitted any robberies, privie figgyng, force, or violence."[5] The send-

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 86.

[2] The main narrative for the last two acts is a mere catalogue of conquered territories: "Now this greate Tamburlaine, this mightie Prince and Emperour, over ranne all Asia the lesse, to the Turke before subiect, thence turning towards Egypte, conquired also Syria, Phenicia, and Palestine, with all other Cities on their borders, of what side so ever, and besides these Smirna, Antioch, Tripolis, Sebasta, and Damascus. Afterwarde being come with al his armie into Egypte, the Soudan, and the kyng of Arabia, with sundrie other Princes, assembled altogether, and presented hym battaile, but in the ende to their inspecable detrement discomfited, were slaine, and spoiled at the pleasure of the ennimie; yb meane whereof the Soudan saved hymself by flight."—*The Foreste*, p. 85.

[3] III, iii, 8–10. [4] II, ii, 44–46. [5] *The Foreste*, p. 84.

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ing of emissaries to beg Tamburlaine's mercy upon the besieged city is preceded in the play, as in Perondinus, by the battering down of the walls.[1] The plundering of Damascus, recorded in Perondinus, is mentioned in the play, to which it is inessential.[2] Hauling Bajazeth about in an iron cage, using him as a footstool, feeding him on crumbs from the table, Marlowe took over from history. Two details found only in Perondinus, Bajazeth's braining himself on the bars of his cage, and the service exacted of Bajazeth's wife, are cited by Professors Herford and Wagner as proof that Perondinus was one of Marlowe's authorities.[3] Perondinus' suggestion of the ridicule heaped on Bajazeth, Marlowe elaborated. He retained the exhortation against pride,[4] with which both historians[5] conclude the account of Bajazeth's fall.

That these correspondences, though numerous enough to show minute acquaintance with the sources, do not indicate a meticulousness akin to Shakespeare's is shown by discrepancies in statistical and geographical data. Though the sources for *Tamburlaine* are rich in statistics, most of Marlowe's estimates of the size of armies came from his head. Tamburlaine's force of "three hundred thousand men in armour clad,"[6] and "five hundred thousand footmen threatening shot,"[7] is to be found in neither history; nor the opposing force of

> A hundred and fifty thousand horse;
> Two hundred thousand foot, brave men-at-arms;[8]

nor Cosroe's twenty thousand men.[9] Though Perondinus fills pages with names of conquered territories, there is no correspondence between them and the decorative, high-sounding lists of geographical names in *Tamburlaine I* and *II*.

Had the deviations of Marlowe from history been confined to minutiae of numbers, names, and other minor details, his place among the historically faithful might be moderately high, for there was an enormous difference in meticulousness among Elizabethan playwrights. When, however, Act III of *Tamburlaine I* so distorts the

[1] V, i, 2; Perondinus, p. 43. [2] IV, ii, 106–10; Perondinus, p. 39.

[3] *The Academy* (Oct. 20, 1883), pp. 265 ff.

[4] "Prandenti vero et commessanti, quo magis ridiculo foret, et despicatui, micas et frustilla sub mensa tripodi alligatus canis in modum comedere cogebatur" (p. 30).

[5] *The Foreste*, p. 85; Perondinus, p. 31.

[6] IV, i, 21. [7] IV, i, 24. [8] IV, iii, 53–54. [9] II, v, 91.

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most tremendous struggle of the hero's life as to make it seem quite other than it was, and Acts IV and V hold up as most important an invention of the dramatist concerning Tamburlaine, subordinating to it the historical events, one can hardly call the play a "true historie" of Tamburlaine.

Act III presents Tamburlaine's victory over Bajazeth, which in *The Foreste* is recorded as follows:

> [Bajazeth left Constantinople] passyng thence into Asia with all his armie, taking uppe still by the way, as many as was possible, so that as some affirme, he had as many horsemen as had the greate Tamburlaine. . . . . Wherefore marchyng on within fewe daies, they mette eache with other upon the confines of Armenia, where both of theim orderyng as became good Capitaines their people, beganne in the breake of day, the most cruell, and most terrible battaile that earst was ever harde of, consideryng the nomber on both partes, ... with the valiant currage and prowes of their capitaines. Thus continued they in fight even almoste untill night, with merveilous sloughter on bothe sides, the victorie yet doubtfull, til, in the ende the Turkes beganne to fainte and to flee, more in deede opprest with the multitude, then that thei feared or other wise, the moste parte of theim with honour diyng manfully in the filde; and as one reporteth two hundred thousand were taken prisoners, after the battaile was ended, the resude slaine, and fledde for their better safetie. Whiche Baiaceth, of parte perceivyng before the ende, how it would waie, to courage his people, and to withdrawe theim from flight, resisted in person valiantly the furious rage of the enimie. How be it, he therby gained such, and so many knokes, that as he was in the ende, in deede unhorste, so was he for lake of reskewe presented to the greate Tamburlaine, who incontinently closed hym uppe, in a kaege of yron, carriynge hym still with hym, whither soever he after wente.[1]

The importance of the battle and its confusion and carnage are here set forth seriously. In the play the details and manner of treatment are changed. The result is that, while Marlowe follows history in letting the audience know that Tamburlaine fought and defeated Bajazeth, he makes a farce of Tamburlaine's most difficult encounter.

Acts IV and V present two military exploits and two of Tamburlaine's most widely known atrocities. These historical events are, however, the background for an entirely unhistorical interest, built around Zenocrate. The dramatic climax does not concern the question of chief interest in the histories: Will Tamburlaine conquer his

[1] *The Foreste*, pp. 84–85.

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enemies? but one quite foreign to historical conception of Tamburlaine's character: Will Tamburlaine's love for Zenocrate conquer his pride in military rigor?

These two big changes, which transform three-fifths of the dramatic chronicle, are more than mere padding of meager material. They change the tone of the narrative.

II

Though Marlowe's historical conscience was not an exacting one, the distinguishing characteristics of *Tamburlaine I*—unifying hero, episodic action, spectacle, monotony, striking incident—qualities generally regarded as emanations from the energetic dramatist, were, in truth, the unavoidable molding of history. Once Marlowe had chosen his subject, he could not escape presenting the few well-known facts about Tamburlaine, nor could he hope to vie with them in interest. The dramatic qualities due to his initiative are, then (in contrast with his literary style, famous for its effective use of blank verse and rhetoric), relatively inconspicuous. Yet they throw some light on his tastes and abilities.

Left by meager sources[1] with more than twenty characters to create, Marlowe demonstrated his originality by falling back on only one stock character, Agydas, who, however, in his brief appearances justifies his dramatic existence—being Zenocrate's confidant; giving Tamburlaine opportunity to show the fierceness of his eye and the sudden consequences of his anger; furnishing, too, an exhibition, dear to the Elizabethan audience, of brave dying. Marlowe also demonstrated his ability to make his characters distinct. The feeble Mycetes is not at all like his generous, trustful brother. Neither of them resembles the haughty Bajazeth or the amorous king of Arabia. Tamburlaine's hardy follower, Techelles, is less likely to be visited by compunctions and doubts than the more wavering Theridamas. But they lack vitality.

The shadowiness of Marlowe's minor characters, in contrast with the vividness of the hero, suggests two explanations. One is that Marlowe's elaborative genius needed a hint to fire it, and consequently that Tamburlaine, whom Marlowe found already characterized in

[1] *The Foreste* mentions by name and characterizes only two people: Bajazeth, whom Marlowe so completely changed as to make him totally fictitious, and Tamburlaine.

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history, has vividness, while the others, whom Marlowe created, do not—a theory which will in part account for the distinctness of minor characters in *Edward II*, a drama based on the peopleful chronicles of Holinshed, and for the unreality even of major characters in *Tamburlaine II* and *The Jew of Malta*, which are largely Marlowe's fabrication.

The other explanation is that a sense for proportion and emphasis, which his classical training would accentuate, led Marlowe to animate characters according to their importance. Tamburlaine, the spring of all action, has vibrant personality, while others have varying degrees of vitality. The variation of vitality according to dramatic importance is well illustrated by one character, Zenocrate, who is sometimes necessary to the action and sometimes insignificant to it. Marlowe had little need of her at the beginning of the play. In the first two acts, where he followed closely the events of history, he inserted Zenocrate only occasionally; in the last two acts, where he rearranged his details to effect for Tamburlaine an emotional climax built on her grief, and where consequently her existence has dramatic significance, he introduced her often. At the beginning of the play, Zenocrate is wooden. Upon her first appearance she talks little, her longest speech being expository. She does not appear again until the second scene of Act III, where her confession of love for Tamburlaine, is loaded with unnatural, classical elaboration, in Senecan fashion:

> As looks the Sun through Nilus' flowing stream,
> Or when the Morning holds him in her arms,
> So looks my lordly love, fair Tamburlaine;
> His talk much sweeter than the Muses' song
> They sung for honour 'gainst Pierides;
> Or when Minerva did with Neptune strive:
> And higher would I rear my estimate
> Than Juno, sister to the highest god,
> If I were matched with mighty Tamburlaine.[1]

In Acts IV and V, however, she obtains through her sufferings an enlargement of sympathy that gives depth to her character. Often she talks naturally. Sincerity marks the speech in which she laments the tardiness of her pity for Bajazeth and his wife. Her trembling fear for her father and for Tamburlaine is convincing. That she becomes a

[1] III, ii, 47–55.

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living person only in that part of the play to which she is essential shows in Marlowe a feeling for emotional unity and dramatic climax.

Emotional intensity and regard for dramatic climax may also explain his handling of historical precept. The historians, finding the ruthless, yet successful, Tamburlaine an unfruitful subject for moralizing, based their precept on the fall of Bajazeth. Effectively the sententious Mexia exhorts:

> Whence assuredly we may learne not so much to affie in riches, or in the pompe of this world: for as muche as he that yesterdaie was Prince and Lorde, of all the worlde almost, is this daie fallen into suche extreame miserie, that he liveth worse then a dogge, fellowe to theim in companie, and that by the meanes of him that was some tymes a poore Sheaperde or if you rather will, as some reporte, a meane souldiour, who after as we see aspired to suche honour, that in hys time none . . . . durst, or coulde abide hym: the other that descended of noble race or linage, constrained to live an abiecte, in most lothsum and vile servitude. This tragidie might suffice, to withdrawe men, from this transitorie pompe, and honour, acquaintyng theimselves with Heaven and with heavenly thinges onely.[1]

Marlowe put this moral into the mouth of Zenocrate, newly come upon the dead bodies of Bajazeth and his wife Zabina, and fearing a like fate for Tamburlaine or her father. With her Senecan confession of love in mind, one expects a sermon of grave sententiousness; but finds, instead, generalization made concrete and saturated with emotion:

> Blush, Heaven, that gave them honour at their birth
> And let them die a death so barbarous!
> Those that are proud of fickle empery
> And place their chiefest good in earthly pomp,
> Behold the Turk and his great Emperess!
> Ah, Tamburlaine! my love! sweet Tamburlaine!
> That fight'st for sceptres and for slippery crowns,
> Behold the Turk and his great Emperess!
> Thou, that in conduct of thy happy stars
> Sleep'st every night with conquests on thy brows,
> And yet would'st shun the wavering turns of war,
> In fear and feeling of the like distress
> Behold the Turk and his great Emperess!
> Ah, mighty Jove and holy Mahomet,
> Pardon my love!—Oh, pardon his contempt
> Of earthly fortune and respect of pity,

[1] *The Foreste*, p. 85.

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And let not conquest, ruthlessly pursued,
Be equally against his life incensed
In this great Turk and hapless Emperess!
And pardon me that was not moved with ruth
To see them live so long in misery!
Ah, what may chance to thee, Zenocrate?[1]

Here Mexia's moral, though eloquently expressed, has lost emphasis. The reason is plain. It is subordinated to emotion. Though, as in history, the fall of princes is the subject and Bajazeth the example, what gets the reader's attention is Zenocrate's agony of remorse and her fear for a lover and a father. The passage stirs agitation rather than reflection.

The sight of historical moral half smothered by emotion in an age addicted to sententiousness is an oddity, not satisfactorily explained by the suggestions, sometimes made, that Marlowe was overanxious for cheap popularity, a favor he scouted in the Prologue to *Tamburlaine I;* or that the audience would not submit to philosophical disquisition (Senecan tragedies and the moralities had taught both the upper and lower classes to expect a sententiousness which Marlowe's later contemporaries, the popular Chapman and Shakespeare, used copiously); or that Marlowe disliked sententiousness. Though the speech of the weak king Mycetes to his captain:

Go frowning forth; but come thou smiling home,
As did Sir Paris with the Grecian dame;
Return with speed—time passeth swift away;
Our life is frail, and we may die to-day,[2]

in its mock-sententiousness may easily provoke amused contempt, not only for the foolish Mycetes, but for the practice of lugging in platitudes, there is nothing else in the play to indicate that Marlowe had any distinct aversion to moral precept. He did not try to evade Mexia's moral or to make fun of it. He left it where it was in the story, and gave it dignified expression. In the last two acts, however, he was preoccupied with emotion; and the moral is overwhelmed.

Emotional intensity and humor seldom are found in peaceful and successful union. In *Tamburlaine I*, however, farce and humor, both of them Marlowe's addition to the story, are not permitted to

[1] V, ii, 289–310. [2] I, i, 65–68.

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interfere with emotional intensity. No gleam of fun lightens the awful pages of the histories Marlowe consulted. But in the play there is considerable levity. Marlowe, who had good reason for not wanting to treat seriously Tamburlaine's struggle with the formidable Bajazeth, made a farce of it. Instead of the glory of great deeds and brave men, Act III presents as its struggle a comical boasting contest between the two kings, their followers, their wives, and their wives' servants, the ludicrousness of which is reinforced by carefully balanced speeches. Bajazeth has become a cowardly, ridiculous braggart. Thus in the central act and in the most important figure, Tamburlaine excepted, Marlowe weakened the heroic that he found in the histories, replacing the dignified by the farcical.

Tamburlaine I is sometimes spoken of as a play without humor. Yet Marlowe's foisting utter absurdity on the Persian potentate, Tamburlaine's first royal foe, whom the histories leave uncharacterized, shows not only a taste for the comic but considerable comic initiative.

Mycetes, who, impotent as the shadow of a king, swears revenge "by this my royal seat. . . . . Embossed with silk,"[1] is the precursor to a long line of faint-hearted weaklings who complain against their foes with much the same petulance he does:

> I tell you true, my heart is swoln with wrath
> On this same thievish villain, Tamburlaine,
> And on that false Cosroe, my traitorous brother.
> Would it not grieve a king to be so abused
> And have a thousand horsemen ta'en away?
> And, which is worse, to have his diadem
> Sought for by such scald knaves as love him not?[2]

His concern to be considered wise, shown in such speeches as

> And through your planets I perceive you think
> I am not wise enough to be a king;
> But I refer me to my noblemen
> That know my wit, and can be witnesses,[3]

and shown, too, in his supreme ridiculousness, where, seeking to hide his crown during the battle, he says,

[1] I, i, 97–99. [2] II, ii, 2–8. [3] I, i, 19–23.

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> . . . . a goodly strategem,
> And far from any man that is a fool:
> So shall I not be known; or if I be,
> They cannot take away my crown from me.
> Here will I hide it in this simple hole,[1]

links him with many another fool, among them the yet unborn Sir Andrew Aguecheek, who concludes that eating beef "does harm to my wit,"[2] and confesses, "I am a fellow o' th' strangest mind i' th' world."[3]

Yet, though a successful comic character, Mycetes is essential to the main narrative and does not distract attention from it. Unlike Bessus, Captain Bobadill, Sir Toby, and Sir Andrew, all inessential to any main plot and barely attached to it, Mycetes is important to the rise of Tamburlaine. As he is the first obstacle in Tamburlaine's path, his weakness, ridiculous in itself, is essential to the hero's rise. Unlike the clownage Marlowe inveighed against, which was almost as successful in distracting attention from romance and high deeds as Ralph in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, Mycetes never usurps first place. Malvolio stars in *Twelfth Night*, Beatrice and Benedict in *Much Ado*. In the first two acts of *Henry IV*, Falstaff outshines Prince Hal. But Mycetes, whose part ends with Act II, never distracts attention from Tamburlaine; nor can he interrupt intensity of feeling, for no great emotional climax is attempted until the fourth act. With his tragic end not depicted on the stage or even suggested pointedly, he remains one of the few humorous characters of Elizabethan drama intrinsic to the central story and yet subordinate to it.

Humor, farce, many minor characters, lack of sententiousness—these, as they are Marlowe's deviations from history, should show most clearly the taste of the dramatist. Beyond showing his regard for emotional unity and climax, however, they are disappointingly inconspicuous.

So, too, are the contrast and spectacle Marlowe is responsible for, compared with that which history furnished. The three most spectacular episodes in the play were well-known historical facts: (1) the murder of emissaries sent from a besieged city; (2) the ill

[1] II, iv, 11–15. [2] *Twelfth Night*, I, iii, 81. [3] *Ibid.*, ll. 101–2.

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treatment of Bajazeth, and (3) Tamburlaine's display of flags. The last two are briefly reported in *The Foreste.*

So was he for lake of reskewe presented to the greate Tamburlaine, who incontinently closed hym uppe, in a Kaege of yron, carriynge hym still with hym, whither soever he after wente, pasturyng hym with the croomes, that fell from hys table, and with other badde morselles, as he had been a dogge.[1]

It is writen of him, that in all his assaultes, of any castell or citie, he usually would hang out to be seen of the enimie, an Enseigne white for the space of one full daie, whiche signified, (as was then to all men well knowen) that if those within, woulde in that daye yelde theim, he then woulde take theim to mercie, without any their losse of life or goods. The seconde daie hee did to bee hanged out an other all redde, lettyng theym thereby againe to understande, that if they then woulde yelde, he onelie then woulde execute th' officers, Magistrates, maisters of housholdes, and governours, pardonyng, and forgevyng all others whatsoever. The thirde daie he ever displaied, the thirde all blacke, signifiynge therby, that he then hadde shutte up his gates from all compassion and clemencie, in such sorte, that whosoever were in that daie taken, or in anie other then followyng, shoulde assuredly die for it, without any respecte, either of man, or woman, little or greate, the Citie to be sackt, and burnt withall to ashes: whence assuredly it can not be saide, but that he was verie cruell, though otherwise adorned with many rare vertues.[2]

In juxtaposition with these essential and overpowering spectacles, Marlowe's own inventions flash pale. Chief among them are Tamburlaine's discarding, on his first appearance, his shepherd's weeds for complete armor and curtal ax (I, ii, 41–43); his display of captured treasure to dazzle Theridamas (I, ii, 181); the two naked daggers that were offered to Agydas (III, ii, 88); the messenger whom Bajazeth boasted he would come and get if Tamburlaine did not comply with his terms (III, i, 40); and the hand-to-hand fight between Tamburlaine and Bajazeth (III, iii, 212). Crowns, unmentioned in the sources, are conspicuous in the play; and are displayed in ways so unique as to give them special emphasis. While Marlowe's additions to dramatic spectacle do not lack significance, they are dazzling trappings rather than meaningful episodes.

Nor is Marlowe responsible for the play's outstanding contrasts; they are not rhetorical devices, but facts. The major difference between Tamburlaine and his enemies—indeed, the only one history set forth—was this: he won; they lost. Marlowe dwelt longest, as

[1] P. 85. [2] P. 86.

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the histories did, on the fall of Bajazeth. Where history reported that Tamburlaine used Bajazeth's neck as a stirrup in mounting his horse, Marlowe had Tamburlaine use it significantly as a step to his throne. This slight change, however, only enforces the historical contrast between success and failure.

It is the differences of personality that Marlowe added: the contrast of Tamburlaine with what his enemies thought of him; and the contrast of Tamburlaine with people who were in many respects like him. After one has heard from the foes of Tamburlaine that he is a base-born thief, his princeliness and generosity are the more arresting. After one sees Tamburlaine with people who have the same aims he has, his excellencies shine out. Both Tamburlaine and the weakling Mycetes, for example, have an excellent opinion of themselves; both take delight in high station; both are fascinated by a crown. These points of likeness serve only to light up the fact that the men behind the desires are totally different. The common quality of courage in Tamburlaine and his follower Techelles brings out another contrast. When the hardy Tamburlaine proposes to parley with an enemy, Techelles says,

> No: cowards and faint-hearted runaways
> Look for orations when the foe is near:
> Our swords shall play the orator for us;[1]

and shows himself a bluff soldier, nothing more; while Tamburlaine, eager and able in diplomacy, stands out the richer character. The boasting in which both Tamburlaine and his foes indulge emphasizes the enormous difference in efficiency—a historical fact—between them and him. As Theridamas suggests:

> You hear, my lord, what working words he hath;
> But when you see his actions top his speech, ...[2]

but the Turks "menace more than they can well perform." Where Fletcher's total contrasts portrayed the soft courtier as utterly unlike the hardy warrior, and the eloquent coward totally unlike the inarticulate hero, Marlowe, with his more discriminating method, could show salient characteristics and yet portray a many-sided personality.

These two methods of contrast—providing a background of odium against which to set a shining hero, and giving Tamburlaine richness

[1] I, ii, 130–32. [2] II, iii, 25–26.

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of character as well as distinctness—are much more subtle than the contrast between success and failure commonly attributed to him.

The distinctive dramatic qualities, commonly attributed to Marlowe and to his first play, the sources furnished. Striking incident, for which Marlowe and *Tamburlaine I* are noted, history made necessary; for Tamburlaine's life was one of warfare and of barbarous deeds. Of the hero's many military adventures Marlowe succeeded in using five. With two martial exploits in the second act, one in the third, and two in the last two acts, the dramatist was able to satisfy his countrymen's zest for martial excitement. Tamburlaine's well-known atrocities—keeping Bajazeth in an iron cage, and ordering the slaughter of suppliants from a besieged city—Marlowe had to present because they were well known. By incorporating them he not only satisfied the expectations of the Elizabethan audience assembled to see precisely those infamous barbarities, but gave the play its most memorable episodes. "An audience," says Mr. Lytton Strachey, in discussing the work of a nineteenth-century Elizabethan, Beddoes, "whose attention is held and delighted by a succession of striking incidents clothed in splendid speech, neither cares nor knows whether the effect of the whole is worthy of its separate parts."[1] It is thus that Marlowe held and delighted his audience; but where Beddoes' incidents, the fantastic emanation of an erratic brain, are curious and unconvincing, Marlowe's, the representation of fact, are real and gripping.

History also offered opportunity for a brief scene of pathos, which, being brief, has been almost smothered by Dyce's assertion that *Tamburlaine I* was a play "with no pathos where pathos was to be expected." It is the death scene of Tamburlaine's proud enemy, Bajazeth. The details Marlowe got from Perondinus, but doubled the tragic effect of Bajazeth's miserable end by adding to it the frenzy and suicide of Bajazeth's wife. Though the Bajazeth of Marlowe's third act is a coward and a braggart, the very load of his wretchedness finally lends him dignity. His telling summary of his woes, his unselfish thought for his wife, his caressing words to her before he kills himself, her madness and death, followed by Zenocrate's first rush of pity for them, all work up a short scene of sincere pathos. That it is

[1] *Books and Characters*, p. 257.

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less developed and less significant to the drama than Marlowe's picture, so praised by Hazlitt, of Edward II's misery, or the final scene of *Doctor Faustus*, is at once obvious. But comparison of this slashing play and its little climax of sorrow with dramas where pathos is a necessary accompaniment to the tragic fate of the main character should not minimize Marlowe's achievement in developing this scene of pathos in the midst of Tamburlaine's victorious career.

Unfortunately, history bequeathed to the play some flaws. One is monotony; what some critics have called "endless repetition." Immediately this defect is mentioned, one recalls in *Tamburlaine* a succession of military adventures, and forgets perhaps that in a chronicle play which follows the career of a successful warrior some repetition is inevitable. The historical Tamburlaine was always fighting and was always victorious. For this monotony Marlowe cannot be blamed unless he shows himself content with it.

Confronted with the task of setting forth five conflicts—and one need only recall the hastily contructed Part II to realize how prone to monotony the depicting of conquest is—Marlowe achieved in Part I considerable variety. The center of interest in each conquest is different. The victory over Mycetes, the Persian king, is memorable for the contrast between Mycetes and Tamburlaine; that over Cosroe, Mycetes' brother, for Tamburlaine's attainment of kingly power; the defeat of Bajazeth, for its boasting match; the fall of Damascus, for its portrayal of Tamburlaine's cruelty; the victory over the Sultan of Egypt and the King of Arabia, for the struggle within Tamburlaine between the pride in the inviolability of military practices and love for Zenocrate.

The conflicts themselves are made different by the characters of Tamburlaine's antagonists. Even the deaths of Tamburlaine's foes are diverse. Of the three who are killed on the stage, Cosroe dies of wounds, cursing Tamburlaine; the King of Arabia, knowing he is mortally wounded, dies happy, because he thinks he still has the love of Zenocrate; and Bajazeth kills himself in despair.

Perhaps it is in the display of crowns, his own addition, that Marlowe ran into the greatest danger of monotony. Yet he did much to vary Tamburlaine's evident delight in winning crowns. In the first encounter, Tamburlaine leaves with the silly Mycetes the crown that

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worthless potentate had wanted to hide in a "simple hole"; he snatches the crown of Persia from the head of the dead Cosroe; one of his followers seizes the crown of the defeated Bajazeth from the Turk's wife, and gives it to Zenocrate; Tamburlaine orders crowns served as the second course of a feast; his last command is the crowning of Zenocrate.

Knowledge of *Tamburlaine's* sources exposes the pains Marlowe took to give his play variety. Finding in the histories many conquests and many misfortunes for Tamburlaine's antagonists, most of whom are undifferentiated, Marlowe displayed much ingenuity in making this succession of similar events as dissimilar as possible. The repetition is inherent in his sources; the variety is the dramatist's.

The historical material is responsible, too, for episodic action, the chief defect in the unity of the play, and for a strong hero, the play's most effective unifying force. For the unifying force Marlowe has been given great credit. As evidence of his originality or desire for unity, however, the hero's dominance of all action is valueless; for the historical accounts on which the play is based give Tamburlaine the same lonely dominance that the drama does and the same desire for martial glory. In *The Foreste* only one other character, his chief adversary, Bajazeth, is mentioned by name. In both histories Tamburlaine stalks about Asia, a solitary and gigantic figure bent on military conquest. It would have been difficult for Marlowe not to give his play the unity of one personality with one ambition. In so doing, he was merely dramatizing his sources.

There is evidence, however, that he deprecated the play's disjointed, episodic action, which made unity impossible. In the historical accounts there are three centers of interest, each unrelated to the others: (1) the steps by which Tamburlaine rose to the Persian throne; (2) Tamburlaine's victory over Bajazeth; and (3) Tamburlaine's subsequent conquests. The conqueror is the only link between them. Marlowe, who followed history in presenting important events in their chronological order, set forth Tamburlaine's rise in Acts I and II; Bajazeth's fall in Act III; and other important conquests in Acts IV and V. Had Marlowe been content with the formlessness of the chronicle play, the dramatic Tamburlaine would again have been the only link connecting the three distinct divisions.

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Marlowe, however, made two attempts to secure further connection between the separate units. The first and third divisions he tried to link through Zenocrate. Instead of the Persian woman history mentions as Tamburlaine's wife, Zenocrate is the daughter of the Sultan of Egypt and the fiancée of the King of Arabia. As these two rulers were Tamburlaine's foes in the last two acts of the play, the fictitious relationship between them and Zenocrate, together with the capture of Zenocrate in Act I, gives motive for their expedition against Tamburlaine and reason for Zenocrate's pitiable anxiety.

Perhaps because what she connects is far apart and she is of little importance in the first three acts, Zenocrate is a weaker link than Bajazeth, who strengthens the connection between the second and third parts of the action. Bajazeth, the important figure of Act III, Marlowe carried over into the last two acts to serve as a recurring illustration of Tamburlaine's cruelty. In Act III, Bajazeth is defeated and captured. Through Acts IV and V, where military interests are subordinated to Zenocrate's fear for her father, Bajazeth is suffering starvation, ridicule, and shame. His misery becomes more and more intense until it rises, in the scene with his wife just before his death, to a climax of woe. They kill themselves. Anippe, the maid, coming on their dead bodies, says to Zenocrate,

> This their slavery hath enforced,
> And ruthless cruelty of Tamburlaine;[1]

and Zenocrate grieves the more lest a like fate befall her father or Tamburlaine.

Though unity of time is impossible, Marlowe compressed the action into a comparatively brief time by making events which were spread out over Tamburlaine's long life occur within the time limit of an ardent courtship—a few months, one would guess, certainly not more than a year or two.

It is not, then, Tamburlaine's dominance of the play that betrays in Marlowe a desire for unity, but the dramatist's struggle to connect totally unconnected episodes and to abridge the time they really occupied. Never again (and this, in part, accounts for the improvement noted by Professor W. D. Briggs in the construction of Marlowe's plays)[2] did Marlowe work with material so stubborn. In *Tam-*

[1] V, ii, 284–85.

[2] *Marlowe's Edward II*, pp. xciii ff.

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burlaine II and *The Jew of Malta*, both largely his fabrication, he was tied to very few facts. The Faustus legend may have reached him informally by word of mouth. Holinshed offered so much material for *Edward II* that the dramatist could make artistic selection. Quite different from any of these were the accounts of Tamburlaine. Meager, yet exacting, they determined the major defects and excellencies in the unity of the play. The unyielding character of his material considered, Marlowe showed in his first play a promising sense of form.

Tamburlaine I, when compared with the histories on which it is based, is a valuable guide to young Marlowe's dramatic aims, because it shows Marlowe before his tastes were affected by the enormous popularity of his first play or by adverse criticism made upon it. With the exception of literary style, the qualities in *Tamburlaine I* for which he is most clearly responsible are those for which he is least famed. His invention of character we scarcely consider. Accustomed to the character-full plays of Elizabethan times, few of us realize how many people Marlowe had to supply from his imagination. His lack of sententiousness in an age when practice and theory agreed that drama should teach, critics have noted as a minor detail. His insertion of humor is almost unnoticed; the farce in Act III is seldom mentioned. His efforts to secure some unity and variety in spite of his stubborn material are unrecognized. The glittering tinsel he really added to the showiness of the play is not what we think of when spectacle in *Tamburlaine* is mentioned. His adroitness we do not catch sight of when we think of his contrasts. Yet all these are Marlowe's actual additions to his material or deviations from it; and in them we see what Marlowe liked and what he thought a drama should be.

What we think of as salient in the play and characteristic in the author the sources furnished: (1) one predominating figure with one ambition; (2) episodic action; (3) violent incident; (4) monotony; (5) significant spectacle, compared with which Marlowe's additions are gaudy trappings; and (6) a succession of contrasts between the victor and the vanquished, which do not compare in subtle force with Marlowe's use of contrast. Most of these qualities, which *Tamburlaine I* inherited from its historical sources, distinguish Marlowe's

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later plays; they are a conspicuous part of his surviving literary reputation.

In these days of mechanistic explanations of personality and accomplishment, one need be very careful how he asserts the influence of anything on a man of genius, lest he be understood to imply that the thing is all important and the genius a mere name given a fortuitous, though pleasing, aggregation of such influences. Yet a thoughtful reading of Marlowe's sources for his play, *Tamburlaine I*, suggests the notion that while Marlowe's name would probably be as great among us as it is today, if his sources for *Tamburlaine* had been other than they were, he might not be credited with several qualities we regard as characteristic of him.

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NATIVE ELEMENTS IN ENGLISH NEO-CLASSICISM

In the present article I shall try to show that English neo-Classicism had its roots deep in native soil and that it was in harmony with certain manifestations of the English national genius that were especially prominent in the generation after 1660.

The Restoration brought back more than the House of Stuart. The continuity of English tradition and the rule of reason justified by precedent were also restored in England. The revolution had been completely successful against the king, but it had failed to establish a settled government giving permanent guaranty of the traditional rights of English freemen. British law and constitution alike rested upon the assumption that the government would be carried on by king, lords, and commons. The revolution had swept these aside, but it had not found anything satisfactory to take their place. During the Puritan *interregnum* England had been governed by men who had departed from immemorial tradition and the common ways of thought —men who desired to pursue ends not customary, and who held power by no prescriptive right.[1]

Charles II was welcomed back to England as the outward and visible sign of the customary ways of government and of the traditional liberty of the British subject:

> Dread Soveraign! I offer no flattering Titles, but speak the Words of Truth: You are the desire of three Kingdoms, the Strength and Stay of the Tribes of the People, for the moderating of Extremities, the reconciling of Differences, the satisfying of all Interests, and for the restoring of the collapsed Honour of these Nations.[2]

Ten years later, at an anniversary sermon, the Reverend John Lake, afterward Bishop of Chichester, praised God "for the happy Restoration of our Dread Soveraign to his Kingdoms, and therein of the Kingdoms themselves, to their Religion, Laws, Liberties, Proprieties again."[3] England, tired of novelty and excess and caprice,

[1] G. M. Trevelyan, *England under the Stuarts*, p. 272.

[2] *The Earl of Manchester's Speech to His Maiesty, in the Name of the Peers, At his Arrival at White-Hall, The 29th of May, 1660*, London, 1660.

[3] *A Sermon Preached at Whitehall upon the 29th of May, 1670. Being the day of His Majesties Birth and Happy Restoration. By John Lake, D.D. Late Rector of S. Botolphs without Bishopsgate, London*, London, 1670.

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reacted toward constituted authority in church and state and society and literature. Dryden's poem in honor of the Restoration was happily named *Astræa Redux*.

It was natural that the spirit of the Restoration should be more conservative than that which had preceded the civil wars; there was more to react from. From the riotous individualism of the Puritan *interregnum* the nation now turned toward the general sense. Disgusted with lawlessness and eccentricity, it reacted toward rules; after enthusiasm and fanaticism, it welcomed sober judgment. The movement was thus conservative and restrictive, tempered by a sense of reason and moderation.

This moderate conservatism is illustrated in the development of English constitutional history after 1660. The lessons of the Civil War period and the protectorate were not forgotten. The reconstituted monarchy was a compromise between autocracy and popular sovereignty, between the tyranny of the monarch and the tyranny of the mob. England had suffered from both, and was learning to hold both in place by means of that intricate series of checks and balances, the developing British constitution. In general, the Whigs most feared the former and the Tories the latter; but both parties and all classes united in expressions of hatred for arbitrary power.

Charles II avowed this principle in his public utterances, and repeatedly declared himself an enemy to all arbitrary proceedings. In his speech at the opening of the Oxford Parliament in March, 1681, he said: "For I, who will never use Arbitrary Government My Self, am resolv'd not to suffer it in Others."[1]

Halifax, in "The Character of a Trimmer," said:

> Our Trimmer owneth a Passion for liberty, yet so restrained, that it doth not in the least impair or taint his Allegiance;[2]

and again:

> The Crown hath power sufficient to protect our Liberties. The People have so much Liberty as is necessary to make them useful to the Crown.
>
> Our Government is in a just proportion, no Tympany, no unnatural swelling either of Power or Liberty.[3]

[1] *His Majesties Most Gracious Speech to Both Houses of Parliament, At the Opening of the Parliament at Oxford Monday the 21st day of March 168⁰/₁*, Oxford, n.d. The King's sincerity is not involved here. Whatever may have been Charles's real sentiments, his speech reflected the popular opinion; it was nicely adapted to the popular temper.

[2] *Complete Works* (ed. Raleigh), p. 61. [3] *Ibid.*, pp. 62–63.

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Dryden, in *The Medal*, emphasized British love of a just balance between the extremes "Of popular sway and arbitrary reign." Samuel Pordage, Dryden's opponent, gave an excellent expression of this moderate conservatism that seeks continuity rather than experiment.

> For Innovation is a dangerous thing,
> Whether it comes from People or from King.
> To change Foundations which long Ages stood,
> Which have prov'd firm, unshaken, sound, and good,
> To pull all down, and cast the Frame anew,
> Is work for Rebels, and for Tyrants too.[1]

Such references could easily be multiplied. However sharply Whig and Tory might differ from each other, both were agreed in resting their cases upon the English law and tradition, the natural constitution of society, and the judgment of reason.

In the English church we can see, no less clearly than in the state, a love of the middle way. On the one side was the Roman Catholic church, which stood for absolute authority and for centralized ecclesiastical government. On the other side were the dissenting sects, which stood for private judgment and for decentralized government. On the one side was respect for tradition, and ordered decorum in services; on the other, disrespect for tradition, and varying degrees of spontaneity and enthusiasm in public worship. In all these respects the Anglican church occupied a middle position. It held both to Catholic tradition and to the open Bible. In ecclesiastical government it rejected alike papal autocracy and independent anarchy. In its order of services it retained a ritual but discarded much ceremonial. The Roman Catholics accused it of rejecting truth; the sectaries accused it of retaining error. Anglican apologists thundered alike against Puritan and Papist, at all times condemning the excess of those who departed from the paths of moderation or who seemed to err by accepting too little or too much.[2]

Against the charges of novelty and singularity the Anglican divines were accustomed to appeal to the decrees of the earliest general councils, the writings of the Christian Fathers, and universal tradition.

[1] *Asariah and Hushai, A Poem* (London, 1682), p. 31.

[2] "We live secure from mad Enthusiastick Rage
And fond Tradition now grown blind with Age."—
THO. CREECH, "To Mr. Dryden on Religio Laici," prefixed to the 1682 ed. of *Religio Laici*.

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Over and over again was the appeal made to Scripture, antiquity, and reason. On this combined basis was the church attacked and defended. Chamberlayne, in his description of the Church of England, puts the whole matter clearly, declaring

> That she holds the whole truly Catholick Foundation according to the Scripture, and the four first general Councils; That she adheres closely to Tradition truly Universal; that is, doth willingly receive, quod ab omnibus, quod ubique, quod semper receptum fuit, which is the old Rule of Catholicism. . . . . Search all the Religions in the World, none will be found more consonant to God's Word, for doctrine, nor to the Primitive example for Government . . . . it keepeth the middle way, between the pomp of Superstitious Tyranny, and the meanness of Fanatick Anarchy.[1]

The oft-repeated accusation against the dissenters was that they affected singularity and opposed authority.

> Their speech & habits they cannot indure should be like their Neighbors, and are very curious to be in all things contrary to the common mode, so that they may be taken notice of for singular men . . . . and are so stuft with contradiction that they will do nothing commanded by Authority; so that the only way to have them do anything is to forbid them doing of it on pain of death.[2]

Here, as in other respects, the relations of church and state were far closer in the seventeenth century than they are today. Support of the king and the bishops usually went together; the sanctions of authority and tradition and reason were similar in church and in state. Of course men were not entirely consistent, but they could not have separated their politics and their religion even had they so desired. Both were parts of a habit of thought which affected their whole intellectual and social life. Long before the outbreak of the Civil War, Roger Ascham had written:

> For he, that can neither like Aristotle in Logicke and Philosophie, nor Tullie in Rhetoricke and Eloquence, will, from these steppes, likelie enough presume, by like pride, to mount hier, to the misliking of greater matters: that is either in Religion to haue a dissentious head, or in the common wealth to haue a factious hart.[3]

In opposition to the obstinate eccentricity of the dissenters, we find the churchmen arguing for the general sense and universal consent. "Private opinion or fancy" was sharply disavowed by the

[1] Edward Chamberlayne, *Angliae Notitia, or The Present State of England* (15th ed.; London, 1684), p. 30. See also the letter of Jeremy Taylor to John Evelyn, Nov. 21, 1665, in *Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn*, (ed. Bray), III, 208–9.

[2] Richard Head, *Proteus Redivivus* (London, 1675), p. 236.

[3] *Scholemaster* (ed. Arber), p. 191.

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bishops in their debate with the Presbyterian divines on the commission for the review of the Book of Common Prayer in 1661.[1] When in 1689 Edward Sclater was publicly received back into the English church, after having left it for the Roman, he stated in his public recantation:

> More particularly, I Renounce those disparaging and false Expressions, concerning the Rule of Faith, and the Use of it, in the Church of England. For whereas I then wrote, that the Canon of Scripture in the Church of England was no other, but what her own Members were pleased to allow; that the Private Spirit was the Support of the Protestant Faith; and that I my self, whilst in that Church, might have Choice of an hundred Faiths in Her. I am now fully convinced, That the Church of England does receive the very same Canon of Scripture, and the same Creeds, which have in all Ages of the Church been most Universally received, as containing all things Necessary to Salvation: And that She has due recourse to the Ancient Fathers, and the Authority of the Church; as the most effectual means for repressing the Extravagancies of each Man's private Spirit, and for the maintaining of Truth, and Peace, and good Order in the Church.[2]

Dryden followed a similar line of argument in *Religio Laici*, where he condemned the fruits of the private spirit in the sects. His conclusion was that "waiving each extreme" we should "learn what unsuspected ancients say," follow the Scripture and the Fathers and the tradition of the whole church, trying all by the light of reason.

> And after hearing what our Church can say,
> If still our reason runs another way,
> That private reason 'tis more just to curb,
> Than by disputes the public peace disturb.
> For points obscure are of small use to learn:
> But common quiet is mankind's concern.[3]

[1] *The Papers That passed between the Commissioners Appointed by his Majesty for the Alteration of the Common Prayer . . . . .*, in *An Accompt of all the Proceedings of the Commissioners . . . . for the Reveiw* [sic] *of the Book of Common Prayer*, etc., London, 1661.

[2] Anthony Horneck, *An Account of Mr. Edward Sclater's Return To The Communion of the Church of England And Of the Publick Recantation he made at the Church of St. Mary Savoy, the 5th of May, 1689* (London, 1689), pp. 11–12. See also the anonymous pamphlet attributed to Edward Stillingfleet, *An Answer to Some Papers Lately Printed, concerning the Authority of the Catholick Church In Matters of Faith, and the Reformation of the Church of England* (London, 1686), pp. 8–9. This pamphlet was published in reply to some recently circulated papers attributed to the late king, Charles II, and the first Duchess of York, deceased wife of James II, in support of the Roman Catholic church. Stillingfleet protests against the assumption that those of the Church of England "do leave every man to believe according to his own fancy. . . . . For our Church receives the three Creeds, and embraces the four General Councils, and professes to hold nothing contrary to any Universal Tradition of the Church from the Apostles times."

[3] Of course this doctrine of general consent with its opposition to the free exercise of the private judgment in matters religious was not accepted by all. My contention is merely that this doctrine, which strangely parallels the neo-Classical concept of literature, was strongly advanced and was accepted by representative English churchmen.

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Just as politics and religion tended to fall together, so also religion and manners had close connection in the seventeenth century. The dissenters usually came from the middle and lower classes, which were often deficient in polite manners even if they were not marked by the eccentric habits of the Quaker or the Hebraic diction of the independent. Much of the sharpest satire in *Hudibras* deals with manners in social intercourse; it attacks fanaticism, enthusiasm, social singularity, and obstinate refusal to accord with custom. Such comic writers as Tom Brown and Ned Ward seem to regard as axiomatic the proposition that there is no gentleman but a churchman. In his character of "The Rude Man" Butler says: "He has neither Doctrine nor Discipline in him, like a fanatic Church, but is guided by the very same Spirit, that dipped the Herd of Swine in the Sea."[1]

One important purpose of the seventeenth-century character writers was to recommend social conformity by ridiculing eccentricity. After the Restoration there was special need to reform the social ideals damaged in the preceding two decades, when individualism had run riot, untempered by the general sense. But the restrictive forces after 1660 were not new; they were merely more pronounced. Earlier in the century, Earle and Overbury and Hall had thrown their influence on the side of moderation and decorum. The social ideals recommended by these men and by Butler were not identical, but they were in a direct line of development.[2]

Butler's character of "The Over-Doer"[3] is an example of the man who does not observe moderation, and in consequence is always wrong. Even more explicit is the statement in his Notebook: ". . . . for Those that Use *Excess* in any Thing never understand the Truth of it, which always lies in *the Mean*."[4] In conformity with this belief in measure, Butler satirized "The Affected or Formal," who carries to excess a belief in rules and formality.[5] But, on the other hand, he did not recommend wanton violation of established custom:

In the Alphabet no letter has any Naturall Right to stand before another, but U might as well have taken place of all the Rest as A. But Custom has

[1] *Characters and Passages from Note-Books* (ed. A. R. Waller), p. 144.

[2] Because of his opposition to Rymer and the extreme principles of Aristotelian formalism, Butler has sometimes been considered romantic—or, at any rate, partly romantic—in criticism. Such a view is based upon the assumption that opposition to the extreme adherents of the school of rules indicates opposition to the fundamentals of neo-Classicism—a view that would rank Boileau himself with the romantic party.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 179. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 273. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 184.

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been pleasd to order it otherwise; and if wee should go about to alter that ranke: *the Reformation would be as troublesome as ridiculous.*[1]

Butler's attitude in this respect was characteristic of the age. Measure and decorum was set up as social ideals:

But now our true and noble-spirited Gentleman is one that hath taken order with himself and sets a rule to all his pleasures and delights; not too precise or too lavish, but keeps a just medium and decorum in everything.[2]

The principles thus dominant in state, church, and society were also dominant in the literature of the time. Conditions in all these departments of thought were strikingly similar.[3] As a result of Renaissance extravagance and the undisciplined individualism of the first part of the seventeenth century, English literature needed restriction, reform; it needed purging of excess and return to the normal, the healthy, the sane. It needed order, decorum, measure, respect for the general sense, precisely as England everywhere needed these same qualities. In the effort to attain them, it appealed to authority and tradition on the one hand and to reason and expediency on the other, precisely as the same appeals were made elsewhere. The resultant movement in literature we call "neo-Classicism"; but in constitutional, ecclesiastical, or social history we call it "good sense," "conservatism," "moderation," the "British national temper," or the "spirit of the age."

The relation of these ideals to Jonsonian classicism is evident. They represent the old principles developed logically and affected by the events of the intervening years. The chief addition is in the

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 407.

[2] Sam Vincent, *The Young Gallant's Academy, or, Directions how he should behave himself in all Places and Company. . . . . To which is added The Character of a Town-Huff. Together with The Character of a right Generous and well-bred Gentleman*, London, 1674. The quotation is from the last of the appended characters, which bears in the body of the book the following title: *The Character of A True, Noble, Liberal, and Stayed Gentleman.* See also *The Country Gentleman's Vade Mecum.*, p. 136.

[3] This similarity was more than once observed and commented upon at this time. Thus Butler characterizes "A Small Poet" (*Characters*, etc., p. 49): "He is always repealing the old Laws of Comedy, and like the *long Parliament* making *Ordinances* in their Stead; although they are perpetually *thrown out* of Coffee-Houses, and come to Nothing." Just as Butler here compares the undisciplined poet to the factious parliamentarian, so Dryden in the Prologue to *Œdipus* draws a parallel between the contemners of tradition in church and poetry:

> With some respect to ancient wit proceed;
> You take the first four councils for your creed.
> But, when you lay tradition wholly by,
> And on the private spirit alone rely,
> You turn fanatics in your poetry.

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increased respect paid the general sense and in the corresponding discredit of Renaissance individualism, in so far as the latter tended toward singularity. Jonson's respect for authority, for reason, and for measure had been extending their influence over the land. And when there was added to these the one classical quality in which Jonson had been most deficient, the way was made ready for the literature of the new age.

Now I do not assert that there was nothing of French influence in all this. France and England were both sharers in a movement that affected all Europe; and France had preceded England in its development. My contention is that obviously native institutions such as church and state, which differed fundamentally from the Gallic, manifested ideals strikingly like those shown in the literature of the time. So far as social ideals are concerned, the matter is less obvious; but these agree so well with the political and religious ideals and are so consonant with them that any foreign influence need not be insisted upon even here. If, then, the ideals that we have been noticing are in conformity with the national temper and are normal developments of the times, it is right to call them native elements in English neo-Classicism.

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CONCERNING THE "ODE ON A GRECIAN URN"

In her admirably fresh and thorough *John Keats*, Miss Amy Lowell writes:

> The third, and final, stanza of the *Ode on Melancholy* is an almost angry denial of the attitude taken in stanzas three and five of the *Grecian Urn*. This positive answer to the stand taken in these stanzas of the *Grecian Urn* seems so evidently intentional that it is largely upon it that I base my belief in the priority of that poem.[1]

The last stanza of the "Ode on Melancholy" asserts that Melancholy dwells, not with gloomy and ugly things, but with Beauty; the lines referred to in the "Grecian Urn" sing the happy lot of sculptured trees and lovers in that they are changeless, and of the urn itself which continues to bring its message of beauty to the short-lived generations of men.

The contradiction between the two passages seems to me apparent, not real. In each, beauty is associated with sadness and with either immortality or its opposite, mortality. The difference is that what is implied in one poem is explicit in the other; that the grim chords of which we are but vaguely conscious in the one crash out unmistakably in the other. For the "Ode on a Grecian Urn" deals not only with the immortality but the mortality of beauty. Immortal beauty is the main theme, but the wistful tone of the piece comes from the poet's acute consciousness that the loveliness of most living things and of many which are not alive—sunsets, rainbows, water-falls, and winds on the heath—is soon gone. As he looks at the urn he is troubled by two conflicting emotions:[2] joy in the presence of eternal beauty and

[1] II, 245.

[2] He has Moneta say to him in "The Fall of Hyperion" (I, 168–76):

> "Thou art a dreaming thing . . . .
> What bliss, even in hope, is there for thee? . . . .
> Every sole man hath days of joy and pain . . . .
> The pain alone, the joy alone, distinct:
> Only the dreamer venoms all his days,
> Bearing more woe than all his sins deserve."

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pain in the thought that the living things represented are "creatures of an hour." When he sighs,

> Ah, happy, happy boughs! that cannot shed
> Your leaves, nor ever bid the Spring adieu,

he is thinking of the living boughs that shed their leaves and die, and when he exclaims,

> More happy love! more happy, happy love!
> For ever warm and still to be enjoyed,
> For ever panting, and for ever young,

he has in mind the human love that soon cools and grows old.

The contrast is made more explicit in the "Ode to a Nightingale," which speaks of the "immortal bird's" happy ignorance of our world

> Where youth grows pale, and spectre-thin, and dies . . . .
> Where Beauty cannot keep her lustrous eyes,
> Or new Love pine at them beyond to-morrow.

In this ode, the ephemeral nature of human beauty, love, and youth is contrasted with the immortality, not of art (as in the "Grecian Urn"), but of nature, symbolized by the nightingale:

> Thou wast not born for death, immortal Bird!
> No hungry generations tread thee down;
> The voice I hear this passing night was heard
> In ancient days by emperor and clown.

These two odes, then, picture the joy of contemplating eternal, apparently changeless beauty and the sorrow arising from the consciousness that much of the beauty which is dearest to man is, like all human joy, short lived. It is this sorrow that becomes the theme of the "Ode on Melancholy":

> She dwells with Beauty—Beauty that must die;
> And Joy, whose hand is ever at his lips
> Bidding adieu; and aching Pleasure nigh.

We have here only a more explicit statement of one of the ideas of the other odes, although the idea is carried farther in the assertion that the deepest grief is to be derived from beauty and joy. Keats seems to argue that, as the chief means of escaping sadness (which are beauty and joy) themselves give rise to sadness, hence

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In the very temple of Delight
Veil'd Melancholy has her sovran shrine.

A mote it is to trouble the mind's eye that in the "Grecian Urn" the beauties of nature are spoken of as transitory while in the "Nightingale" they are regarded as eternal. The reasoning in the latter poem will not bear close scrutiny. The apparent changelessness of nature is only apparent, for the individual tree, flower, and bird dies; no mountain or valley, indeed no scene (except an unbroken expanse of water), remains throughout the ages just as it was; and we cannot be sure that the nightingale's song which we hear is the same as that heard "in ancient days by emperor and clown." Nor is it logical to contrast an individual with a species:[1] the individual man is mortal, so is the individual bird; the nightingale species lives on but so does the race of men.[2] Yet this is an inconsistency to which, in self-conscious and less heroic moods, we are all prone. Byron voiced something similar to it when he said of Greece:

Yet are thy skies as blue, thy crags as wild;
Sweet are thy groves, and verdant are thy fields,
Thine olive ripe as when Minerva smiled . . . .
Art, Glory, Freedom, fail, but Nature still is fair.[3]

The egotism which led the chieftains of old to have their wives, slaves, horses, and other possessions sacrificed at their funeral pyres lingers with us all. Deep within us we cherish, unconsciously, a vague resentment against the world for not dying with us. The persistence of the race does not satisfy us, and we ignore the passing of individual flowers and birds. It was so with Keats.

The most famous assertion of the immortality of beauty is not, however, in the odes but in *Endymion:*

A thing of beauty is a joy for ever.

It would seem as if here were the idea expressed in the "Grecian Urn," but a careful reading of the passage which follows shows that Keats

[1] Miss Lowell (II, 252) is high handed with Mr. Bridges and others on this point and, as it seems to me, without cause.

[2] Keats is not taking into account the future life or he might have written,

"*I* was not born for death, O *mortal* Bird
No hungry generations tread *me* down."

[3] *Childe Harold*, II, 819–27.

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is here using the word "immortal" loosely and that he has in mind, not the persistence of an object, but the constant delight we derive from it, or from the memory of it:

> Nor do we merely feel these essences
> For one short hour; no . . . .
> . . . . the moon,
> The passion poesy, glories infinite,
> Haunt us till they become a cheering light
> Unto our souls, and bound to us so fast,
> That, whether there be shine, or gloom o'ercast,
> They alway must be with us, or we die.[1]

Miss Lowell says: "Irony and pain are in these lines:

> 'Or if thy mistress some rich anger shows,
> Emprison her soft hand, and let her rave,
> And feed deep, deep upon her peerless eyes.'

Such behavior could only be possible to the shallow and disillusioned, as Keats knew right well. Such counsel to himself was the height of sarcasm, rending the heart from which it sprang."[2] But may not Keats have meant the lines in a less personal sense? He writes, "When the melancholy fit shall fall/ . . . . glut thy sorrow on a morning rose,/ Or on the rainbow . . . ./Or on . . . . peonies;/Or"—and then follows the passage given above. Did he not intend to say, "Or on the beauty of women"? That is, "Feel the softness of your sweetheart's hand and gaze into the splendor of her eyes when anger has brought them to their greatest brilliance; and, as the fire dies out of them with the change of mood, realize how quickly she and her loveliness must pass away, how our deepest sorrows come from our deepest joys and from the most beautiful objects." Keats did not counsel indifference to the beloved one's sufferings but directed our attention, for the moment, to the effect of anger on her beauty, an effect which suited his purpose better because it is so transitory.

The "Grecian Urn" closes with the familiar lines:

> Thou shalt remain, in midst of other woe
> Than ours, a friend to man, to whom thou say'st,
> "Beauty is truth, truth beauty,"—that is all
> Ye know on earth, and all ye need to know.

[1] *Endymion*, I, 25–33; cf. "Tintern Abbey," ll. 22–57, and the last stanza of "The Daffodils" and of "The Solitary Reaper."

[2] II, 245.

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The manuscript and the first printed version of the poem have no quotation marks in the penultimate line which, in the first printed version, appears thus:

Beauty is Truth, Truth Beauty.—That is all. . . . .

This punctuation seems to Buxton Forman "to confirm the limitation of the Urn's moral to the five words indicated in the text." "I find them," he writes of the "pointing and capitalling" of this version, "very characteristic of Keats, and suggestive of accurate printing from a fair manuscript of his. But for this I should have been disposed to regard the words

that is all
Ye know on earth, and all ye need to know

as a part of the Urn's lesson, and not as the poet's personal comment."[1] But to have the comment of the poet follow, without any explanation, immediately after that of the vase is so awkward and unnatural that few persons seem to have understood the lines in this way. And surely if Keats had been speaking in his own person, he would not have augmented this awkwardness and obscurity by writing "ye" in the last line; he would have said, "That is all *we* know." All these difficulties vanish if we follow the manuscript and the first printed version (the punctuation of the latter by no means compels us to assume a new speaker for the last line and a third)[2] and regard all of the two closing lines as the utterance of the urn. As to the quotation marks, if they are Keats's own and not a mistake they may have been intended to indicate, not the words of the urn, but an apothem, the kind of thing that is usually quoted. That is, they may mean: "The maxim, 'Beauty is truth, truth beauty,' contains all you know or need to know."

Quite apart, however, from the question as to who utters them, the last line and a third of the ode have long puzzled me. Beauty and truth are, in the larger and nobler meaning of those terms, very closely akin. This we know, but in what sense is it all we know or all we need to know? An answer to these queries came to me last summer as I

[1] *The Complete Works of Keats* (New York, n.d.), II, 105 n.

[2] Similar punctuation and capitalization are used in the last line of the "Ode to a Nightingale" where there is only a slight break in the thought,

"Fled is that music:—Do I wake or sleep?"

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stood looking at the Roman aqueduct at Tarragona which, after so many centuries, still lifts its simple tawny arches against the pale-blue sky. The men who laid these stones, I thought, and the many generations who followed them were in the main absorbed in gaining money, position, and pleasure; they gave their time to politics, to ambition, to love, and to the petty affairs of the neighborhood. All these are gone; yet this simple, useful work, so honest, so strongly built, so satisfying to the eye, abides. It often seems as if only such things, having the beauty of truth and the truth of beauty, really count. They are all we achieve on earth that is worth while and all we need to concern ourselves with—all we know and all we need to know. Was it something like this that Keats had in mind?

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SOME REVISED ETYMOLOGIES

1. OE *batt*, "club, stick," NE *bat*, may be a genuine Ger. word with *-tt-* from pre-Ger. *-tu̯-*: OE *beado*, "battle, war, "OHG *batu-* in compounds, Russ. *batovat'*, "das Getreide ausdreschen," *batŭ*, "Eichenstock," Serb.-Cr. *bátati*, "schlagen, klopfen," etc. (cf. Berneker, I, 46), ON *baðmr*, "tree; branch of a tree."

2. OE *buter-*, *buttor-flēoge*, "butterfly," probably has nothing to do with *butter* but means rather "bottle-fly": OE *butruc*, "leather bottle," with which compare OE *bytt*, "wine-skin; cask," *buttuc* (big) "end; piece of land," NE *buttock*, *butt*, LG *butt*, "stumpf, plump; kurzes, dickes Kind," *butte*, "plattleibiger stumpfköpfiger Fisch," etc. For meaning compare NE *bluebottle*, "a dipterous insect with a blue abdomen."

3. Late OE *curs*, "curse," *cursian*, "pronounce a curse on," are, so far as I know, unexplained. They are evidently ecclesiastical in origin, *curs* being the Lat. *cursus*, used of a set of prayers. So in the Mainzer Beichte we find: *mīnan curs ne irvulta so ih solda;* in the Pfälzer Beichte: *mīnan curs ni givulta*, etc., where *curs irvullen* (*givullen*) corresponds to the Lat. *cursum suum adimplere* (*Denkm.* LXXIV, 11 and n.), *curs* (*cursus*), meaning "Reihe vorgeschriebener Gebete" (Lexer, *Mhd. Wb.*, 1794). In OE *curs* usage restricted the word to the series of imprecatory prayers of excommunication, with later extension to all kinds of imprecations. In the development of meaning it is not unlike *ban*, which at first meant "proclamation, command"; or *imprecate*, which in Latin can be used of blessings as well as curses.

4. Goth. *qairrus*, "sanft, freundlich," ON *kvirr*, *kyrr*, "quiet, still, calm, at rest," *kyrra*, "calm, still," *kyrra*," calmness; calm weather," MHG *kürre*, *kirre*, "zahm, milde," are well combined with Lett. *gurstu*, *gurt*, "matt, kraftlos werden, kinwelken," *gursāt*, "müde machen," Lith. *gurstu*, *gurt*, "sich legen vom Winde" (cf. Fick, III⁴, 62), from a base *gᵘer-*, which may also be in Lith. *gẽras* (milde), "gut," *gẽrinti*, "gut machen, bessern," *gėrỹbė*, "die Güte, etwas Gutes," *gerútis*, "sich beruhigen von Zornwütigen" (cf. Hirt, *PBB*, XXIII,

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252). To these we may also add Gr. ἑλλέ-βορος, "hellebore," from *ἑλλερό-βορος, a compound of ἕλλερος· κακός (cf. Prellwitz², p. 139), meaning "mollifying or curing ills," not as explained by Prellwitz, *loc. cit.* Compare also Lat. *vērātrum*, "hellebore," which may be from **g*ʷ*ērā-tro-m*, "pacifier, mollifier." The ancient explanation of this word as well as the modern modification as given in Walde *s.v.* are too fanciful to be taken seriously. And yet the word may belong to *vērus*, not in the sense "true" but in that preserved in *sevērus*, "ungentle, stern, severe," *vērus*, "right, proper, reasonable, just," ON *værr*, "freundlich, ruhig, angenehm," Goth. *unwērei*, "Unwille," OHG *mitiwāri*, "sanftmütig." So in either case *vērātrum* would mean as defined above and agree with the corresponding Greek word and with OE *wēde-beorge* (madness-curer), "hellebore."

The primary meaning of this base must have been "sink, subside, droop," whence naturally the meanings as in the words above: "[become] quiet, calm, gentle, mild, good; weak, feeble, etc.," and "heavy, slow," as below.

5. Goth. *kaurus*, "βαρύς, heavy," *kaurei*, "βάρος, weight," *kaurjan*, "βαρεῖν, βαρύνειν, oppress," Skt. *gurúḥ*, "heavy, weighty, important," Gr. βαρύς, "heavy," Lat. *gravis*, etc., to which belong Gr. βρδῶμος, "stink, smell, esp. of beasts at rut," βρωμάομαι, βρωμέω, "smell rank, stink," βρωμολόγος, "foul-mouthed," βρωμώδης, "foul-smelling": βαρύς, "strong, offensive, of smell," βαρυ-ᾱής, "strong-smelling" (Nic. Th. 43), βαρύ-πνοος, "strong-smelling," βαρύ-οζος, -οδμος, -οσμος, "of oppressive smell," βαρυοδμία, "oppressiveness of smell," Lat. *gravis*, "of smell or flavor, strong, unpleasant, offensive, bitter," *gravitas*, "of smell, rankness, offensiveness, fetidness," *graveolens*, "strong-smelling, ill-smelling, noisome, rank," *graveolentia*, "an offensive or rank smell, fetidness" (*alarum, oris, narium*); Gr. βραδύς, "slow; tardy," Lat. *gurdus*, "lentus, inutilis": Gr. βαρύς, "heavy, slow" (βάσις), βαρύγουνος, "heavy-kneed, lazy," etc.: Gr. βρέφος (**g*ʷ*re-bhos*, "weight"), "babe in the womb, fetus; new-born child, young of animal, foal, whelp, cub," etc.: βαρύνεσθαι τὴν γαστέρα, "be pregnant," Lat. *gravis*, "heavy; heavy with child, pregnant," *gravidus*, "with child, with young, pregnant," *gravitas*, "weight; pregnancy, fetus," *gravesco*, "become heavy; become pregnant," *gravēdo*, "heaviness of the limbs; pregnancy."

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From "sink" come also words for "depth, abyss, chasm; gullet, throat," whence "swallow, devour, eat, drink," and finally "food, meat, bait": Gr. *βάραθρον*, "pit, gulf; ruin, perdition," Lat. *gurges*, *vorāgo*, *vorāre*, Gr. *βιβρώσκω*, "devour, eat up," *βορός*, "gluttonous," *βορά*, "meat," *βρῶμα*, "food," OHG *querdar*, "Köder," etc.

6. NE *by hook or (by) crook* is explained in the Century Dictionary by a reference to Bartlett (*Fam. Quot.*, 637) in a way that might be plausible if both *hook* and *crook* were not used of a tricky action from the earliest times down. The natural interpretation is the correct one: that the phrase means "by trick or fraud," not simply "by one means or another." Because *hook* can mean "a sickle" is no reason that it is so used in this expression. For *hook* in the sense of "trick" compare OE *hinder-hōc*, "stratagem."

7. ON *heðinn*, "Pelzrock," OE *heðen*, "dress," OHG *-hetan* as in *Wolf-hetan* are referred in Fick III⁴, 90, to a Ger. **hidana-*, which is supposed to be an early derivative of Gr. Ion. *κίθων*. They are rather from Ger. **hedana-*, "pelt, fur": ON *haðna*, "kid, young goat," MHG *hatele*, "goat," with which compare also MHG *hāz*, *hæze*, "Rock, Kleid, Kleidung," OE *hæteru* (*-t-* for *-tt-*), "clothes," and *hættian*, "scalp [as punishment]," Skt. *çāta-ḥ*, "Ausfall [der Haare, etc.]," *çātanah*, "abschlagend, fällend, vernichtend," *çātin-*, "abhauend," *çātáyati*, *-tē*, "zerschneidet, zerteilt, haut ab, bricht ab, löst ab, wirft nieder, vernichtet," base **ket-*, "cut, strip off," whence words for "skin, pelt" and "stript or fleeced animals, *τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν προβάτων*." For meaning compare Gr. *πέκω*, "strip, pull off, clip, shear," *πόκος*, "fleece," ON *fær*, "sheep"; OBulg. *koza*, "goat," *ķoža*, "skin, pelt," Goth. *hakuls*, "cloak."

8. OE *niht-scada*, "nightshade, solanum," OHG *naht-scato*, "Nachtschatten," etc., have a Ger. stem **skadan-*, which is supposed to be related to *shade*. It meant rather "hurting, injuring": OE *scaþa*, "injury; one who does injury or harm, criminal, thief," *scaþian*, "do mischief; steal," Goth. *skaþjan*, "injure, damage," OHG *scadōn*, "schaden," *scado*, "Schaden; Schädiger," etc. The stem **skadan-*, "damager; thief," is also in NHG *nachtschatten*, *-schade*, "Nachtschwalbe" (Adelung), Dan. *natskade*, "Nachtrabe." This is from a base **skhēth-*, with ablaut *-ō-*, *-ə-*: Gr. *ἀσκηθής*, "unhurt, unharmed," Ir. *scathaim*, "mutilate," from **skĥē-*, "cut, strip": Skt. *chātaḥ*,

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chitáḥ, "abgeschnitten," *chyáti*, "schneidet ab," Gr. *σχάω*, *σχάζω*, "slit, open," *σχίζω*, "split, cleave," etc. For other related words see *Modern Philology*, XVIII, 86, 92, 304.

It is possible that the first element of *nightshade* is not *night*, but a Ger. **nahta-*, "noxious plant, solanum," pre-Ger. **nokto-*, "noxious," Skt. *naṣṭá-*, "verloren gegangen," *naçyati*, "geht verloren, vergeht," Lat. *nex*, *necāre*, *noceo*, *noxius*, etc. The compound would then be like NHG *lindwurm*, with the second part added when the first word was obscure in meaning.

9. OE *ælf-þone*, "nightshade," must have received its name similarly. The second part may be from **þagne:* OE *of-þecgan*, "destroy," ON *þægja*, "drücken," Ir. *tachtaim*, "ersticke," Welsh *tagu*, "strangulare." Compare the development in meaning of Gr. *στρύχνος*, Lat. *sōlānum*, "nightshade" (*Phil. Quar.*, II, 262, 266).

10. OE *þung*, "aconite, poisonous plant, [vegetable] poison," MLG *wōden-dunk*, *-dungel*, "aconite," also *wēden-dunk*, *wē-dungele* (probably from **wēde-dungele: wēde-wesle*, "cicuta"), no doubt received the name from the narcotic effect of the plant. Compare ON *þungr*, "heavy [also of a feeling of heaviness in the head]; difficult," *þungi*, "heaviness, load, burden," with which have been combined ChSl *tęgota*, "Bürde," *tąga*, "Kummer" (Fick, III⁴, 180). Or the Ger. words may represent pre-Ger. **tunĝho-:* Av. *θwąz-*, "be distressed," OHG *dwingan*, "drücken, drängen, bedrängen," *thwang*, MHG *dwanc*, *twanc*, "Not, Bedrängniss, Ungemach," etc. The composition of the MLG word indicates the use of aconite as a fever remedy, as also in MLG *wōde-schere*, *-scherne*, "Schierling, cicuta, ebenus," MHG *wuot-scherlinc*, "Wutschierling, apirisium, cicuta," *wuotich*, "furor; cicuta," OE *wēde-beorge*, "hellebore."

11. OE *tōm*, "free from," ON *tómr*, "empty," *tóm*, "emptiness, vacuity, vacuum; leisure," *tœma*, "empty," Swed., Dan. *tom*, "empty," NE dial. *toom*, "empty," *teem* (ME *tēmen*, OE **tēman*), "empty; pour," OS *tōmi*, *tōmig*, "ledig," *tōmian*, "befreien, erledigen," OHG *zuomīg*, "vacant, of a house" (no connection with *widar-zōmi*, *-zuomi*, "adversans, absurdus, asper, horridus": *wider-zāmi*, "der einem widerwärtig oder missfällig ist," *widerzemen*, "widerstrebend sein; zuwider sein, missfallen," *zeman*, "ziemen") represent a Ger. stem **tōma-* or **tōmu-*, which I refer to the root **dā-* in Skt. *dâti*, "schneidet

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ab, trennt, teilt," *ava-dāta-ḥ*, "rein, klar," etc. (IE a^z, etc., 67), and may therefore be compared with Gr. *δῆμος*, Dor. *δᾶμος*, "division, district, country, land") (on which cf. Boisacq *s.v.*).

12. NE dial. *temse*, "sieve, bolter, strainer," ME *temse*, OE **temes*, *temesian*, *temsian*, "sift," MLG *tem(e)s*, "Sieb, Haarsieb, Sichtbeutel," *tem(e)sen*, "durchsichten, durchseihen," MDu *teems*, *temes*, "sieve," *teemsen*, "sift," OHG *zemissa*, "bran," are closely related to the foregoing from the ablaut-form **dəm-*, "separate, sift." For the meaning compare Gr. *κρίνω*, "separate, put apart; determine, judge," Lat. *cerno*, "separate, sift; distinguish, discern," *crībrum*, "sieve," *crībo*, "sift," Goth. *hrains*, "rein," OE *hrīdder*, *hrīddel*, "large sieve, riddle," *hrīdrian*, "sift."

13. Goth. *taihun*, "decem," IE **dekm̥*, Skt. *dáça*, etc., are best explained by referring the original word for "ten" to the base **dek̂-* in the sense "row, series" (of fingers): MLG *teche*, *techge*, MHG *zeche*, "Anordnung, Reihenfolge, Zunft," *zechen*, "anordnen, schaffen, veranstalten; zechen," OE *tiohhian*, "arrange; determine, consider," *teohh* (line, row), "race, generation; troop, body of men," **tehw-*, Goth. *tēwa*, "Ordnung," **tēgwō*, OBulg. *desiti*, "finden," Serb.-Cr. *dèsiti*, "treffen," *ù-dèsiti*, "richten, zurechtmachen; treffen," *ù-desan*, "in Ordnung, richtig," etc. (cf. Fick III⁴, 153), MLG *tachchen* (Ger. *-hh-*, *-hw-*, pre-Ger. *-k̂w-*), "bestimmen, einrichten, gestalten."

The meaning "arrange, set in order" probably came from "stretch out, extend." From this naturally comes "reach, get, take, reichen, erreichen" and "extend, darreichen." From "extend, project" come words for "stick, beam," as in the following.

14. Norw. dial, *tagg*, *tagge*, "hervorragende Spitze, Zacke" (with *-gg-* from Ger. *-gw-*), MLG *tagge*, *tacke* (*-kk-* from pre-Ger. *-kẃ-*), "Ast, Zweig, Zacke," MHG *zacke*, ME *takke*, "tack": Gr. *δοκός*, "a beam, esp. in the roof or floor of a house; the bar of a gate or door," *δοκίς*, "a small beam, stick, rod."

15. Goth. *tēkan*, pret. *taitōk*, "touch, *ἅπτεσθαι*," may have *-k-* from pre-Ger. *-k̂w-* or *-k̂n-*, which would also explain the *-kk-* in MLG *tacken*, "berühren, betasten," and *-k-* in MDu *tāken*, "nehmen, packen, kriegen," ON *fá-tœkr* (taking little), "poor, pauper," *tók*, "took," *taka* (with *-k-* by analogy), "lay hold of, take, seize," base **dēk̂w-* (or *dēk̂n-*), "reach out: take; offer"; Skt. *dāçván*, "Opfer darbringend, verehrend,

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fromm," *dāçati, dāçnóti*, "bringt Opfer dar, erweist Verehrung, gewährt, verleiht," MLG *tachchen*, "einrichten, bestimmen, gestalten," MDu *taggen*, "plagen, zerren, reizen," etc., as above.

16. OE *tōh*, "tough; glutinous," OHG *zāhi*, MHG *zæhe*, "was sich langsam ausdehnt, ziehen lässt, geschmeidig ist, zähe, tenax, klebrig," Ger. **tanhu-*, "ductilis, tenax," and **tēgu-* in Norw. *taag*, "langsam, andauernd," EFris. *tage*, "dehnbar, biegsam, zähe, dauerhaft, haltbar," MLG *tēge*, "zähe" (Fick III⁴, 152), or *tage, tēge* from OLG **tāhi*, equivalent to OHG *zāhi*. With these compare OHG *zag*, "zaghaft, furchtsam, unentschlossen," *zagēn*, "verzagt sein" (cf. Schade, 1224), with which may be combined OE *taccian*, "tame," NE *tacky*, "sticky, adhesive, tenacious" (of surfaces or substances), also used locally in the United States meaning "ungroomed, unkempt," subst. "an ill-fed or neglected horse, a rough, bony nag," pre-Ger. **do(n)k-*, **dēk-*, "tenax." For the foregoing meanings compare Lat. *tenax*, "holding fast, tenacious, tough; grasping, niggardly, stingy [MHG *zæhe*, "was sich anhängt, geizig"]; that holds or sticks fast, that clings together, matted, sticky, viscid [*tough, tacky*]; holding back, stubborn, obstinate" (OHG *zag*, "sich vorsichtig von etwas fernhaltend, zurückhaltend, zaghaft"): Gr. Ion., *δέκομαι*, "take, receive," etc.

17. OE *wergulu*, "crab apple," is probably for **wyrgelu*, in any case related to MHG *würgel*, MLG *worgel*, "Würger," *worgelinge*, "das Zusammenziehen des Schlundes; Herbigkeit [von Speisen]," *worgelik, worgelhaftich*, "zusammenziehend, herbe [von Geschmack]," *worgen*, "würgen, mühevoll schlucken; erwürgen, erdrosseln," MHG *würgen*, OE *wyrgan*, "strangle," etc. The crab apple is here named from the puckery effect produced by eating it, just as *crab apple* means properly "astringent or sour apple."

18. Goth. *kunawida*, "ἅλυσις, Fessel," OHG *khuna-uuithi*, "catenae" (*Gl.* I, 204, 32. 38), *cuonio-widi*, "fetters" (Merseb. 1), have in the first part a Ger. **kuna-*, **kunja-* (not **kūna-* as indicated by Braune, *Ahd. Lb.*, vocabulary), meaning "limb," pre-Ger. **gun(i)o-*, from the base **geu-*, "bend, curve," whence Gr. *γνῖον*, "limb," *γνιοπέδη*, "a fetter," *γνιό-κολλος*, "binding the limbs," *γνιοῦχος*, "fettering the limbs," etc. The Ger. compound is made up like Gr. *γνιοπέδη*. The second part: Goth. *-wida*, OHG *withi*, is related to the group of words represented by NE *withe*, NHG *weide*.

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REVIEWS

An Italian Dictionary. By ALFRED HOARE. Second Edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1925. Pp. xxxii+906. $14.00.

For ten years Mr. Hoare's has been unquestionably the best of our Italian-English dictionaries. Now that the second edition has appeared, with many corrections and additions, and with the English-Italian part "entirely rewritten," still more emphatically do we welcome this work and eagerly recommend it to all our colleagues and students. Incidentally, let us note that in appearance this quarto volume is as handsome as ever, that the paper and the printing are excellent. The price is high, to be sure. We hope that a cheaper edition for students will soon be issued.

Obviously the compilation of a dictionary is a very large and difficult task. It requires in the lexicographer a solid basis of linguistic scholarship, utterly bilingual familiarity, and a breadth of general knowledge which must be, as Mr. Hoare once said, practically encyclopedic. Furthermore, the dealer in words and in the varied, tenuous shadings of words must be more than a linguistic scientist; he must be, by intuition at least, a poet, for even in a work like this one, which consists largely of compilation, he constantly has to solve problems that call for very subtle, even imaginative, personal discernment. Even a dictionary may be a work of art. From all these different angles we find that Mr. Hoare brought to this task a very rich equipment indeed.

It is very unfortunate that in reviewing such a work it is manifestly impossible to point out its innumerable points of excellence, while it is possible to enumerate the few points at which one might take issue with the author. But since our common, ultimate goal is truth, and accuracy of knowledge, and since Mr. Hoare would be the very first to desire, rather than resent, criticism, we offer here a few comments. We shall place them under the following heads: "I. Introduction"; "II. Italian-English Part": "(1) Arrangement," "(2) Word Forms," "(3) Translations," "(4) Definitions," "(5) Idioms," "(6) Etymologies," "(7) Omissions," "(8) Typographical Errors"; "III. English-Italian Part."

I. INTRODUCTION

Three important additions have been made in this second edition: (1) a brief but comprehensive article by Professor Grandgent "On the Development of the Italian Language"; (2) an elaborate exposition of the conjugation of Italian verbs, with a complete list of "strong, irregular, defective and other difficult verbs . . . . with hints as to their conjugation"; (3) a "List of the

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Principal Verbs and Adjectives which may be followed by an infinitive, showing what preposition, if any, is to be used, corresponding to the English 'to.' " These additions will prove invaluable, especially to the student, who, we venture to say, will not find such adequate treatment of these important subjects in any current grammar.

In the list of verbs, however, we find, under *dolere*, *dolghiamo* or *dogliamo*. Giving the two forms together seems to imply that they are interchangeable or should be selected in that order. Both these implications are, however, incorrect, because *dogliamo* is decidedly the good form, while the other is used very rarely indeed, if ever. *Pensare*, in the same list, is given as requiring the preposition *a*. It certainly does, usually, but may take *di* when the sense implied is not that of "thinking of," but of "having an opinion about" (cf. French). *Penso a te*, "I am thinking of you," but *Cosa pensi di lui?* "What do you think of him?" It might be well in the body of the book, if not here, to call attention to the fact that this verb does not take the accusative but the dative, and that it requires *a* with the disjunctive pronoun. It is incorrect to say *ti penso*, and yet we occasionally find it, as, for instance, in Fogazzaro's *Quiete meridiana sull'Alpe:*

Penso un lontano
Core che pensami,

where, in two lines, there are two errors, which should here be attributed to poetic license. The verb *recensire* does not appear in this list. In these days of universal and ubiquitous book-reviewing, this newcomer of ancient ancestry, now certainly in common, though literary usage, might well be included. Finally, in the list of reference books, we miss Meyer-Lübke's *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg, 1911, and the *Archivio Glottologico Italiano*.

II. ITALIAN-ENGLISH PART

1. *Arrangement.*—The system which was so felicitously and practically devised by Mr. Hoare in his first edition, of using a larger type for "those words which will be most looked for, and the smaller type for the rest,"[1] is here continued. Of course such a scheme presents solutions which must, at times, be quite arbitrary. No two scholars will, therefore, always agree on the application of this arrangement, much as they may commend the scheme in general. Although Mr. Hoare explains further that among the smaller-type words he has included "all obsolete and local expressions and technical terms, words which are immediate derivatives of other words, ... and also words which are practically identical in Italian and English," yet we do not see, for example, why words so abstruse as the following, to mention only a few, should have been placed in large type: *anemocordo, anfaneggiare, arrestabue, babbione, capannisconderși, ciangottare, contrimpannata, dulcamara, encaustica, faldistoro, farfanicchio, gabbacristiani, giusquiamo, lampredotto, maggiociondolo,*

[1] "Plan of the Work," p. ix.

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mazzacchera, mondualdo, museragnolo, pancerone, pedocomio, pirocorvetta, slazzerare, sussecivo, terzarolare, unguella, vernerecciò, and *zonzonare*. On the other hand, we fail to see why such common words as the following should have been placed in small type: *amore, essa, evviva, felice, garantire, guaio, mila*, and *umile*.

2. *Word forms*.—Under this heading should be included: (*a*) words which, being obsolete, should have been starred (in accordance with Mr. Hoare's practice); (*b*) words that appear in a spelling which is, at least, unusual; (*c*) words for which peculiar inflections are given, or which require some grammatical explanation.

a) The question whether certain words are obsolete or not is a particularly intricate one in Italian, because a word may well no longer be in current speech, and yet remain current in rhetorical prose and in contemporary poetry in a country where rhetorical speech is all too frequent and poetry in verbal imitation of old Italian standards is still profusely written. Yet we do feel that the following words can be said no longer to be current in Tuscan usage: *carcame* for *carcassa*, *corre* for *cogliere*, *marrano*, *messere* (though Cr.[1] says it may still be used in legal terminology, and Pian. adds that "oggi è quasi uscito d'uso e solo rimane in alcuni luoghi di Abruzzo come titolo di onore che le donne danno ai suoceri"), *monna*, *muda* (why does H. call it *scherz.*? The origin of a word for "jail" from "cage" might possibly seem *scherz.*, though natural, but surely there is nothing jocose, for instance, in Dante's use of the word: "Breve pertugio dentro dalla muda," *Inf.*, xxxiii, 22), *persica* for *pesca*, *possanza* for *potenza*, *sciorre* for *sciogliere* (in giving *sciogliere* or *sciorre* H. seems to imply that they are interchangeable, which they are not, the latter being archaic and poetic only).

b) There is hardly sufficient authority for the spelling *Ammen*, for *Amen*. The latter form should by all means have first place, if the former needs to be included at all (Cr.). In Tuscan vernacular *Amen* would naturally become *Amenne*, possibly even *Ammenne*, but the primary form remains *Amen*. *Arruffio* has an augmentative *arruffone*, but not *arruffione* (Cr., R. F.). Since *dota*, "*pop.* for *dote*," is omitted by Cr. and R. F. and merely mentioned as a possibility by P., it is a question whether it should be included or not. It may be accounted for by the fact that, in illiterate speech, words ending in a singular *e* are frequently drawn to a plural also in *e* by analogy with words in singular *a*, plural *e*. But such variants are today both illiterate and rare.

[1] When quoting dictionaries, the following abbreviations are used, inclosed in a parenthesis immediately following the word concerned: Cr. = *Vocabolario degli accademici della Crusca*, Firenze, 1863 ff.; P. = Petrocchi, *Novo dizionario universale della lingua italiana*, Milano, 1902; R. F. = Rigutini e Fanfani, *Vocabolario italiano della lingua parlata*, Firenze, 1891; T. B. = Tommaseo-Bellini, *Dizionario della lingua italiana*, Torino (1879); Pian. = Pianigiani, *Vocabolario etimologico della lingua italiana*, Roma-Milano, 1907; Z. = Zambaldi, *Vocabolario etimologico italiano*, Città di Castello, 1889; Cent. = *Century Dictionary*, New York (1890–91); Mur. = *New English Dictionary*, by James A. H. Murray, Oxford, 1888; Webs. = *Webster's International Dictionary*, Springfield, Mass., 1925; and, of course, H. for Hoare.

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c) *Angariare:* it might be noted that *fare angherie* is better. The gender of *automobile* wavered from *m.* to *f.* for many years. The fact, however, that this word was first used as an adjective immediately following *vettura* (*f.*) has, we believe, finally swung it to the feminine (cf. French). *Meno* and *più* have a peculiarity worth mentioning: they take the article *lo* instead of the regular *il*, in the phrases *per lo più* and *per lo meno*, both very common.

3. *Translations.*—In the order, accuracy, and quantity of translations one may well differ from Mr. Hoare, and even at times from his model, Petrocchi, in certain interpretations. While some of the changes here proposed may be slight and pedantic, most of them have immediate reference to current Tuscan or literary usage and the needs of students. *Abituro* is often used, *scherz.* for "house" or "home": *il mio modesto abituro*, "my modest home." *Accaparrare* often signifies "to get hold of," as in *M'ha accaparrato per tutto il pomeriggio*, "He took hold of me for the whole afternoon" (cf. French). *Accoltellare*, add: "to knife" (Webs.) as in Kipling: "She knifed me one night. . . . ." *Accoppare* originally meant "to kill" (Cr.), but is popularly used for "to beat up," cf. French *taper dessus*. *Aire*, "*dare l'*_____, to urge on," not so much as "to turn loose" (R. F.); *dagli l'aire*, "turn him [her] loose." *Albergo*, add: "abode," as in Tasso's *Aminta:*

> Congiunti eran gli alberghi
> Ma più congiunti i cori.
> —Act I, scene ii.

Archetto, add: "slingshot"; *ardito*, add, since Mr. Hoare has made it a point to add military terms: plural "shock troops"; *arruffare*, add: "to dishevel," and *arruffone*, add: "bungler" (Cr., R. F.); *arte*, add: "craft." This word is very important, literarily, as in *Commedia dell'arte*, and is used commonly as in *Lui non è dell'arte*, "He is not an expert, not a professional, not of the craft." Likewise, for *artefice*, add: "craftsman." *Ascrivere*, add: "enrol" (Cr., P.). *Astio*, "envy, spite," rather: "animosity," which contains the other two. *Atavismo*, why not "atavism"? *Attaccare*, add: "to hitch up," in the sense of horses. *Attillato*, add: "tight fitting" (Cr.). *Avvisare*, add: "to notify." *Bagher* or *baghero* (which in Tuscan would become *baghere* or *bagherre*), "carriage," add: "a small, low, four-wheeled carriage for country use" (not in R. F., but see P.). *Bandita*, "2. Enclosed pasture ground," rather "private hunting ground" (Cr.). *Barcamenarsi*, "to get through somehow [implying discreditable means]"—the word means usually "to steer cleverly, to handle one's self adroitly, so as to make the best of a situation" (Cr., R. F.). *Barocco*, add: "flamboyant," which is the term used for florid architecture. *Becero*, "low blackguard, cad." The question here is whether "cad" implies vulgarity or not. It probably does in England, though with us "cad" seems to mean the exact opposite of "good sport," without connotations of vulgarity. Becero has connotations of low breeding and insolence, but not at all of rascality. *Bidello*, add: "usher," as the man who, in Italian university lec-

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tures, ushers in the professor. *Bigoncia*, add: "tub in which grapes are first crushed to make wine"; hence, probably: *"essere in bigoncia*, to be in difficulties." *Birba*, "1. lazy young fellow, rascal." The word suggests mischief more than laziness (in spite of Cr. and R. F.). Similarly, *birichino* does not mean "impudent boy or girl," but merely "mischief" or "mischievous." *Che birichino!* "What a mischief!" *Bisbetica*—would it be superfluous to add that *La bisbetica domata* is the accepted translation of *The Taming of the Shrew*? *Bis*, "in provincial theaters, a call for the repetition of the piece on the following night." Rather long and inaccurate explanation for "encore" (Webs.). Similarly, *bissare*, "to encore" (Webs.). *Biscotto*, add: "fillip," and "B. Italianized form of boy scout" seems altogether too recent and too frivolous a contamination to be included at all. *Bolla*, add: "boil." *Bonifica* (omitted by Cr., while R. F. says: "dirai bonificamento")—we must here take the liberty of disagreeing even with the revered R. F., because *bonifica* is very often used for land improvements, as in: "Questi [Leopoldo II] ... continuò le bonifiche maremmane, ..." by Guido Biagi (who was certainly both a scholar and an excellent contemporary Tuscan writer) in his *Fiorenza fior che sempre rinnovella* (Firenze: Battistelli, 1925), page 314. *Boriarsi*, add: "to brag," because "swagger" suggests also walking (Webs.), which is not suggested by *boriarsi*. *Buscare*, add: *buscarne*, "to get the worst of it" or "to get a whipping," as e.g., *Bada, bambino, sennò ne buschi*, "Look out, child, or you'll get a licking." *Calapranzi* is not so much a "tray for bringing dishes from the kitchen," which is *servo muto* (see under *muto*), but "a framework on which dishes, food, etc., are passed from one room or story of a house to another, a lift for dishes" (Webs., R. F., but not in Cr.; see also P.). *Caramella*, add: pop. for "monocle." *Carattere*, add: "disposition." *Carro*, add: "float," especially as used in Renaissance carnival festivities, and also as applied to the lyrics that were sung from the floats. *Cassetta*, "6. box of a stagecoach"; in fact of any carriage. *Catapecchia*, add: "shanty" (Webs., Mur., Cent.). *Chiaro*, add: *chiarissimo* as complimentary term used in addressing learned men. *Chiasso*, add: "alley, tiny street." *Ciancia*, add: "gossip, prattle," as in *il magazzino de le ciance*, "the storehouse of gossip," Tasso's charming reference to the court of Ferrara (*Aminta*, I, 2). *Cicala*, "1. cicada, cricket." There seems to be great confusion in English about this insect. *Cicala* is "cicada," but not "cricket," which is *grillo*. The cause of the difficulty is that we lack, in English, a popular word for the "cicada," which we often call "locust." *Ciottolo*, add: "cobblestone." *Civetta*, "little owl," or better, just "owl." *Colletto*, "detachable collar," or better, just "collar," synonymous with *goletto* and the less common *solino*. *Comizio*, not so much "meeting" as "mass meeting." *Comparsa*, instead of explanation, add: "supernumerary" (Mur.). *Componimento*, "short composition," add: "theme," and note that *composizione* as theme is usually considered a gallicism. *Condimento*, "1. sauce," add: "dressing," in the sense of "salad dressing." *Conveniente*, add: "proper." This word is important because frequently misinterpreted by students.

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Though it does also mean "convenient," it is often used for "proper," as e.g., *Proprio, via, questo non è conveniente*—"Really, now, this is not proper." Similarly, *Che sconvenienza!*—"How shocking!" *Corredo*, add: "trousseau," which is sometimes called *corredo da sposa*. *Corrucciare*, "to enrage, to torment," has a weaker sense, especially in the reflexive, meaning "to be chagrined, vexed." *Crema*, add: "custard." Owing to the cognate form this word is almost invariably mistaken by students for "cream," which is *panna*. *Cretino*, "idiot dwarf," just "idiot," "fool," since the idea of dwarf or runt is local or obsolete. *Crosta*, add: "scab." *Cuciniere* "is only used of the cook in an institution; a man-cook in a private house is Cuoco, but a woman-cook anywhere may be termed Cuciniera as well as Cuoca." We feel that *cuciniere* is plausible as an adjective, used, for instance, as *frate cuciniere*, the monk-cook in a monastery (T. B.). But in ordinary language, for "cook," man or woman, *cuciniere* or *cuciniera* would be as much of an affectation as "tonsorial artist" for plain "barber." *Disinvolto*, add: "at ease." *Distratto* is a word which students always mistranslate. "Distracted" means, in ordinary English: "mentally disordered, unsettled, mad" (Webs.), all far too strong for *distratto*, which, like the French *distrait*, means merely "absent-minded." "Untrustworthy rascal" for *farabutto* seems to us somewhat tautological, "rascal" suggesting general unreliability anyway. *Fegataccio*, not "unscrupulous man," but what, in colloquial American, we should call "nervy fellow." *Avere fegato* suggests the origin of our adjective "courageous," for to have a heart and to have a liver are both expressions for courage, audacity, even foolhardiness, but not unscrupulousness (Cr., R. F.). *Frantoio*, "olive-crusher," and, by natural extension, "the room or house in which the crushing is done." *Gagliardetto* is now a military term, therefore add: "standard of fascistic units." *Grappa*, "5. brandy"; is it not rather the name given in Northern Italy to a kind of brandy (not in R. F. in this sense)? In *gretto*, "1. shabby, stingy," the order should, we believe, be reversed, for stinginess is the first quality suggested by this word. *Grottesco*, as a literary term, is, to be sure, very young (to be precise, it originated in 1916)[1] and perhaps not permanently settled in the language, so that we shall not insist on a literary definition. *Impazzare*, add: "to curdle," as in *La maionese mi s'è impazzata*, "My mayonnaise has curdled." For *incielare*, "to place in heaven," we may sometimes use the identically poetic "to ensky," as Shakespeare's "A thing enskied and sainted," in *Measure for Measure*, I, iv, 34, and, if we may be pardoned the abrupt contrast, in D'Annunzio's also beautiful lines:

> Nell'aerea chiostra
> dei poggi l'Arno pallido s'inciela.
> —*Alcione, Beatitudine.*

[1] See Adriano Tilgher, *Studi sul teatro contemporaneo* (Rome, 1923), p. 112, where the word *grottesco*, used as the subtitle of a play, is attributed to Luigi Chiarelli, author of *La maschera e il volto*. See also D. Vittorini, "Il grottesco nel teatro moderno e contemporaneo," *Modern Language Journal*, X, 1 (October, 1925), 21–29.

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We should certainly not quarrel with *macchia*, "1. mess, stain," except that "stain" or "spot" is the primary meaning. An Italian Lady Macbeth would surely use "*macchia maledetta.*" Our overused "big" is not big enough for *madornale*, which is "huge," as in *uno sbaglio madornale*, "a huge mistake." *Magagna* is explained as "a moral or physical defect," viz., "blemish." *Magari*, "1. as an expression of emphasis, certainly," is insufficiently explained. More often it means willingness: "*Vuoi venire al teatro?*" "*Magari,*" "Will you come to the theater?" "I would just as soon." At other times it has a connotation of desire, as in *Magari potesse*, "would that he could," or "I wish that he could." *Malizia*, "malice, cunning," may also suggest "cleverness," as in *Ci vuole un po' di malizia*, "You've got to be clever about it." *Mammella*, not "1. teat, nipple," but "breast." This must have been an accidental omission because in the English-Italian part the word is also given for "breast." *Mancia*, why not "tip"? *Mancino*, "5. (horse) with a certain defect in the feet," viz., with front hoofs pointing outward. *Martinicca*, add: "brake." Under *Matricolare*, "*matricolato*, thorough," hardly translates the expression in which this word is most frequently used: *ladro matricolato.* Sometimes we may use: "professional," "accomplished," "famous" (P)., or, possibly, "full-fledged." Surely *Megera* is "one of the furies," but the word is in polite usage in the sense of "old hag," "old witch" (Cr). It is very strange to note that another jocosely derogatory word, *menna*, is not given by Cr., R. F., or P., though the masculine form, in its very unmasculine meaning, is given by all, and followed by H. *Menna* is often heard popularly in Tuscany for "hag," or "slouchy woman." For *meschino*, add: "mean," in its sense of "puny." *Mescita* is defined as "saloon for the sale of coffee, spirits, etc.," but misleadingly. Coffee is sold and spirits are both sold and served in an average *drogheria* (which, by the way, is never a "chemist's shop"), but *mescita*, so far as Tuscan usage is concerned, is, first of all, never used alone (R. F.), and secondly is always followed by the name of the liquid commodity sold, which is almost invariably wine. *Mescita di vini*, then, "wineshop." The word "sir" for *messere* is insufficient. One might here expect a brief explanation of this ancient word, so preponderantly used for medieval notaries. *Miccia*, on the contrary, is explained as "match for firing an explosive," but not translated as "fuse" (Webs.). *Minuzzolo*, "little bit, scrap," is specifically and very commonly used for "crumb," cf. French *miette.* We do not see just why *miscuglio* should be a "sorry mixture." For a really sorry mixture perhaps *guazzabuglio* might do better. *Misfatto*, "misdeed," has surely become, by natural extension, "crime" (R. F.). *Mobile*, "as . . . . piece of furniture," also by natural extension comes to mean "junk," and, if applied to a person, means "good-for-nothing," as in Giacosa's *Tristi amori*, Act III, scene i, where Ranetti exclaims: "Che farne di quel mobile?" "We have no use for that good-for-nothing." To *mole*, "large mass of any kind," one might add: "bulk." The word *monello*, "urchin," suggests primarily "mischief," "naughty boy," in which sense it is doubtless mentioned by H., quoting P., "in the sense in which

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a woman says to her husband when he has made her a present, 'Oh! You shouldn't!' " This charming, mid-Victorian idea is not even mentioned by Cr. and R. F., and should one wish to express such a singularly anachronistic thought at all, "rascal," "rogue," "villain," would be equally ineloquent. *Monna*, "Madonna, Mrs." is surely inexact. For Dante's "*Monna Vanna e monna Lagia*" (*Rime*, LII), we must surely say "Mistress" or "Lady," not "Mrs." In these days when the horse is almost obsolete, equine words seem to be losing their importance. Accordingly, *morello*, "nearly black," is, indeed, actually "black," when, as usual, the color is applied to a horse. The word *noia* surely does usually mean "weariness," "tedium," "nuisance," but at times, in older Italian as in French literature, it assumes a more serious sense of "trouble," "sorrow." It has unquestionably the purport of grief in Dante's: "Ma tu, perchè ritorni a tanta noia," *Inf.*, I, 76, where it means indeed, "torment," and in Tasso's *Aminta*, when the protagonist, who, for the second time, wants to kill himself, exclaims:

> Bello e dolce morir fu certo allora
> Che uccidere io mi volsi.
> Tu me 'l negasti, e 'l cielo, a cui parea
> Ch'io precorressi co 'l morir la noia
> Ch'apprestata m'avea.
> —Act III, scene ii.

Much might be written on Leopardi's conception of *noia*, an emotional vacuum which was in itself a grief. *Occasione* is more than the English "occasion"; it is the proper word for "opportunity." Under *ordine*, H. enumerates Italian orders of chivalry, the second of which is not *ufficiale*, but *cavaliere ufficiale*. Unless we are very much mistaken, *pace* was a term of greeting in old Italian. We remember it in connection, for instance, with the spurious, but nevertheless interesting episode of Dante in the Lunigiana, and his alleged conversation with Fra Ilario. *Palina*, add: "grove in which saplings are grown for posts." *Panino*, "dim. pane," is what we commonly call "roll." *Partecipare* is surely "to share, or . . . . to impart," but is very frequently used for "to announce," just as *partecipazione* means "announcement" (cf. French *faire part*). The past participle of *patire*, *patito*, is not merely used *scherz.* as "lover"; as an adjective it means "one who has suffered," therefore "thin," "worn," "emaciated." For *peluria*, we find: "down of birds, or the soft hair of young animals," yes, and particularly the incipient whiskers on masculine, adolescent, human animals. It would be very useful, particularly for students indulging in literary criticism, to know that *personaggio*, "personage," is the very word for *dramatis persona*, or, in general, 'character, in fiction.' In Tuscany it is very common to hear *pesca*, or rather, the plural *pesche*, not only for "bruise, lump from a blow" (the latter is jocosely called also *corno*), but for "dark lines or circles under the eyes." Since, as was said before, H. has added, in this edition, all terms brought in by the war, might we not legitimately wish included the pop. *pescecane*, "profiteer"? The word

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"black-beetle" for *piattola*, is, we feel, rather euphemistic, for plain "cock-roach." In explaining *pizzicotto* as "a pinch taken with the tips of all five fingers," one must disagree with H. and agree with P. and R. F. that a pinch must be given, to be effective, with only two fingers. *Pizzico*, instead, is, as P. says: "quanta roba si prende coi cinque polpastrelli riuniti." The crux seems to lie, here, in what is meant by *roba*. We might explain that *pizzicotto* is a pinch when applied to human flesh, while *pizzico* is used for, say, a pinch of salt. It is not enough to define *poppatoio* as "artificial nipple," for it is often used in the sense of "bottle," for instance: *Questo bambino è stato allevato col poppatoio*, "This child has been raised on a bottle." The two words "pocket-book" and "purse" are frequently confused nowadays in America, though they really refer to two similar but distinct things (Webs.). Likewise, in Italian, *portafoglio* is not merely "portfolio," but "pocket-book," while "purse" is *borsa*. *Potere*, "to be able," has also the stronger meaning, "to have power," "to be potent," as in Dante: "Poscia, più che 'l dolor, potè il digiuno" (*Inf.*, xxxiii, 75), translated by Norton as "Then fasting had more power than grief." *Premere* is a singularly significant verb and does not merely mean "to press"; with a dative pronoun it means: "to be concerned, to be eager," as in Don Rodrigo's famous phrase (*Promessi sposi*, chap. vi), "In somma, padre ... non capisco altro se non che ci dev'essere qualche fanciulla che le preme molto," "In short, father, all I know is that there must be some girl on whom you are very keen," or "about whom you are much concerned." *Quota*, add: "club dues." *Raccapricciare* is a word that challenges accurate English translation. "To shudder" is quite insufficient. The verb is used more often in its participial, adjectival form: *raccapricciante*, "shocking," in the most virulent meaning of the word and very close to "horrifying," even sometimes "heart-rending," "revolting with almost physical disgust." *Vidi quello scontro ferroviario; fu uno spettacolo raccapricciante:* "I saw that train collision; it was a horrible sight." An excellent example of the use of the noun *raccapriccio* can be found in Roberto Bracco's *Il piccolo santo*, Act V, scene vi, when, at the tragical culmination of the act, the "Little Saint" discovering Barbarello's awful crime, the stage direction says: "Don Fiorenzo (arrestandosi in una fulminea soffocazione di sorpresa e di raccapriccio)," where the word undoubtedly means "horror." *Radicchio*, add: "a sort of chicory eaten as salad." *Ruzzare* is a little more than "to play, as children," for it is far more often used for animals in the sense of "to be playful," e.g.: *Guardi come ruzza quel cucciolo*, "See how playful that puppy is." *Scaleo*, defined as "steps on wheels for a library," is just our common "stepladder" (Mur.). We legitimately object to the inclusion of such an illiterate barbarism as *sciantosa*, from the French *chanteuse*. Since it is used only for café-concert singers of a very low order, *canzonettista* would be far better.[1] For *scollato*, add: "décolleté" or "low-necked." *Scultellarsi* has all the earmarks of a dialectal form from Southern Italy. It is not in R. F. and is called by P. "volg." It should be

[1] We regret to say that Prospero Viani's *Dizionario di pretesi Francesismi e di pretese voci e forme erronee della lingua italiana* (Firenze: Le Monnier; 2 vols.) is inaccessible to us.

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indicated that this form is not in good usage, especially since there is a good word: *accoltellare*, "to knife." *Sottana* is today not "petticoat," but "skirt" (Webs.). *Vago*, add: "fair," in its more literary sense. In fact, *The Fair Maid of Perth* should be: *La vaga donzella di Perth*, and Sacchetti's famous lyric, which begins *O vaghe montanine pastorelle*, should be rendered: "O fair mountain shepherdesses."

4. *Definitions.*—Since this *Dictionary* is meant chiefly for students, though lengthy definitions are proscribed for reasons of space, yet, in certain cases, to convey clarity they should be included, especially because, in general, Mr. Hoare's definitions are richly enlightening. A student with a modicum of curiosity might wonder, for example, why *Ambrosiano* should mean "Milanese," unless he were told not merely that St. Ambrose was "Bishop of Milan," but that he is the patron saint of that city. Similarly, he might ask why, under *Antonio*, the phrase, *Dio ti protegga e Sant'Antonio*, should be "said to one who is saying or doing something disgusting," unless there were added the plausible explanation that St. Anthony is popularly regarded as the patron saint of animals in general and pigs in particular. Under *Dolce*, "9. *Dolce e forte*, pork, venison, etc. with sharp sauce," is a very ambiguous description of this Lucullian dish. This culinary delicacy is so called because the meat, often tongue, after being boiled with spices, is stewed in a gravy made up mainly of sugar and vinegar, hence the *dolce e forte*. See any Italian cookbook and preferably Pellegrino Artusi, *La scienza in cucina e l'arte di mangiar bene* (Firenze, 1900), page 196. The definition of *fascismo* as "league of ex-service men" was adequate in 1919, but is quite insufficient today. *Mezzaiuolo*, "peasant who cultivates a farm on the *métayer* system, paying a proportion of the produce as rent" is true, but one might add that that proportion is exactly half, hence the word. Under *Palatino*, "biblioteca palatina, private library of the old princely house at Florence," one might add, for the information of young scholars, that this collection is now part of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale. "*Mal di petto*, disease of the chest," is the usual name for "pneumonia." In Tuscany, *palanca*, "2. a Soldo, half penny," is still heard among the lowly, but it is distinctly of popular, if not obsolescent, usage. "*Pallato*, marked with round spots," is used mainly for horses, and especially for bay horses.

5. *Idioms.*—It is in the usage of idioms that utter familiarity with a language is particularly manifested, and some of them challenge translation. They are the most characteristic and subtle media of expression. Mr. Hoare's *Dictionary* is extraordinarily rich in idioms, culled chiefly from P.

Bacato suggests the common idiom: *fiorentino bacato*, applied to Florentine vulgar vernacular. Under *barba*, any epicurean pedant might wish to find *barba di cappuccini*, a peculiarly Italian salad for which there is, to our knowledge, no name in English, since the thing itself is probably unknown in English countries. It is significant of the Italian point of view that a very frequent remark, immediately following greetings, might be: *Cosa ha fatto*

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di bello! literally, "What fine thing have you been doing?" or, as we should put it in this country: "What's the good word?" This very translation, in which *bello* is freely rendered by "good," seems very characteristic of national differences, the Italians, as naturally trained aesthetes, referring to the beautiful, while the traditionally moral Anglo-Saxon shows his greater interest in the good. Perhaps it would be pedantic to add, under *bufala, uova di bufala*, a special kind of cheese very common in Southern Italy, particularly in the Abruzzi, where buffaloes of a tame variety pasture freely, and where cheese made from buffalo milk is sold in round forms that look like huge eggs. *Cascare* suggests the common expression: *Ebbene, casca il mondo!* "Well, what of it?" *Cassino de' cani* means "dog-catcher's wagon." *Catinella* reminds one of the proverb: *Cielo a pecorelle, acqua a catinelle.* Fleecy clouds, sometimes called "cat's tail" or "mare's tail" (Webs.) are here meant. In journalism and specifically in journalistic advertising, the verb *cestinare* has become very common in the eloquently succinct *cestinansi anonimi*, viz., "Anonymous replies will be thrown into the waste basket." *Far cilecca* means not only "to fail," but "to fool," even "to dodge." In fact, in Paolo Minucci's comment on that most peculiar of mock heroic epics, Lorenzo Lippi's *Il Malmantile racquistato*, and precisely in his explanation of Canto VII, stanza 25, he defines *fare cilecca* as: "fare una burla, ... finger di voler fare una cosa, e poi non la fare."[1] *Estremi conforti* (Cr.) are the "last rites." In the example, *chiocciola che va a menadito*, the real idiom calls for *chiocciolone*, which is the jocose word for "watch" or "clock." *Mettere cervello* means more than "to begin to be careful," and is very close to *metter giudizio*, "to get some sense." *Fare a miccino* is "to stint." *Molla* and *mollare* give rise to two idioms that might here be added: *non lo toccherei colle molle*, equivalent to our popular: "I would not touch it with a ten-foot pole"; and *il tira e molla*, literally, "pull and slacken," viz., "playing fast and loose," as in Verga's *Cavalleria rusticana*, Turiddu's: "La volontà di Dio la fate col tira e molla come vi torna conto!" *Fare il morto* means "to float"; *fare il muso*, "to pout," "to be grouchy, sulky." Under *perdere* we should add: *darsi per perso*, "to lose all hope," "to think one's self lost." *Non si periti* is very common for "do not hesitate." It is not astonishing that Mr. Hoare should be unfamiliar with *piè di porco*, "a short crowbar used by burglars in breaking open doors" (Webs.) and commonly called a "jimmy." The source of the Italian word is, doubtless, due to the resemblance of this instrument to a pig's foot. Under *sangue, cavallo di sangue* is a "spirited, high-strung horse"; *puro sangue* means "thoroughbred" (as given in English-Italian part), and, journalistically, *fatto di sangue*, "crime."

6. *Etymologies.*—This reviewer now admits being in a subject which is not his specialty. The following remarks, therefore, are in the nature of mere conjectures, made with all possible modesty and hesitation.[2]

[1] See Sonzogno ed. (Milan, 1889), p. 261.

[2] For references to etymological authorities we use the following abbreviations: M. L. for W. Meyer-Lübke, *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg, 1911; D. for Friedrich Diez, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der romanischen Sprachen*, Bonn, 1887, and *A.G.I.* for *Archivio glottologico italiano.*

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Baccano (etymology omitted by H., Z., M. L., and D.) is explained (Pian.) as coming from *Bacchus, bacchanal* (see *A.G.I.*, IV, 387). *Busdroghe*, a word omitted by R. F., Cr., Pian., M. L., D., and *A.G.I.*, but included by P., who gives variants, though not explained etymologically by any of these authorities, doubtless derives, through popular corruption, from "bulldog." *Ciao*, which H. calls "perhaps a corruption of Schiavo suo" (word omitted by M. L., D., and *A.G.I.*),[1] is undoubtedly a North Italian dialectal corruption of *schiavo*. As a term of farewell we find the entire word *schiavo* in as recent an author as Vincenzo Martini, in *Il cavaliere d'industria* (1845), at the end of Act II: "*Schiavo, Signori*," "Goodbye, gentlemen." We do not see why H. omits the etymology of *messere*, which is obviously from Provençal *messer* (Pian.). *Prua* (omitted by M. L.) is surely "a variant of Prora," and furthermore it is exactly the Genoese form which, owing to the maritime authority of Genoa, asserted itself throughout the language (D. did not point out this dialectal origin, but see E. G. Parodi's *Studi liguri* in *A.G.I.*, XVI, 344). In suggesting a possible derivation of *ronzino* (omitted by M. L., D., and *A.G.I.*), "nag," from *rozzo* and Latin *russus* (cf. French *rosse*), H. adds: "It is to be observed that horses of a marked red colour are often crossgrained creatures." We must, in this case, stand up in defense of these much maligned horses, and assert that in our abundant equine experience no such trait was ever observed or heard of, and that this explanation is quite unconvincing, whatever may be the occult truth. For *scombussolare* (omitted by Z., M. L., D., and *A.G.I.*), "to upset completely," we find a long description of its possible etymologies (Pian.) from *bussolo*, "money box," or "more probably from L. *ex-compulsare*, to strike." Would it be totally illicit to connect it instead with *bussola*, "compass," especially in view of the common idiom: *perdere la bussola*, "to lose one's head," "to be utterly upset"? These difficult problems we leave to expert etymologists.

7. *Omissions.*—There are no important omissions at all. The following might, indeed, be considered rather petty: *Carnesecca* (Cr., R. F.), "bacon"; *dovechè*, which should really be ascribed to the personal choice of an author in joining two separate words, and which is usually omitted (P.), is, nevertheless, found with the special meaning of "while," in Rovani, *I cento anni*.[2] *Intombare*, "to entomb," is found in Carducci's *Intermezzo:*

> Dona, Paro gentil, tanto di sasso
> Ch'io v'intombi il mio cuore.

Infrequent in literature, but common at least in Tuscany, is *limonaia* (not in P. nor in R. F.), "large room or barn in which lemon plants are stored in winter"; *pimpinnacolo* (P.) for "tiny turret," such as those that decorate the cathedral of Milan; and, finally, *sbrendolio*, popular for "display," as used, for instance, by Fucini, in *La visita del prefetto.*

[1] See, however, *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur*, XV, 200.

[2] Milano, *Istituto Editoriale Italiano*, II, 292.

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8. *Typographical errors.*—Here again, this book is so magnificently edited and printed that one feels guilty of pedantry in finding even a minimum of errors. For the sake, however, of that thoroughness to which we are groveling slaves, here are a half-dozen tiny slips that should be corrected.

Under *adagio*, the idiom *Adagio biagio* should read *Adagio Biagio;* under formations of *Attil-*, correct to *Attill-*, as for *Attillatamente;* not *fògo*, but *fogo;* under *Maremma*, not *Orbitello* but *Orbetello;* under *maschio*, "7. *pietre a maschia e femina,*" change to *maschio;* not *palpèbra*, but *pàlpebra*, though the word does become paroxitonic in rhyme, as *tenebra;* finally, on page 568, *manganella*, which occurs at the end of the line, should not be divided as *mangan-ella*, but as *manga-nella*, according to Italian syllabication.

III. ENGLISH-ITALIAN PART

In the first edition this part was so brief as to be barely adequate, and its brevity gave to the volume a certain disproportion, even though we all grant the far greater importance, to English-speaking students, of the Italian-English side. With the additions now made, this part decidedly comes up to the standard set so high by the first part. No student of Italian composition need make serious mistranslations with this guidance, particularly if, in cases of doubt, he will check up his word in the Italian-English side, which is naturally much richer in examples and idioms.

For the prodigious labor expended by Mr. Hoare for the last fifteen years on this superb example of lexicography, all lovers of Italian will feel a deep and unceasing gratitude. For providing us all with such an invaluable companion and interpreter we hardly know how to thank him, and we hope that these prolix critical comments will in no way diminish in his or anybody else's view our unstinted admiration.

RUDOLPH ALTROCCHI

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L'évolution du verbe en anglo-français (XII^e–XIV^e siècles). By F. J. TANQUEREY. Paris: Champion, 1915. Pp. xxiv+868.

Of all the works thus far published by F. J. Tanquerey on Anglo-Norman, his *Évolution du verbe en anglo-français* is perhaps his most ambitious contribution; it deserves more than a belated notice. Differing from the view held long ago by Gaston Paris (*Vie de Saint Gilles*, p. xxxv) that the Anglo-Norman dialect "n'a jamais été qu'une manière imparfaite de parler le français," Tanquerey believes that Anglo-Norman "a été une langue d'un genre spécial, langue littéraire avec son évolution et son usage propres," and that it developed independently from continental dialects. The influence of English on written Anglo-Norman has been of little importance, according to Tanquerey. Anglo-Norman has preserved its vocabulary practically intact, its syntax has

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been little affected, and its conjugation has evinced no trace of influence. As concerns the spoken language, however, Anglo-Norman pronunciation, cut off as it was from continental French, underwent a considerable modification. Furthermore, Anglo-Norman is characterized by its rapid evolution, the mixture of forms of various ages, and the confusion found in its phonology. Tanquerey's conclusions were reached upon the examination of diplomatic, political, private, and legal texts and a large number of representative Anglo-Norman literary works.

The object of this voluminous work—a complete tabulation of Anglo-Norman verbal forms during three centuries of their evolution—is meritorious: Tanquerey's contribution has come to fill a special need and will throw light on a field beset with difficulties. This is a suggestive and, on the whole, a thoroughly laudable undertaking. Unfortunately, this study leaves something to be desired in its execution; it obviously shows evidences of overhastiness, and its diffuseness impairs somewhat its usefulness; in fact, it could have been arranged better and considerably condensed without harm to the subject matter. Greater care in checking up references and drawing conclusions should also have been used. Moreover, the author should have observed more consistently the method of dealing with texts which he outlined for himself in his Introduction; the language of the author is not always kept strictly separate from that of the scribe, and the reader is at times at a loss what to think about the instances quoted; exceptional forms which originate sporadically from the carelessness and ignorance of the copyist, even though these forms may occur several times in the same text, must be accepted with caution. Finally, it would have benefited the work had the author consulted more recent editions. Nevertheless the work is noteworthy for the mass of material it contains and for the large variety of texts examined; in spite of a few minor errors which can easily be corrected, it will render appreciable service.

The following remarks refer only to texts that were conveniently accessible to the reviewer. Page 7: Etymological forms, first person singular, claimed by Tanquerey to be given by Gaston Paris in the Introduction to his *Vie de St. Gilles* are not found. Pages 10–11: Very doubtful that the author of the *Vie St. Edmund* (Harvey ed.) ever wrote the first person singular with an *e;* the rhyme-words offer no proof, and the few cases (543, 602, 653, 721, 2167, 2325, 3802) in which an *e* appears within the line are due to the scribe's spelling. Page 12: The vocalization of *l* in *apeu* (Chardri, *Petit Plet*, 439) occurs within the line and may not be Chardri's. Page 25: *richoise*:*envoise* (*St. Gilles*, 2150) is to be read *richeise*: *enveise*. Page 37: Tanquerey contends that French knows both forms, *trai* and *trais*, first person singular, but "l'anglo-français ne semble employer que la seconde"; the *St. Edmund* shows, however, *trei* twice within the line (18, 721). Page 47: In his discussion of the presence in the works of the same author of imperfect and conditional forms, first

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person singular, with or without the elision of final *e*, Tanquerey states that "dans les trois poèmes de Chardri nous pouvons observer une progression significative: de l'un à l'autre, on peut clairement voir le nombre de formes correctes diminuer constamment"; a closer study of such cases in Chardri shows the evidence to be inconclusive. It is almost idle to speculate or to venture such a contention in the case of an author whose versification is far from being faultless; in some cases future forms may be substituted for conditional, and there are too few such cases in the *Josaphat* and the *Vie des set dormans* to reach any definite conclusion. Page 49: Tanquerey raises some doubt as to whether or not *durrei* (*St. Edmund*, 601) is a conditional with an *e* elided; the context and meter call for the future. Page 57: The graphy *ei* for *ai* in the future tense is not uncommon in the *St. Edmund*, but this fact proves nothing as concerns the author's language, since *ai* in the future rhymes with itself only. Pages 93–95: Tanquerey finds in the *St. Edmund* only five instances of hiatus which he considers doubtful; true, only one (1887) quoted by him is plainly a case of non-elision while the others are, indeed, doubtful; after commenting on these cases, Tanquerey further states that "il ne reste pas un seul cas probable de non-élision dans tout le poème"; yet about forty such cases have been counted by the reviewer (cf. *Modern Philology*, XII, 573). Page 110: *lest*, third person singular (Gaimar, *L'estorie des Engles*), may be ascribed to the copyist only. Page 112: Tanquerey considers the rhyme *lest*:*vest* (*St. Edmund*, 1363) as "le plus ancien exemple que nous ayons relevé pour les thèmes à dentale," and claims further that "il est assuré dans une certaine mesure par la rime"; the scribe must be held responsible for such a rhyme; it should be read *lait*:*vait*, or *let*:*vet; vait* without an *s* regularly appears in the rhyme in the same poem. Page 144: *veit*, third person singular, *aller* (*St. Gilles*, 1513), rhymes with *leit* from Latin *lacte* and not with *leit* from *laisser* as suggested by Tanquerey. Page 145: Tanquerey remarks that *va*, third person singular, is found in Simund de Freine only within the line and may not be ascribed to the author; however, Matzke quoted (p. xli) a rhyme *va*:*la* (*Roman de Philosophie*, 699). Page 145: Tanquerey's contention that in Anglo-Norman two authors may live in the same period and still use two languages that are quite different possibly explains his dating of Robert de Gretham and particularly Denis Piramus as late as 1230. With regard to the latter poet, however, no tangible reasons are offered by Tanquerey which would justify this dating; on the contrary, scholars have generally placed him in the last part of the twelfth century, and Tanquerey's comments on Piramus' correct language and versification throughout his study would tend to support this view. Page 145: Tanquerey gives from the *Vie de St. Gilles* two cases of *va* which escaped Gaston Paris' attention, but the correct rhyme is *va*:*la* 1818, and the correct reference for the second case *va*:*suna* is 2532. Page 145: Tanquerey was unable to find "dans un même poème des exemples assurés par la rime de ces trois formes [*vait, veit, vet*, third person singular, *aller*] mais elles

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sont librement mélangées après le *Saint Edmund*"; yet in the latter poem four different forms are attested by the rhyme: *veit:feit* 529, *veit:dreit* 785, *vet:set* (*septem*) 3850, *va:a* 1843. Page 147: *estait* 1985 (correctly 1995), third person singular of *ester*, rhymes in the *St. Gilles* with *lait* from Latin *lacte* and not from *laisser* as stated. Page 153: Tanquerey remarks that the old and correct form *puet* or *estuet* is not common in Anglo-Norman and quotes an instance from the *St. Gilles*, but his reference is incorrect, and *estot* is the only form found there (685, 1705; cf. *St. Gilles*, p. xxxiv, n. 2). Page 156: Tanquerey cites *vult* (*St. Gilles*, 620), but *volt* is read instead (cf. l. 481). Page 261: Commenting on the imperfect and conditional endings, third person plural, Tanquerey states that in the beginning of the thirteenth century "un tout petit nombre d'auteurs ... ne connaissent que la terminaison dissyllabique," and refers to Robert de Gretham and Denis Piramus as such authors, but on page 263, Tanquerey contradicts the foregoing statement when he says: "Dans le *Saint Edmund* le nombre des formes abrégées est supérieur à celui des formes correctes"; here the author fails to note that *-ent*, conditional 6, is not elided in the *St. Edmund*. Pages 267–68: A propos of the syllabic value of *-ent*, present indicative and subjunctive 6, Tanquerey correctly states that Robert de Gretham and Denis Piramus "ne présentent aucune forme abrégée au subjonctif et à l'indicatif," but on the next page it is claimed that in the *St. Edmund* "les présents du subjonctif réguliers sont quatre fois, les présents de l'indicatif douze fois plus nombreux que les formes irrégulières des temps correspondants"; the two cases quoted from the latter work are doubtful. Pages 397–98: Tanquerey found only three thirteenth-century texts with no infinitives of the third conjugation rhyming with words in *-er* and remarks that the number of authors and rhymes attested is "mince": the *St. Laurent* has one, the *St. Julien* one, and the *St. Edmund* two; yet, in the *St. Laurent* infinitives in *-eir* rhyme only with themselves, and in the *St. Edmund* are found about ten attested regular rhymes. Page 418: The infinitive form *treier* for *traire* (*St. Edmund*, 3768) appears within the line only; *traire* is regular in the rhyme. Page 456: The participial form *eant* (from *avoir*), found supposedly in the *St. Edmund*, is given without any reference. Pages 477–78: Instances of past participles in *i* changed to *e* as cited by Tanquerey (*tapez:adure*, 715, 72) cannot be located in the *St. Edmund*, and such rhymes do not exist, in fact, in this poem. Page 483: Tanquerey thinks the form *estaïs* (*St. Edmund*, 412, 2172, 3880) to be a past participle of *ester* which took an *i;* this is doubtful, and it cannot be looked upon as "une véritable acquisition"; this form is continental (cf. *Roman de Thèbes*, 1320, and Chrétien de Troyes, Foerster's *Glossary*) and not exclusively Anglo-Norman. Page 486: From the *St. Edmund* Tanquerey quotes a past participle in *u*, *arestu:fu*, without giving any reference; the only participial form attested by the rhyme in this text is *aresté* 361, 3650. Page 488: *sentu* for *senti* (*St. Edmund*, *assentue:hue*, 2371) is a wrong reference; this rhyme cannot be located in this text. Page 492:

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ceüe, past participle of *cheoir* (*St. Edmund*, 45), is not found in this line, but *chaï* (389) is attested by the rhyme and also appears several times within the line. Pages 498 and 518–19: Tanquerey quotes *seü*, past participle of *savoir*, from the *St. Edmund* (1560) as a first instance of contraction, but this word is obviously dissyllabic according to the meter. Page 532: *treiz*, past participle of *traire* (*St. Edmund*, 2725), cited as a case of contraction, is regularly monosyllabic (cf. *ibid.*, 329, 883, 2156). Page 540: *suffoent* for *suffoissent* (*St. Edmund*, 3147) considered as rare by Tanquerey is doubtful; the text and meter seem to call for the singular form, *suffoisse*. Page 551: It is true that two instances of imperfect endings in *oue* escaped Gaston Paris' attention (*St. Gilles*), but they are within the line. Page 552: The *St. Edmund* knows only one form of imperfect ending, first conjugation, *ouent*, and not two (*ouent* and *oent*) as stated; *quidoent* 2990, stands for *quident* and is a present tense. Page 560: *resteit* (*St. Edmund*, 2704) for *restout* should be read *n'esteit*. Page 566: Tanquerey thinks the imperfect ending in *oi* rare in the works of Chardri, Robert de Gretham, and in the *St. Edmund;* this form is not to be found in the latter text, and *aportoient* 3105, within the line, stands for *aportouent*. Page 570: *ierent*, imperfect 6, *aller*: *porterent* (*St. Edmund*, 753) should be read *i erent*. Pages 577–78 and 759: *ie* or *ye* for *i*, which is a spelling found in preterite forms such as *oyerent*:*departirent* (*St. Edmund*, 2665), is to be ascribed to the copyist; this spelling frequently occurs in other words in the same poem, and no rhyme proves conclusively that the author used a preterite of the second conjugation with an ending of the first; in this particular case, at least, Tanquerey's contention that doubtful rhymes are significant rhymes is open to serious objections. Page 598: Tanquerey declares that preterites in *-dedi* do not exist in Anglo-Norman, but this form occurs once in the *St. Edmund*:*lié*:*espandié* 2526. Page 605: Tanquerey states that the preterite form of *avoir*, *ot* for *out*, "est attestée par la rime pour la première fois dans la *Vie de Saint Gilles*:*ot*:*trot* 1721"; as the text indicates, this form *ot* is from Latin *audit* and not *habuit* (cf. also l. 419); the same mistake was made by Gaston Paris (*St. Gilles*, p. xxxiv). Pages 653 and 808: *joindrent*, preterite (*St. Edmund*, 670), quoted by Tanquerey as illustrating the influence of the infinitive, is an incorrect reading and should be read *i vindrent;* the author is right to consider this form as "un peu invraisemblable à cette date." Page 706: Tanquerey gives a case of metathesis in the future tense, *obumberrai* (Philippe de Thaun's *Bestiaire*, 2530), but the MSS show *obumbreit*, *obumbereit*, *enumbreit*, a conditional form. Page 707: Contrary to Tanquerey's statement, *irrai* spelled with two *r*'s is found in the *St. Edmund*, 726, 2237. Page 810: Such a form as *trea*, preterite (*St. Edmund*, 1219), most probably stands for *treeit*, an imperfect tense.

Certain references are incorrectly given. From *Vie de St. Gilles*, page 101: *atendit*:*vit* 1179; page 113: *languist*:*mesfit* 143; page 155: *poit*:*estoit* 3140. From *Vie St. Edmund*, page 10: *cunt*:*Edmund* 199; *recorde*:*morte* 2917; page

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127: *descumfite*:*abite* 893; page 261: line 4111 is wrong, there are only 4,033 lines in the poem. From *Quatre Livre des Reis* (Curtius ed.), page 74: *muerz* I, 25, 28; page 111: *faist* II, 22, 12, which Tanquerey considers as "le plus ancien exemple"; page 292: *guste* II, 22, 17; page 298: *cuveit* I, 12, 7. From Gaimar, *L'estorie des Engles;* page 4: *Bien le je vous jure*, etc., 688; page 248: *reuseront*:*erent*, *menerunt*:*chemirent*, no references given. From Chardri, *Josaphat*, page 25: *dut* 837; page 47: read "2582" for "2562"; page 51: read "2137" for "2157"; *Petit Plet*, page 73: read "123" for "133"; page 92: read "543" for "547"; page 48: read "492" for "462." From Adgar, *Légendes de Marie*, page 7:1, *Eg*, 19; XVII, 516, 613; page 32 note: VII, 154. Certain verb forms are not correctly printed. From *Boeve de Haumtone*, page 41: *renc*:*touchant* for *renc*:*trenchant;* page 11: *command*:*vaillans* for *comand*:*vailans;* page 292: *munde* for *mande*. From *Quatre Livre des Reis*, page 35: *suis* for *sui* II, 7, 18; page 76: *fai* for *fais* III, 19, 13; page 373: *dis* for *di* I, 20, 6.

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BRIEFER MENTION

We are informed by Professor A. C. McLaughlin that the American Historical Association is seeking to obtain an endowment of $1,000,000. One reason for this effort, he explains, is that there are tasks awaiting and demanding proper investigation that can be carried on effectively only if conducted on a large scale and with co-operating workers. Funds are needed, as in the natural sciences, for pure research. Sources need to be located and described, especially sources for economic, social, and sectional history; expensive field work is necessary. The Association believes that such researches will be of value to workers in all the social sciences and should be of interest and value to the public. If the big foundation tasks are left to the individual worker without assistance or co-operation, they will be done only after many years and probably not properly at all. Even the study of American dialect and the American language is closely associated with migrations, the social and economic tasks and experiences of the American people, and research in this field must also be endowed to enable it to be prosecuted in a thorough manner and on historical lines.

Professor Archer Taylor, of the University of Chicago, has been appointed one of the editors of *FF Communications*, published by the Finnish Academy of Sciences. The publication is devoted to the printing of classified lists of folk-lore materials and to special studies and monographs. More than sixty numbers have already appeared. It is the only folk-lore publication having an international editorial board and serving primarily international scholarly interests. The other editors are Kaarle Krohn (Helsingfors), Walter Anderson (Dorpat), Johannes Bolte (Berlin), Knut Liestøl (Oslo), and C. W. von Sydow (Lund).

Perhaps the latest of the *Festschriften* to be published in Paris during the past year is the *Mélanges d'histoire du Moyen Age offerts à M. Ferdinand Lot par ses amis et ses élèves.*[1] There is a photograph of M. Lot as frontispiece and a Bibliography of his writings (prepared by Halphen and Fawtier), followed by forty-two articles dealing with medieval French history, literature, and philology. The philological articles are only six in number: "Remarques sur vingt passages difficiles de la *Chanson de Roland*" (Bédier), "Notice sur le *Livres des Trois Eages*" (P. Champion), "Un sirventés politique de 1230" (Jeanroy), "Le double esprit et l'unité du *Lancelot* en prose" (Mme Lot-

[1] Champion, 1925. Pp. xli +767.

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Borodine), "Le roman en prose de Perceval" (Pauphilet), and "Pour le commentaire d'*Aucassin et Nicolette* 'esclairier le cuer' " (M. Roques). The historical material, with few exceptions, will also be of interest to workers in medieval literature, notably Bémont's discussion of the bull of Hadrian IV which conferred Ireland upon Henry II, Dihigo's article discrediting two Moslem traditions concerning Charlemagne's entry into Spain, and Iorga's observations upon the crusader's influence on Mohammedan civilization. Ganshof, in an excellent article, seeks to re-establish the authenticity of Lambert d'Ardres' *Chronique:* for those literary historians who are not familiar with this valuable source for study of late twelfth-century life, this may serve as a charming introduction. Ganshof's remarks on medieval Latin style (p. 232) are worthy of note.

Bédier seeks to defend the following readings of O against certain commentators of the *Roland:* verses 366, 453, 517, 588, 727, 829, 1152, 1619, 1685, 1785, 1844, 1946, 2124, 2242, 2845, 3012, 3440, 3758, 3809. With possibly one or two exceptions[1] the reader is forced to accede. Especially brilliant are his emendation of *descent* to *desceint* in verse 2849, and his explanation of *gerun* in verse 3812. *Le Livre des Trois Eages*, of Pierre Choinet, astrologer and physician of Louis XI, has an interesting passage of some one hundred and fifty lines on fifteenth-century political theory. This poem dates about 1475. M. Jeanroy has republished, with improvement of text, commentary, and translation, the poem of the unknown Namoros dau Luc which was discovered by Bertoni in 1901. Mme Lot-Borodine would see in the *Lancelot* of the Vulgate cycle the "sceau d'un génie individuel et non les traces d'une tourbe de conteurs." The apparent dualism of the ascetic and the profane she reconciles very charmingly. The most that we can conclude, however, is that this lengthy work could have been the labor of a single individual. M. Pauphilet vindicates the importance of the *Didot-Perceval*, and adds that it was absolutely necessary to bring into unity the two poems of Robert de Boron: the two poems and the prose romance form a perfect trilogy. M. Roques translates *esclairier le cuer* by "relieve the heart." He commends Professor Jenkins for this definition in the latter's *Roland* vocabulary, but he adds that Jenkins was wrong to include the meaning "to lighten" (p. 729). Obviously M. Roques had forgotten for the moment that there are two verbs "to lighten" in English: the one meaning "to light up" but the other a synonym of "to relieve."

The classification of M. Lot's Bibliography into subject divisions is to be regretted. The purpose of such a list is that we may follow the scholar's career year by year, observe with what his interest began and how it varied as time went on. Surely an arrangement in mere chronological order would have been

[1] Notably *vers*, in vs. 727, which I should continue to retain with the reading "boar." This translation is also possible in vs. 577 of the *Chanson de Guillaume*. This seems to be the understanding of Gröber (in his transcription of Digby 23, *Bibliotheca Romanica*, Nos. 53, 54) as well as of G. Paris and of T. A. Jenkins.

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of more worth to the admirers of Ferdinand Lot, much more so than a series of historical subdivisions. Need one mention the splendid typography of all of M. Edouard Champion's publications? Only one error has reached my attention: *rostre* for *nostre*, on page 118.—URBAN T. HOLMES.

The late Wendelin Foerster's *Altfranzösisches Uebungsbuch* (Eduard Koschwitz was associated with only the first edition of the work, 1884) was solicitously emended and improved by its author up to the year of his death (1914). New items or corrections of detail were also sent in by Romance scholars in other countries, by A. Thomas, the late Jean Acher, and E. C. Armstrong, among others. Aside from the diplomatic reprint of the MSS of the *Vie Saint-Alexis*, and aside from an extensive passage from the *Roland*, the *Uebungsbuch* necessarily contains little for those whose interest is literary rather than linguistic. To furnish a series of practice texts from the rich fields of Old French literature, works whose interest is literary as well as linguistic and which belong in the later as well as the earlier periods, is evidently the aim of a new series planned by A. Hilka, of Göttingen, and G. Rohlfs, of Berlin. The first issue of this *Sammlung Romanischer Uebungstexte* contains six Old French "Fablels" (why not *Fableaux?* but, at any rate, we prefer not to see *Fabliaux*—a Picard dialect form), edited by G. Rohlfs, with a short Introduction and a Glossary. In the second number, Karl Warnke's *Four Lays of Marie de France*, the editor reprints the Harleian MS as it stands, with very little editorial aid to the reader or student. The veteran editor of Marie surveys the recent literature dealing with the poetess, refusing to attach importance to the two forays of E. Levi and E. Winkler, but cautiously approving J. C. Fox's suggestion that Marie was the Abbess of Shaftesbury who is recorded for the years 1181–1216. The third number (two issues) is occupied by a reprint of the Oxford *Chanson de Roland*, by Alfons Hilka. The text is prepared with modern punctuation, with accents, and with signs for omission or addition; the editor also provides an interesting Preface on the history of *Roland* editing, and two glossaries, the first of proper names, the second of the more important words. In substance, this edition is a reprint of the Bodleianus, with numerous corrections adopted or suggested in footnote and a choice of readings from V^4 and from CV^7; of the last, Professor Hilka announces a new edition as in prospect, and intimates that the rhymed version may have been undervalued in the past. We note in the Preface a warm appeal to Romance scholars in Germany, urging them to revive the great tradition of ante-bellum days as it was upheld by Appel, Foerster, Gröber, P. Meyer, G. Paris, Schultz-Gora, Stimming, Suchier, Stengel, and Tobler: a wish in which the editors of *Modern Philology* heartily concur.

Two later issues in the same series are Salvatore Frascino's *Testi antichi italiani* (54 pages), and a collection of thirty Old Provençal lyrics, critically prepared by A. Kolsen, the well-known editor of Guiraut de Bornelh.—T. A. J.

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Publication of the long-expected Italian national edition of the works of Petrarch is about to begin. The first volume to be issued will be the *Africa*, edited by Professor N. Festa. This will appear during the winter or early spring. The second volume will contain the *Epistolae Familiares*, edited by Professor V. Rossi, who is in general charge of the whole enterprise. The plan of the edition calls for a series of nineteen volumes, of which sixteen will be devoted to the Latin works, two to the Italian works, and one to indexes. The preparation of some of the volumes is well advanced; but it will probably be many years before the edition is complete.—E. H. W.

The "University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature," Volume IX, No. 3 (August, 1924), is a facsimile reproduction of the first edition of Fracastoro's *Naugerius, sive de poetica dialogus* (1555), with a fluent translation by Miss Ruth Kelso and a stimulating discussion of Fracastoro's place in Italian Renaissance criticism by Professor M. W. Bundy. In an Appendix a part of the *Actius* of Pontano is printed in the original Latin and in a translation by Miss Kelso. Students generally will welcome this excellent edition of one of the monuments of Renaissance criticism.

Two years ago the ancient Accademia della Crusca at Florence, founded in 1582, seemed in danger of extinction, its government subsidy having been suddenly withdrawn. A committee of citizens came to the rescue by collecting an endowment fund of half-a-million *lire*, and the members have resumed work upon the dictionary, the *Vocabolario della Crusca*, the eleventh volume (*N* to *P*) being now in process of publication. We recall that this monumental work was first published at Venice, in 1612; the last complete edition was issued 1729–38, while the present edition was begun as far back as 1863. Conceived on a far more liberal basis than the official dictionary of France, the *Vocabolario* has gained somewhat the same esteem as the final authority upon good usage in literary Italian. We note also the inception of another undertaking of more than national importance in Italy: a *Grande Enciclopedia Italiana* has been undertaken at Milan under the direction of Vittorio Rossi, of the University of Rome, well known for his work *Il Quattrocento* and for his *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, first issued in 1900. Still another Italian project is the compilation of a national *Dizionario Biografico*, by a committee formed in Rome. Both these works are sorely needed.—R. ALTROCCHI.

The compilation known as the *Flor de las Ystorias de Orient, y Passage de la Tierra Santa* exists in an unedited MS of the Escorial. An edition of the work, based upon a photostatic copy of the MS which forms part of the collection made some five years ago by the late John M. Burnam, professor of Latin and Romance paleography at the University of Cincinnati, has been undertaken by Wesley R. Long, under the direction of Professor Hayward Kenis-

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ton, of the University of Chicago. A Castilian version known as the *Viajes de Marco Polo a Orient* was printed in the sixteenth century; this contains the same matter translated from an Italian version, but there are important variants in the Escorial MS, which is written in an Aragonese dialect.

Max Victor Depta's *Pedro Calderon de la Barca* (Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1925. Pp. 258) will serve the general reader rather than the specialist, for it contributes no original material and solves no problems; it is a concise introduction to what is already known about the dramatist. The author first treats briefly the development of Spanish drama before and after Calderón, then classifies the plays, résumés being given of every play, act by act, with the known dates of representation and printing, re-workings, translations, and imitations. For the latter feature and for the Bibliography, Dr. Depta is indebted to Breymann's *Calderon-Studien*, 1905, but he appears not to have consulted or made use of the reviews of Breymann's work by Stiefel, in 1906, which are indispensable for the control of Breymann besides containing much additional information. Nor does the author show acquaintance with Emilio Cotarelo's recent researches on the life and works of Calderón, published in the *Boletín de la Real Academia*, 1921–23. American Hispanists also fare badly in this book; no articles or editions by Americans are included in the lists. Aside from these omissions, this volume, which is quite similar in arrangement to Valentin Schmidt's *Die Schauspiele Calderons*, will undoubtedly be of some value to those who do not have ready access to that rare work. It does not, however, supersede it, for Depta's treatise is less accurate and less abundant in detail.—CARLOS CASTILLO.

Professor R. K. Root has completed his long study of the text of Chaucer's *Troilus and Cressida* with the publication of his edition of the poem (*The Book of Troilus and Criseyde*, Princeton University Press, 1926). This is not a critical text because Professor Root's (and Sir W. S. McCormick's) judgment as to the interrelation of the manuscripts does not permit the construction of such a text. Professor Root holds that of the three groups of manuscripts α derives from Chaucer's original, β from the poet's corrected and revised copy of the original (perhaps made by a professional scribe), γ from the same copy but without all the corrections (which may have been inserted in such a way that the scribe of γ's original did not notice them). Whether this view is correct or not, probably no one who has not made the laborious comparisons to which Professor Root has devoted years can decide. In his Introduction Root summarizes the results of his earlier book (*The Textual Tradition of Chaucer's Troilus*). Thorough and definite as that study is, a scholar who reads it is likely to feel that a different emphasis on the detailed phenomena might have produced a different result. For instance, (1) it seems probable that Root bases his conclusions too much on the fact that in many cases of

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variation either reading seems sufficiently correct or "Chaucerian." The variations in the *Canterbury Tales*, the various versions of *Piers the Plowman* and probably most other poems extant in several manuscripts are in many cases equally good, i.e., of a large body of variations one cannot say surely which is the error. It is certain that plenty of scribes could make small variations which read so well that they satisfy our modern taste. (2) The greater closeness of the α group to Chaucer's source turns on very slight differences; and in a good many cases β (or γ) is actually nearer to Boccaccio than α is. (3) The strongest evidence for Professor Root's view is the presence in α (Book I) of a stanza not found in the other groups of manuscripts and the omission in α of the stanzas on predestination (Book IV). But omission of stanzas could be explained on the theory of common error in α; similarly, the fact that β and γ lack the stanza in Book I might be due to error in the common source of those groups.

Very likely these suggestions are wrong; but in view of the fact that Root admits that Chaucer's artistic purpose in making the multitudinous revisions in phrasing is not very clear (*Textual Tradition*, p. 261), one cannot feel quite satisfied with his theory. One would like to feel sure that an effort had been made on the basis of common errors (not variations) to trace the relations of manuscripts back to a single original. It cannot be said that past efforts to construct family trees of medieval poems have been notably successful; and possibly even if Professor Root's conclusions in this case are not correct, it might be impossible (because of contamination) to construct a genealogical table.

At any rate, the text constructed on a genealogical basis would not have such differences from the one printed in this edition as to invalidate any studies of Chaucer's literary art or language which may be made on the *Troilus*. And as Professor Root prints all important variant readings, scholars can see the possibilities of any single passage. Professor Root has added valuable and interesting notes on the poem, and the book is handsome in all its physical aspects.—J. R. H.

Professor Dudley D. Griffith, of the University of Washington, has published *A Bibliography of Chaucer, 1908–1924* ("University of Washington Publications in Language and Literature," Vol. IV, No. 1, pp. 1–48). In his Preface Professor Griffith disclaims any intention "to satisfy the needs of scholarship which will be met when Miss Hammond has completed the promised revision of her book" (*Chaucer: A Bibliographical Manual*). Nevertheless, his work is remarkably complete, simply and clearly arranged, and provided with an Index. It is an indispensable aid to the Chaucerian.—J. R. H.

A new series on "Language and Literature" in the University of Michigan publications is inaugurated with great success in *Studies in Shakespeare, Milton and Donne*, by Members of the English Department (New York:

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Macmillan, 1925). "The Youth of Milton" and "*Samson Agonistes* and Milton in Old Age," by J. H. Hanford, and "The Religious Thought of Donne," by L. I. Bredvold, are in fields in which the authors have already done much excellent work. C. C. Fries in his article on "Shakespearian Punctuation" makes the most logical approach possible to the problem involved in his investigation by surveying the discussions of punctuation in the English grammars and rhetorics of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Unfortunately he does not include Mulcaster's *Elementarie*, which Simpson, the prime upholder of the theory of dramatic punctuation rejected by Fries, calls "the chief authority for Elizabethan punctuation" (*Ben Jonson*, ed. Herford and Simpson, II, 434). In two articles which open the volume, "*Love's Labour's Lost* Re-studied" and "*The Two Gentlemen of Verona* and Italian Comedy," O. J. Campbell argues that Italian comedy exerted the strongest influence on Shakespeare's two early plays. For *Love's Labour's Lost* he rejects the theory of a large indebtedness to Lyly's *Endimion* and finds the sources in events of French history, typical Elizabethan progresses, and Italian comedy. He believes that Shakespeare imported from Italian comedy "not isolated figures, but the entire groups of clownish masks," modifying them to meet the structural needs of his play and to reflect aspects of contemporary life (p. 43). For *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, stressing the resemblance of the plot to the Italian type of comedy represented in *Gl'Ingannati*, he rejects Montemayor's *Diana Enamorada* as the ultimate source and declares that Shakespeare found in Italian comedy "his plot in all of its constructive elements, and . . . . many of the type-figures needed to animate it" (p. 63). Though there is much that is valuable in these studies of the Italian influence on Shakespearean comedy, the evidence adduced does not seem sufficient to overthrow the current views in regard to the sources of the romantic elements of the two plays or to shake seriously the position of those who hold that Shakespeare's comic technique represents an Elizabethan tradition which, despite the large contributions made to it by Italian and other literatures, is more largely English than foreign.—C. R. B.

A useful addition to the rapidly growing literature of monographs on the English eighteenth century is Walter Graham's *The Beginnings of English Literary Periodicals: A Study of Periodical Literature, 1665–1715*.[1] Professor Graham has examined, chiefly at the British Museum and the Bodleian, close to a hundred periodicals published during the fifty years covered by his study, and has described them in four chapters dealing successively with (1) "learned" periodicals, (2) periodicals designed mainly for the entertainment of their readers, (3) periodicals of moral criticism and reform, and (4) the early essay periodicals modeled upon the *Tatler* and the *Spectator*. The field thus surveyed was not exactly virgin territory; most of the journals mentioned by Professor Graham had been listed in some or all of the various

[1] New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1926. Pp. lv+92.

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bibliographies of British periodicals, from Nichols and Hope to the *Times Handlist*, and the main aspects of their history had been indicated in a number of special studies, from the pioneer monograph of John Griffith Ames, *The English Literary Periodical of Morals and Manners* (1904), to the recent articles of Professor R. P. McCutcheon. There was room, however, for a new synthesis of the subject, and Professor Graham's book, brief as it is, will be welcomed by scholars as the most serviceable résumé of the facts, verified afresh from the original sources, that has yet appeared.

This is not to say that it could not easily have been made more serviceable. Particularly regrettable is the absence of a formal bibliography. It is true that the reader can usually extract from Professor Graham's descriptions the facts regarding particular periodicals which might be expected to appear in such a bibliography; but this is not always possible, and even when it is, the convenience of the bibliographical form for purposes of reference is too great to be foregone without protest. Again, extensive as is the documentation, it would not have been difficult, with a little extra research, to make it more nearly complete. The omission from chapter i of John Houghton's *Collection of Letters for the Improvement of Husbandry and Trade* (1681–84) and *Collection for the Improvement of Husbandry and Trade* (1692–1703), the significance of which for the development of book-reviewing has been recently shown by Professor McCutcheon,[1] is hard to explain, as is also the failure to mention, even in the notes, such other "learned" periodicals as the *Modern History; or, A Monethly Account of all Considerable Occurrences . . . . , with all Natural and Philosophical Productions and Transactions* (1687–89), the *Philosophical Observator* (1695), the *Political History of Europe . . . . , with an Account of New Books* (1697), the *New State of Europe, both as to Publick Transactions and Learning* (1701), *Useful Transactions in Philosophy* (1709), and De la Roche's *Memoirs of Literature* (1710–14, 1717), or such journals of amusement and satire as *Hippocrates Ridens* (1686), the *New Heraclitus Ridens* (1689), the *Whipping Post: A New Session of Oyer and Terminer for the Scribblers* (1705), the *Diverting Muse; or, The Universal Medley* (1707), and Steele's *Lover* (1714).

A more serious defect is the lack of any real attempt at historical interpretation. Beyond a few rather perfunctory references to the influence of the Royal Society and the agitation for a "reformation of manners," Professor Graham is content to treat the development of periodicals in a vacuum, separated almost completely from the intellectual and social currents of the period. The result is that we are seldom or never illuminated by anything he has to say. Details we get in abundance, but not perspectives; and as the details are in the main of a bibliographical order, the exposition, unsustained by ideas, too often gives the effect of mere aimless fact-listing. A number of statements, finally, call for correction or qualification. Page 7: Robert Hooke's *Philosophical Collections*,

[1] *Modern Philology*, XX (1923), 255–60.

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here dated 1681–82, began to appear in 1679. See *Term Catalogues*, I, 372, 419, 475. Page 32: The *History of the Works of the Learned* lasted beyond 1711 to at least March, 1712. Page 47: A second number of *Miscellanies over Claret* is available at Yale. Page 65: Steele's *Christian Hero* is not a poem! Pages 72–73: The account of the continuations of the *Tatler* is somewhat confused. In particular, it is not strictly accurate to say that Morphew's continuation "survived until May 19, overshadowed and finally eliminated by the rivalry of another spurious *Tatler* [Harrison's]." What happened was that Harrison, who had published Nos. 1–6 of his continuation through Mrs. A. Baldwin, shifted to Morphew on February 3 as a consequence of a quarrel with his printer, took over Morphew's numbering, and continued to publish through Morphew to the end of the series. In other words, from No. 285, February 1–3, to No. 330, May 17–19, Morphew's continuation and Harrison's were one and the same paper. The story becomes clear upon an examination of the original sheets; Professor Graham has evidently been misled through use of the reprint of Harrison's *Tatler*, in which the essays are renumbered 1–52. Page 78: It is not quite true that no copies of James Watson's Edinburgh reprint of the *Tatler* have been preserved. Couper's *Edinburgh Periodical Press* (I, 242–43) records the existence of two issues, Nos. 31 and 100, and the University of Chicago Library has recently acquired what seems to be a complete set, running from No. 1 (Steele's No. 130), February 13, 1710, to No. 142 (Steele's No. 271), January 9, 1711.—R. S. C.

Professor C. H. C. Wright's *Background of Modern French Literature* (Boston: Ginn & Co., 1926) adequately combines the useful with the attractive. Recognizing that the American student of French letters is often ill informed on matters of historical and social background, the author has furnished a series of interesting chapters on the politics and mores of nineteenth-century France. The book contains a great deal of accurate information, together with a certain amount of repetition. The numerous illustrations aid considerably in realizing the traits and oddities of the various epochs. The author's point of view, though less uncompromising than heretofore, remains that of a conscientious objector to most of the movements in nineteenth-century literature; and some of the arguments advanced in support of this attitude are not convincing. For example, in connection with Parisian gaieties, it is curious to see the name of the respectable Mrs. Trollope cited several times in condemnation of—the other trollops. The volume has a good Index, but the Bibliography at times omits essential data regarding the works indicated. Altogether, a handbook likely to entertain and also to aid the mature student.—E. P. D.

In *Roumanian Folk Tales Retold from the Original* ("University of Maine Studies" [2d series], No. 3, pp. 1–105) Professor Jacob Bernard Segall has furnished American readers with adaptations of seven tales taken from

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Ispirescu, *Legende sau Basmele Românilor* (1892). The work is "meant for the general reading public, and not for the professional folklorist." In preparing it for this audience the features which might make it useful to the scholar have been intentionally obscured and any yielding to his convenience is resisted. In a work striving for style the general reading public would scarcely expect to find such turns of phrase as "a great big dragon" (p. 12 and *passim*), "bonny lassie" (p. 15). There are many other examples of an uncertain swaying between a childish and a literary vocabulary. The frequently interspersed rhetorical questions and exclamations as well as the long sentimental passage on page 59 are quite out of keeping with the spirit of the folktale. The bibliographer will note that the work is also referred to as *Seven Roumanian Fairy Tales* on the third page of the cover.—A. T.

A welcome addition to the linguistic periodicals is the Norwegian *Meddelelser fra norsk forening for sprogvidenskap* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1925 ff.), which will appear in fascicles at irregular intervals. Notwithstanding its Norwegian title the articles and reviews will be printed almost entirely in English, French, or German. The first number consists of the society's proceedings and thirty-seven pages of reviews. The variety of subjects discussed is enormous: Basque, Breton, Frisian, Iranian, Slavic languages, and phonetics. The publishers have provided an attractive format.—A. T.

The general advice in Georg Baesecke's *Wie studiert man Deutsch? Ratschläge für Anfänger* (2d ed.; Munich: Beck, 1926; 39 pp.) will benefit the German student rather more than the American, although the latter will profit to some extent from the picture of German conditions. Thoroughly admirable is the addition in this second issue of a Bibliography of books and essays for the beginner. Here the notable thing is the inclusion of a number of periodical articles which the beginner is expected to read as an introduction to scholarly method. In another edition this admirable feature might be extended further. Inasmuch as folk-lore makes its appearance in the list of auxiliary subjects of study, it would be particularly desirable to mention an example or two of scholarly method: in this field the beginner cannot easily discover what to follow as a model and what to avoid. The example should of course be Walter Anderson, *Kaiser und Abt, FF Communications*, 42. The slip on page 36 should be corrected: Fr. von der Leyen's excellent book *Das Märchen* is in the series "Wissenschaft und Bildung," his brochure *Das deutsche Märchen* is something quite different and does not appear in the same series. Baesecke's suggestive and helpful Bibliography is cheap at the nominal price asked for this pamphlet. It can be admirably supplemented by R. M. Meyer, *Anleitung zur deutschen Literaturgeschichte* (Berlin, Bong), which gives a fuller list of recommended editions of the standard authors.—A. T.

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DOCUMENTS AND RECORDS

EXTRACTS FROM A FOURTEENTH-CENTURY ACCOUNT BOOK

One of the most spectacular events of Richard's reign—his quarrel with the citizens of London—is indirectly touched upon in Maghfeld's accounts. After a bitter feud, during which the Mayor and other high officials had been removed from office and replaced by a warden and sheriffs, not elected by the commonalty but appointed by the King, and the liberties of the city had been withdrawn, peace was made in August, 1392. There was a day of pageantry when the King and Queen came in state to forgive their erring subjects; and at the head of the four-mile procession of the guilds rode the newly appointed warden and sheriffs, Thomas Newenton (Newton) and Gilbert Maghfeld. It is in the light of these events that the following entry in the account book is to be read:

Anno xvj° mens*is* Julij

Thom*as* Newenton vn dez viscont*es* de Loundr*es* doit en le xij*e* io*ur* de Juyl p*our* vn ton de vin blank a vj marcz sans gauge.....vj marcz
q*uia in* scawagio

alibi Item il doit en le io*ur* q*uant* lez viscounts alont a t*our* p*our* j hatte de beu*er*.....iij s. iiij. d.[1]

The tun of wine may or may not have been bought to celebrate Newton's newly acquired shrievalty (so many such purchases are recorded); but the beaver hat was acquired on September 30, when, we know from the *Letter Book*, the King being absent, the sheriffs, Newton and Maghfeld, their offices now confirmed by vote as well as by royal favor, rode to the Tower where they were officially presented to the lieutenant of the constable.[2] That the beaver hat for which money was borrowed on this day was part of the sheriff's livery is made almost certain by the words written in the margin (*alibi*) and above the entry (*quia in scawage*). As "scavage" was a tax out of which liveries were provided for city officials,[3] the meaning is clear: Maghfeld was to be repaid from this source, and had noted the item in a separate account.

Of this famous quarrel there is another hint in Maghfeld's book. The first warden appointed by the King, Sir Edward Dalyngrigg, a knight frequently associated in the records with men known to Chaucer, was, within a

[1] f. xxiiij*a*. Canceled. The *tour* is the Tower of London.

[2] *Cal. Letter Book*, H, pp. 379, 383, 385, 386. In the account book, under the heading for July are placed various items of later date.

[3] *Cal. Letter Book*, H, pp. 350 f.

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month, replaced by Sir Baldwin de Radyngton; but even his short term of office must have loaded him with debts. The accounts read:

Anno xvj° mens*is* Feb*ruari*

Mons*ieur* Edward Dalyngrigg ch*evalier* doit p*ar* Bille enseles de son seall en le xxviij io*ur* de Juyl a paier deinz vn moys *proschein* apres le seint Mich*el*.....x li.

Item il doit p*ar* oblig*acion* fait le x io*ur* daugust a paier a Noell apres.....x li.

Item il doit de veille dette p*ar* obligacion.....iiij. li. xiij s. iiij d.

q*uia* postea[1]

Although he already owed the equivalent of $600–$700, he borrowed, within two weeks, the equivalent of about $3,000 more.

Of Maghfeld's wealth some indications were given in Part I of this article.[2] Not only did he share in the partition of forfeited lands, notably of Sir Simon Burley, with whom Chaucer was sent on a secret mission in 1376, of Sir Nicholas Brembre, Chaucer's associate for many years in the customs, and Sir Robert Bealknap, with whom Chaucer served on a commission in 1385–86,[3] but he had shares in property in at least eight different parishes in London.[4] And in Billingsgate he had a great house with a wharf and other property to the value of forty marks a year (about $4,000),[5] where, it is to be supposed, he conducted his business. If so, he was within five minutes' walk of Chaucer at the Custom House.[6]

Like Chaucer, Maghfeld had at least one profitable wardship.[7] In 1379 he obtained the wardship and marriage of John, son and heir of John de Frogenhale, whose property included Boclond, Tenham, Lyndestede, Tonge, Ludyngham, Herteye, Osprenge, Davyngton, and Stone by Osprenge, in Kent.[8] This wardship Maghfeld had, without paying anything for it, from one John Kent, a "yeoman of the buttery" to the King, who had himself received it November 27, 1376. That this John Kent was known to Chaucer seems certain from the positions of the two at court; and some of the lands were within a few miles of the Staplegate property, of which Chaucer was in charge until 1377.[9]

[1] f. xxixa. Canceled.

[2] See *Mod. Phil.*, XXIV (1926), 111–19.

[3] See the indexes of the Patent and Close Rolls under these names.

[4] Cf. the Husting Rolls of London: Nos. 103/83; 114/118, 131; 106/72, 90, 91, 94, 95, 147, 148; 108/39; 111/36; 112/104; 115/95; 120/131; 121/24, 210; 124/104.

[5] *C.P.R.* (1396–99), p. 348.

[6] He was also a neighbor and business associate of one of the Mordons—distant relatives of Chaucer; and in 1376 he was of a group that acquired some property in London from John Mannyng, cordwainer, who may or may not have been Chaucer's nephew (cf. *MLN*, XXIII [1908], 52).

[7] Chaucer seems to have made the equivalent of about $15,000 for taking care of Edmund de Staplegate for eighteen months (cf. *L.R.*, IV, 196 f.); what he made from his other ward, the heir of John Solys, does not appear.

[8] *C.P.R.* (1385–89), p. 21.

[9] The relationship may have been still closer. On July 12, 1376, Chaucer was given 71*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.*, the amount forfeited by "John Kent, of London," who had exported wool to Dordrecht and had evidently been caught by Chaucer (*L.R.*, IV, 199). Unfortunately, there were several men of the name in London at this time, and we cannot tell which of them tried to smuggle out the wool.

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In Maghfeld's accounts there are various references to these manors. One whole page is filled with lists of things sent in from one of them between Michaelmas and December 17, 1392, evidently for the use of Maghfeld's household. The items include: wheat, oats, barley, "otemele," ewes, "porks," a boar, cocks, hens, capons, "chekyns," "dossers" of doves, walnuts, hempseed (a bushel of it at a time!), and on one occasion two hundred eggs. What luxuries were added to these abundant staples the accounts do not show.

More interesting, perhaps, is an itemized account of expenses for the schooling of John de Frogenhale and William Maghfeld at Croydon (near London). Apparently the boys were very young. This is shown by the difference in cost between the schoolmaster's "chaux" (20*d.*) and those for the boys (8*d.*), and the low price of their "soulers" (4*d.* each) and the large number they wore out (sixteen pairs in fifteen months); also, by the low rate of their "commons" (a shilling a week apiece), the small sum given them, apparently for pocket money, the low salary paid the master, and the use of the word "enfantz."[1]

The school seems to have been in the house of the Vicar of Croydon. Maghfeld gave the Vicar a cade of herring and a small basket of figs, and he also tipped the servants in the Vicar's house; but the small salary of the "skolemestre" (1 m. a year, equivalent to about $100), and the frequent gifts of "chaux," besides the coat of Maghfeld's livery at Christmas, suggest that he was some poor clerk hired by the Vicar. The board for the boys was probably paid to the Vicar.

The accounts read:

Anno xvij° mens*is* Maij

Joh*an* Frogenhale & Will*iam* Maghfeld fuerent enuoyes a Croydon al escole le veille de seint Dunstan paiant p*ar* symaigne ..... ij s.
Item paie en le veille de seint Mich*el* a*nno* xviij° *pour* xix symaigne .... xxxviij s.
Item done al mestre *pour* lo*ur* scoleyement ..... iij s. iiij d.
Item paie a luy le mesme io*ur* chauxsure ..... ij s.
Item paie le veille de Noell p*our* xij sym*aigne* ..... xxiiij s.
Item *pour* iiij paire soulers ..... xvj d.
Item ij paire chaux xvj *d* ..... Sum*ma* .... xxvj s. viij d.
Item deliu*er*e a Noell vne liuere appelle este q*e* coste ..... vij s.
Item done al mestre *pour* lo*ur* scoleyement ..... iij s. iiij d.

[1] The original ward came of age in 1393 (*C.P.R.* [1388–92], p. 511, and *C.C.R.* [1392–96], p. 182). The school expenses end in 1395, when he was twenty-three years old. It seems probable that the John de Frogenhale who was one of the "enfantz" was his young son, Maghfeld having brought about a marriage some time before his ward came of age. In 1400–1401, John de Frogenhale was dead, and his son and heir, William, a minor in the King's hands (*C.P.R.* [1399–1401], pp. 331, 437). According to the *Inquisitiones post Mortem* (IV, 43), a John, son of John de Frogenhale, held Bokelond, Leeds Castle, Ludenham, the ward of Dover Castle, Dodyngton, Lyndestede, Tenham, Tonge, Herteye, and Ospringe, seventh Henry V. William, morever, continued to be named as a royal ward, in whose minority the King made the appointments to Boklond Church, as late as 1416 (*C.P.R.* [1416–22], p. 11). However these statements are to be reconciled, it looks as if the "enfant" in Maghfeld's keeping is the younger John.

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Item pour ij payre chaux pour le deux ..... xvj d.
Item done al vycare de Croydon le viij iour de Feb [sic] anno xviij° vn
Cade haryng pris vj s. & j petit freyel Fygus ..... xvj d.

Item paie pour xiiij symaigne cest assauer del Epiphanie tanqez a
pasche anno xviij° ..... summa xxviij s.
Item pour iiij paire soulers ..... xvj d.
Item done as seruantz deinz lostiell del vicare ..... xx d.
Item en expensis de moy mesme & mes chiualx a Croydon ..... xv d.
Item paie al scolemestre pour son salere ..... xl d.
Item pour j Parre chaux ..... xij d.
Summa iiij s. iiij d.
Item done al mestre pour j paiere chaux ..... xx d.
Item lendemayn de seint Johan Baptiste anno xix° paie al skolemestre ... iij s. iiij d.
Item le mesme temps as deux enfant ..... viij d.
Item paie pour lours comune par xj symaigne cest assauer tanqez al viij
iour de Juyl lan xix° ..... xxij s.
Item pour lour soulers ..... xvj d.
Item pour le lauender pour lauer leurs draps ..... xvj d.
Item despend par Frogenhalle par ij foith ..... xv d.

Item paie pour xij symaignes del iour de seint Thomas Martir tanqez
al Seint Michel ..... xxiiij s.
Item al mestre pour son salere ..... xl d.
Item a luy pour j pare chaux ..... xx d.
Item pour lez enfantz iiij pare soulers ..... xvj d.
Item iiij paire chaux ..... ij s. iij d.
Item pour le lavender ..... vj d.
Summa xxxiij s. ix d.

Item done al mestre j cote de mon lyuereye oue le fourour encontre
Noell anno xix° precio[?] ..... xj s. viij d.
Summa iij li. v s. v d.[1]

There are various indications that Maghfeld, like Chaucer's Merchant, was "estatly" of his "governaunce." There are payments in the book to at least six servants: a butler ("Watekyn nostre botiller"), a man cook (at first, Michel; later, Richard); two women servants (Isabella and Margaret), and two "vallets." Some entries are in Maghfeld's own writing as the content shows; others are in the hands of clerks, who refer to "mon maistre."[2]

One of the most suggestive items is a group of expenses connected with the building in of a "lavour" or washing-place in his hall.[3] The entry reads:

[1] f. xxxviija.

[2] Various other names, recurring often in the book and not appearing in the Rolls, are probably those of men connected in different ways with the business.

[3] The "lavatorium" of the monasteries, of which there is a fine example in the cloisters at Gloucester.

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Anno xvij° *mensis* Augusti

leed nouell il ad receu de nous xv dj xxv lb. nous doyoms a luy *pour* le faceoun de xv xxj lb.

Memorandum qe en le Moys daugust *anno* xvij° Jankyn Beauchamp Plomer doit a nous *pour* vij ct. iiij lb. de plom. Et auxi doit deliuere a luy *par Thomas* Craft iiij C & v ct. de plom veill Dont nous auoms receu *par* le dit *Thomas* iiij C de Wyghtes nouell Dont nous auoms receu de luy de nouell plom *pour* Billyngesgate x ct.....iij lb.

Item receu j fylat de plom *pour* le gooter de la lauour en la sale pon [*sic*] C vj ct. vj lb. *Item* auoms receu diuers temps pour Bill*yngesgate* & *pour nostre* maison de mesme.....viij C dj xiij lb.

Dont il ad receu de nous j foither de veill leed....xj C xiiij lb.

Item nous auoms receu de nouell led Cesterne *pour* puddyng-lane pond C dj°. j lb. *Item* xviij lb. sowdure.

Item nous doioms a luy *pour* le faceoun de auantditz choses soudure & portage.....xxx s. ij d.

Comp*utum* est en le veile de Nowell *anno* xvij° & paye tout ency qe le dit plomer doit le mesme iour de veil led dj..C xxv lb.[1]

Summa totalis s. xxx ij d.

The building of a wharf is several times referred to. The first items are:

Anno xv mens*is* Junij

Henry Sanderkyn tymberman doit a nous a tant de bord de ij vnch come est suffysant *pour* tout nostre Wharf & deust deliuerer le dit bord a nous en la fyn du moys de Juyl.....x s.
dont il ad receu le v iour du dit moys deuant la main.....& rest x s. a luy
Item il ad receu de mon mestre en le xxv° iour de Sept*embre*.....vj s. viij d.
Item paie a luy le xxviij iour doctobre.....iij s. iiij d.[2]

A month later we read:

Anno xvj° mens*is* Julij

Memorandum qe Symkyn Carpenter de Southwerk doit dapprest en le veigle de Seint James *par* G. Maghfeld les mains.....v li.
Item paye *par* le dit G. a lui en lendemain del Assumpcion nostre dame *pour* xxiij iournes et *pour* ij bemes al Wharf & vj gistes & iiij quarters de tymber.....xxv s.
Item il doit en le xxj iour de Sept*embre pour* CC Wainscot.....xxxviij s.
Item similiter a luy en xxvij° iour doct*obre*.....iij li.
M
Item il doit *pour* DJC de Wainscot *pour* le *sire* de Cobaham.....ix s. vj d.[3]

Two years later:

Anno xviij°

Memorandum qe iay paye *pour* le Wharf de billyngesgate *primus pour* tymber xj s. *Item pour* lym & piers & sond.....ij s. vj d. *Item* en Carpentere & masons viij s. viij d....*Summa*.....xxij s. ij d.[4]

[1] f. xxxijb. [2] f. xxiijb. Canceled. [3] f. xxiiija. Canceled. [4] f. xljb. Canceled.

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At the very end of the book is an undated list of moneys due from Thomas Craft, who was associated with Maghfeld (possibly as his man of business) in many affairs:

Item ieo doy a luy [Craft?] pour le Feuere qe fosoit [=fesoit] lez cletes [?] & lez Bandez pour le Caye.....xxxi s. iiij d.[1]

Either the building of the quay or the settlement of the accounts for it dragged on for several years.

One of the most interesting pages in the book concerns a transaction in coal. It contains: (1) a copy of an indenture between Roger Drayton, of Yarmouth, and Tydeman Hare, captain of a Danish ship called "la Marieknyth," for the delivery in the Pool[2] of London within a specified time of a shipload of coal for which the captain was to be paid 6s. 6d. a "chaldron" by the measure of London,[3] within fourteen work-days after delivery; (2) a comment giving the day of arrival of the captain with his cargo; (3) a personal letter from Drayton, evidently to Maghfeld, very interesting for its familiar idioms; and (4) a dry comment on the price at which the coal was sold, 2s. a chaldron less than the original price given.[4] It is not clear to me who stood the loss.

Anno xvij° mens*is* Aprilis

Ceste endentur*e* testmoigne qe Roger de Drayton Burgeys & merchant de graunde Jernemuth ad achate le iour de la fesaunce de cestes a dite Jernemuth de Tydeman Hare mestre dune Nief appelle la Marieknyth de Dansk tous lez carbouns esteauntz en la dite Nief en Rode de kyrkele pour descharger & deliuerer a dit Roger ou son attorne as costages & auenture de dit Tydeman en la pole en port de Loundres chescun chaldron par la mesure de Loundres pour vj. s. vj d. Et quaunt la dite Nief est venu en la pole en port susdit la nief serra descharge & le mestre de la nief bien paye vj s. vj d. pour chescun shaldron [*sic*] par le dit Roger ou son attorne deinz xiiij iours ouerables procheins ensuanz apres la venu de dite Nief en la Pole en port susdit Mes le Mestre de la nief auandite ad graunte a dit Roger qe sil busoigne de iiij iours ou v outre lez auaunditz xiiij iours le dit Roger auera volunters En testmoignaunce de quelles choses lez parties auauntditz a cestes endentures entrechaungeablement ont mys lour sealx Escript a Jernemuth la tierce iour de Feuerer Lan du Reigne nostre sire le Roy Rychard secounde xvij°

le dit Tydeman vient a Loundres primerement en le iour de seint Gregore le pape [March 12] ouesqe sa dite Nief chargez de carbons

Cher amy voletz sauoir qe ieo estoye a Loundres expectaunt vostre venue bien par vn Moys & Pluis & issint pour ceo qe vous ne venistes pas & le vente estoit bon

[1] xlvija; six folios beyond one dated the eighteenth year, evidently, then, about 1395–96.

[2] The Thames east of London Bridge; still so called.

[3] According to the *New English Dictionary*, a "chaldron" was a dry measure of four quarters, i.e., 32 bushels; but as a measure for coal, it was 36 bushels in 1615. As the "measure of London" is specified, evidently the amount varied.

[4] Even so (according to *Cal. Letter Book*, H, p. 289) it was dear. About 1386, the price of coal was regulated not to exceed 9d. a quarter, i.e., about 3s. a "chaldron."

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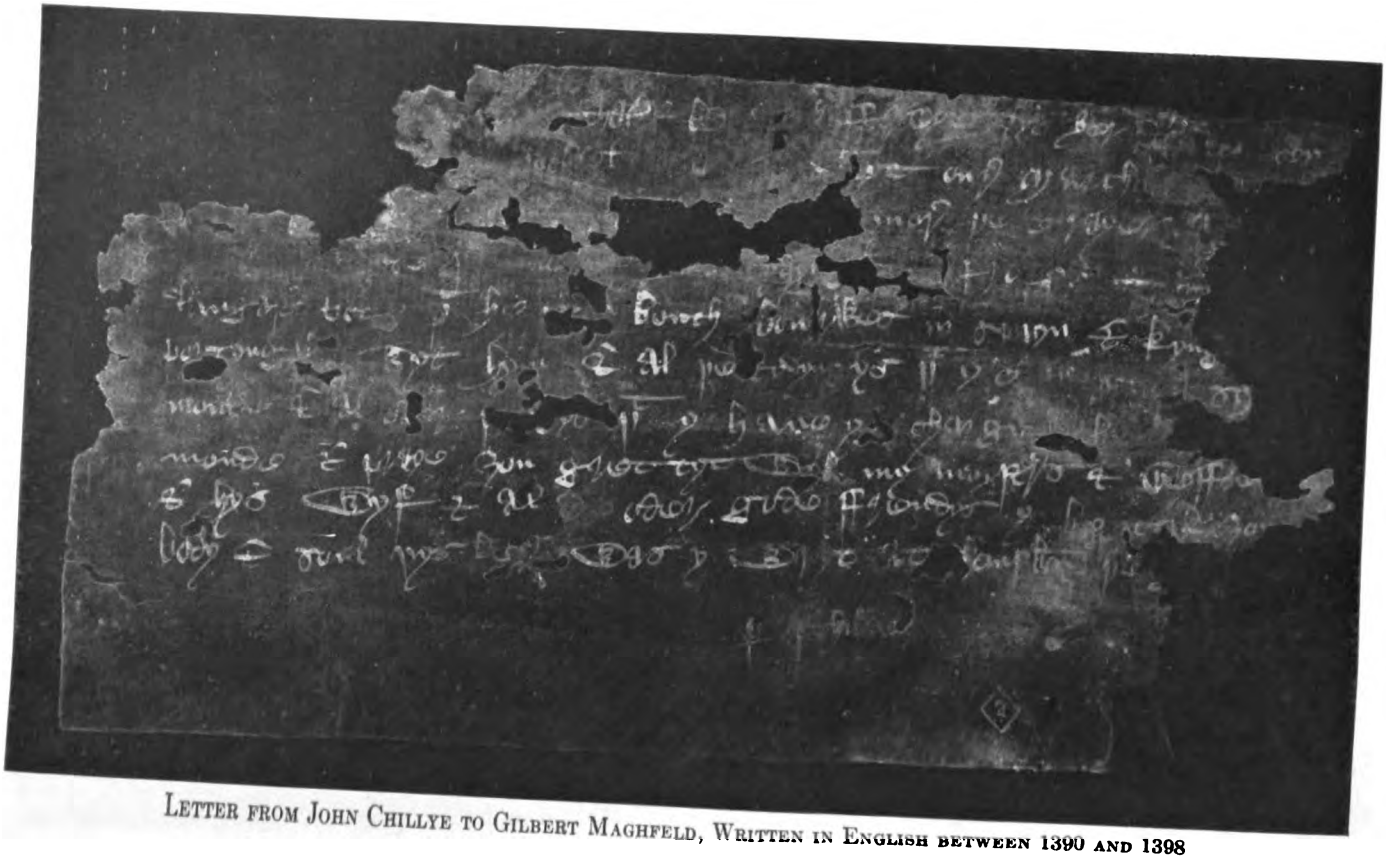

LETTER FROM JOHN CHILLYE TO GILBERT MAGHFELD, WRITTEN IN ENGLISH BETWEEN 1390 AND 1398

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ieo menalaye deuers meson quidant qe vous estoyetz aliours pour fere vostre profit en testmoingne de vostre hoste qar ieo estoye chescun iour a sa meson pour demander apres vous & pour ceo fetes vostre profit de vostre[1] merchandise come del vostre propre qar ieo suye occupie aliours issint qe ieo ne puisse venir qant a present a dieu cher amy Et cher amy vous face assauoir qe Robert Elyot at alowe vn vallet portour de cestes pour iiij s. Dont il a luy Baila ij s. en main & le remenant vous a luy payers [*sic*]
Par Roger Drayton

Ceste lettre fuist receu le ij[de] iour dapprill Et le viij[e] iour apres prochein lez dits carbons furent vendus par iiij s. vj d. le Chaldron[2]

But there is another letter still more interesting. When the book was first examined, a sheet of paper was found caught into the binding so that only part of it could be read. When it was rescued, it was seen to be a torn and rat-eaten letter addressed to Gilbert Maghfeld. The address reads:

a Gybon Maufeld
a loundres soit donn [remainder is gone]

The letter is in English—one of the very few dated before 1400:

[c]hal[l] be ffreye þys ȝoor le[tter?] oor
þat oure marcha[nts? ndise?]
more þe crayer a
proff [?]
lang after þat he bouth bourwes in spayn & kyn[g]
portyngal wyt hym & al þe tydyngys þat y c so[?]
mont & al oder [þyngys?] þat y haue y[n] charge b
mende & praye ȝou grettyt wel my maystris & Geffre[y]
& hys wyf & al de[3] oder gode ffrendys y be t[a]k[e] ȝou [to God?]
body & soul þys let[ter] was y wryt at lousbon[4] [?] þe
par J chillye

"My maystris" is probably Maghfeld's wife, of whom nothing is known; and "Geffrey" is certainly his brother, often named with him in the Rolls in the same business transactions. Of John Chillye, also associated with the two brothers, it is perhaps enough to say that on one occasion he with the Maghfelds and three other merchants stood mainpernor for the sum of 2000*l.* (about $300,000 today),[5] the share of each being twice the share of Chaucer when with Sir John de Beverley he stood mainpernor for Sir William Beauchamp.

These few extracts suggest but faintly the wealth of interest in the ninety-four pages of this forgotten old account book. Besides its value for the eluci-

[1] The sense seems to require *nostre* here.

[2] f. xxxvija.

[3] Erased.

[4] Lisbon, probably. Cf. "oil of Lusshebone" and "cyvylle" (Seville) mentioned in *Cal. Letter Book* (1381–82), H, p. 175.

[5] *C.C.R.* (1381–85), p. 571.

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dation of social and economic history,[1] it is to students of Chaucer of peculiar interest for its illumination of the poet's environment and associates. Believing, as some of us now do,[2] that Chaucer had the habit of drawing his figures from the life, we are faced with the question whether Gilbert Maghfeld was the original of the Merchant. Coincidences must not be pressed, but they may at least be stated. It can hardly be denied that Maghfeld was a merchant of the type described by Chaucer. Both were "estatly" of "governaunce" with their "bargaynes" and their "chevisaunce" (of which Chaucer and many of his associates at court and in the city took advantage); and if Maghfeld, unlike the Merchant, did not succeed in concealing the fact that he was in debt until he died a bankrupt, at least there is no hint of unsound financial status in the printed records. His many dealings with foreigners (not discussed in this paper) would have certainly warranted the line: "Wel coude he in eschaunge sheeldes selle." His "Flaundrish bever hat" at once suggests the "bever hat" worn by Sheriff Newenton (and undoubtedly by Maghfeld) when the two rode formally to the Tower, September 30, 1392; but we cannot assume that sheriffs wore the only beaver hats. Still, the "mottelee" and "hye on hors" must be investigated. Is it possible that to Chaucer's contemporaries they suggested a state "riding" of city officials?[3] As to the "keeping of the sea," it is usually interpreted to mean the Merchant's concern for the safety of his wool between Middelburg and Orwell; but there is no hint in the text (as Mr. Manly shows) that he was a wool stapler (nor was Maghfeld); and the line may not impossibly be a sly hit at the fact that several years before Maghfeld had been one of the four "keepers of the narrow sea,"[4] and since they were ousted within six months, the comment would not have been without malice.

All in all, while it must be admitted that many another merchant might have fulfilled the conditions of the picture in the *Prologue*, this fragmentary account book[5] shows that Maghfeld was a familiar figure at court and in the city, hence a likely subject for satire; and it also supplies a better motive than any yet given for Chaucer's refusal to tell the Merchant's name: he might have need of another "chevisaunce"!

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[1] Secondary, yet not to be overlooked, are its contributions to the history of English words. The value of these will not be known until the MS has been thoroughly analyzed; but the following list is suggestive: *cellarage* (as used; *New English Dictionary*, 1602); *chaldron* (*ibid.*, 1615); *cleats* (? not in *ibid.*, as used); *cranage* (as used, *ibid.*, 1481–90); *daghere* (*ibid.*, 1485); *fylat* (*ibid.*, 1663); *firing spars* (coppersmith's tools; not in *ibid.*); *lyghterman* (*ibid.*, 1558); *lymbelyue* (? quicklime; not in *ibid.*); *pathyng* (*ibid.*, 1428–29) and *pathyngtiel* (not given). Many other words of unknown or uncertain meaning might have been added.

[2] See J. M. Manly, *Some New Light on Chaucer*.

[3] In at least one other case Chaucer describes a Pilgrim, not as he rode to Canterbury, but as he looked in his uniform at home: the Yeoman is ready for woodcraft in the forest, not for a pilgrimage.

[4] So called in the Rolls; cf. *C.P.R.* (1396–99), p. 207.

[5] As it was confiscated and preserved among the public records, it may be that the remainder of it and perhaps other account books are among the mass of documents still uncalendared.

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MODERN PHILOLOGY

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CHAUCER'S LADY OF THE DAISIES?

In the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XXI, 293–317, under the title "Chaucer's Lady of the Daisies," Professor F. Tupper, Jr., proposed the ingenious theory that in choosing Alceste as the central figure of the Prologue of the *Legend of Good Women* Chaucer erected a monument *aere perennius* to the charms of one of the ladies of Queen Philippa's household, Alice de Cestre by name.

This lady appears in the *Life Records of Chaucer* as a *souzdemoiselle* of the royal household in 1368 and 1369, and therefore must have been well known to Geoffrey and Philippa Chaucer. She seems to have been married as early as June, 1356, and to have been left a widow at some date between 1365 and 1370. Her widowhood Professor Tupper regards as essential to her fitness for the rôle of Alceste. "Nor do I think," he says, "that she could be Chaucer's Alceste unless she had early lost her husband and had long cherished his memory." The reason for this is difficult to discover, as, for all we know, Admetus may have outlived his devoted wife.

It is, however, not only as a woman who long cherished the memory of her dead husband that Chaucer celebrates Alice Cestre, but as one who "Taughte al the crafte of fyne loving"; one whom he now "deems the light of his life, his guide, his earthly God." With this reverent worship is mingled so ardent a passion—"Ther lovede no wyght hotter in his live"—that, though Chaucer may well have loved the lady while his wife was still alive, it would have been highly improper for him to publish the Prologue, expressing his devotion to her, until his wife had been dead some months (pp. 314–16).

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Few scholars, I think, have accepted this theory as at all probable, and none, so far as I remember, has seriously discussed it. I should not now bring it up for discussion if I had not recently come into possession of certain records which enable us, as I believe, to reach a definite and final decision with regard to it. I will state them briefly.

The first record I found was in a list of payments in the Household Book of Edward III for the fortieth and forty-first years of his reign, and read as follows: "To Alice de Cestre and Margaret de Knyghtle, washerwomen of the linen of the Queen's Chamber and of the vestments of the Chapel of the King and Queen, to each of them for wages, wood and everything for the term of this account 26*s* 8*d*, total 53*s* 4*d*."[1]

No doubt Judy O'Grady is as much entitled to romance as the Colonel's Lady, but one hardly dares speculate concerning the gale of merriment with which the sophisticated court of Richard II would have greeted a poet's attempt to celebrate as the ideal of womanly virtue and beauty one whom all knew as the Queen's washerwoman.

Two days later the second record turned up, also in one of the Household Books. There, in a list of members of the household, occurs the entry "Alice de Cestre lotrix."[2] The significance of the entry lies in the fact that its date is 18 Edward III (1344–45); in other words, Alice de Cestre was a washerwoman attached to the royal household when Chaucer was a small boy, somewhere between one and five years old. There is no other Alice de Cestre in the Household Books, and the continuity of the records concerning her gives assurance that the *souzdamoiselle* of Professor Tupper's theory is specifically the *lotrix*, or "laundress," of the records I have quoted.

If Professor Tupper had seen these records he would of course not have developed his theory, and I have no doubt that he will now willingly repudiate it.

In speaking of Chaucer's possible lack of entire fidelity to Philippa during her lifetime, Professor Tupper says, "Well, we cannot altogether forget that unhappy business of Cecilia Champagne" (p. 314).

[1] "Alicie de Cestre et Margarete de Knyghtle, lotricibus Camere Regine Mappie et Vestimentorum Capelle Regis et Regine, Utrique earum pro feodo suo pro busca et omnibus pro tempore huius compoti xxvj*s* viij*d* Liij*s* iiij*d*" (Exchequer Accounts E 101, 396/2, p. 111).

[2] *Ibid.*, 390/8, fo. 6vo.

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Why can't he forget it? What does he know about it that justifies the insinuation that Chaucer was concerned in a criminal rape? I will not urge that in the absence of definite knowledge Chaucer is at least entitled to the more favorable interpretation of the record. I prefer to point out that neither Professor Tupper nor anyone else has produced any evidence that this incident lowered Chaucer in the esteem of his friends and acquaintances or embarrassed him in the publication of rhapsodies on pure and innocent love. The records of the affair indicate that it was either one of those illegal but not infrequent attempts at a forced marriage, like that on Chaucer's father, or an incident of unspeakable vileness, involving a criminal attack upon a girl by three supposedly respectable men. I see no reason to hesitate between the alternatives.

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ON THE TRANSCRIPTION BY PETRARCH IN V.L. 3195

The first stage in the writing of V.L. 3195, the final MS of the *Canzoniere* of Petrarch, consisted in the transcription by a scribe of Nos. 1–120, the *ballata Donna mi vene spesso nella mente*, and Nos. 122–78 and 180–90 in Part I, and Nos. 264–318 in Part II. The second stage consisted in the transcription by Petrarch, at various periods, of Nos. 121 (over erasure of the *ballata* above referred to), 179, and 191–263 in Part I, and Nos. 319–66 in Part II.[1]

Petrarch's own statement of his general habit of intermittent work during his transcription appears in a letter which he wrote to Pandolfo Malatesta on January 4, 1373, when sending him a copy of the *Canzoniere* in its then form. It is as follows:

Sunt apud me huius generis vulgarium adhuc multa, et vetustissimis schedulis, et sic senio exesis ut vix legi queant. E quibus, si quando unus aut alter dies otiosus affulserit, nunc unum nunc aliud elicere soleo, pro quodam quasi diverticulo laborum; sed perraro, ideoque mandavi quod utriusque in fine bona spatia linquerentur: et si quidquam occurret, mittam tibi reclusum nihilominus in papyro.[2]

In the present study I shall endeavor to trace as clearly as possible the order and the divisions of Petrarch's work in V.L. 3195; to explain incidentally a number of the peculiarities of the transcription; and to throw such general light as the course of the detailed study may yield upon the general process of the composition of the latter portions of each of the two parts of the *Canzoniere*.[3]

[1] M. Vattasso, in *L'originale del Canzoniere di Francesco Petrarca, Codice Vaticano Latino 3195, riprodotto in fototipia a cura della Biblioteca Vaticana* (Milan, 1905), pp. vii–viii. I refer to the poems by numbers corresponding to the order in which Petrarch finally desired that they should stand—that is, for Nos. 1–336 the order in which they actually stand in V.L. 3195, and for Nos. 337–66 the order indicated by a marginal numeration in that MS: see Vattasso, p. x.

[2] *Var.* ix, in Petrarch's *Epistolae de rebus familiaribus et variae* (ed. by G. Fracassetti), III (Florence, 1863), 323.

[3] The only previous study at all similar to the present one is contained in the essay of N. Quarta, "I codici V.L. 3195 e 3196," in his *Studi sul testo delle rime del Petrarca* (Naples, 1902), pp. 48–112. This study, excellent in some respects, utilizes only a limited portion of the evidence that should properly be considered. Its results, consequently, are not reliable, and are, in fact, incomplete and to a considerable degree incorrect: see the footnote in section VI and the second footnote in section VIII of the present study.

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I

The following tables afford a conspectus of information concerning the poems transcribed by Petrarch. Table I covers the poems which appear in Part I, Table II the poems which appear in Part II. The content of columns 2–15 is in each case as follows.

Column 2 indicates the page or pages of V.L. 3195 on which the poem stands. Absence of entry in this column means that the poem stands on the same page as the preceding poem.

Column 3 indicates the form of the poem. The letter b means *ballata*, c *canzone*, m madrigal, and s *sestina*. Absence of entry means that the poem in question is a sonnet.

Column 4 indicates the character of the ink as reported by Quarta;[1] column 5 the character of the ink as reported by Modigliani;[2] and column 6 the character of the ink as reported by Vattasso.[3] Quarta's term *verdino*, which appears frequently in column 4, is defined by him as follows: "Quando l'inchiostro nero è assai sbiadito, è quasi bianco, dà l'impressione d'un verdino. Chiamo quindi verdino questa gradazione d'inchiostro, che occorre di frequente negli autografi del P."[4] In column 6 the word *bruno* is to be understood in every case —except when the entry consists simply of the word *bruno*, which then means that in the cases concerned Vattasso uses the word *bruno* without any qualifying word or words.

Absence of entry in columns 4–9 and 13 means that the report is the same as for the preceding poem.

Column 7 indicates the character of the script as reported by Modigliani.[5] Modigliani distinguishes two types of script, the one small and regular, instanced in No. 198, the other larger and less regular, instanced in No. 199. He recognizes the fact that variations within these types exist, but does not distinguish these variations. These two types are designated, in the table, by the numerals I and II respectively.

Columns 8–12 contain the results of my own study of the script, based on the phototype reproduction of the MS.[6]

[1] Pp. 92–100.

[2] E. Modigliani, in *Francisci Petrarche laureati poete Rerum vulgarium fragmenta* (Rome, 1904), p. xv, n. 1.

[3] P. ix, n. 2. [4] *Op. cit.*, p. 70, n. 1. [5] *Loc. cit.*

[6] Referred to above, in n. 1 to p. 261.

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Column 8 contains notes on the size of the script, and column 9 on the spacing of the letters. In each case the type of writing illustrated in Nos. 191–93, which is in fact the commonest and a medium type with regard to both size and spacing, is taken as the reference type or standard; all poems which show essentially the same size of script or spacing of letters as these are classed as "standard" in the respect concerned, and all clearly perceptible variations from that type are noted. The abbreviation "sl." means "slightly," and "st." means "standard."

Column 10 makes note of the instances, few but significant, in which the lines, instead of being level, as they usually are, depart markedly from the level.

Column 11, unlike the other columns, has reference exclusively to the sonnets concerned, and makes note of the instances, few but significant, in which the graphic division of a sonnet into two blocks, one to the left and one to the right, is markedly imperfect. Petrarch writes two lines of a sonnet on each line of the MS. In general, he leaves a considerable space between the two members of each pair of lines, and begins the second line of the second and each later pair just below the beginning of the second line of the previous pair. Each sonnet so written appears, therefore, in two blocks, each consisting of seven hendecasyllables, and being even at the left-hand edge[1] and more or less uneven at the right-hand edge. The notes contained in column 11 concern, in particular, variations from Petrarch's normal usage in respect to the width of the space between the two blocks, or in respect to the regularity of the vertical line made by the left edge of the right block. The phrase "line broken" indicates that a hendecasyllable of the left block extends so far to the right as to break through the vertical edge of the right block.[2]

In column 12 the entry "ch.," meaning "change," is made for every poem which appears to me, on inspection of the phototype reproduction of the MS, to be written in a script the difference of

[1] Except for the initial letter of the first line, which stands out alone to the left.

[2] Petrarch's graphic arrangement of the poems other than sonnets, though varying, is also such as to give more or less definitely the effect of two blocks (except in the *canzone* No. 360, which has three lines of the poem written continuously on each line of the MS). Such irregularities in respect to spacing or in respect to the left edge of the right block as occur in these poems are in general due to the heterometric character of the poems, and are not significant for our purposes (except for an irregularity occurring in the case of No. 121, which will be discussed below).

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which from the script of the preceding poem is so marked as in itself to prove that a considerable amount of time elapsed, after the transcription of that preceding poem, before the transcription of the poem for which the entry is made.

Column 13 indicates the character of the initial letter of the poem, as reported by Vattasso.[1]

Column 14 presents such groupings in respect to content as are formally recognized by Cochin.[2] The form of the entry in each case is intended to suggest the common element of the poems in question. P stands for Petrarch, L for Laura.

Column 15 contains miscellaneous remarks. The statements as to V.L. 3196, including the statements as to dates of transcription, which are based on notations in that MS, are derived from Appel.[3] The other statements, unless indication to the contrary is given, are derived from Vattasso.

In Table II the poems are listed in the order in which they actually stand in V.L. 3195, except that those contained in the inserted *duernione*, ff. 67–70,[4] are placed last.

II

Certain considerations bearing on the problem of the definition of periods of transcription are now in order.

Among the last poems transcribed by the scribe in Part I stands one poem, No. 179, transcribed by Petrarch himself. The transcription of Nos. 180–90 does not differ in respect to script or ink from that of the poems which immediately precede No. 179, and there is no reason to think that the transcription of Nos. 180–90 was not continuous, in point of time, to that of the poems which immediately precede No. 179. It would appear, therefore, that when the scribe had finished the transcription of No. 178 he was under orders from Petrarch to leave blank the space for a sonnet. This has its importance for our problem, for it shows it to be possible that in the portion of V.L. 3195 transcribed by Petrarch he left a space blank now and then with the intention of filling it later.

[1] P. viii.

[2] H. Cochin, *la Chronologie du Canzoniere de Pétrarque*, Paris, 1898.

[3] C. Appel, *Zur Entwickelung italienischer Dichtungen Petrarcas*, Halle, 1891.

[4] See Vattasso, p. viii.

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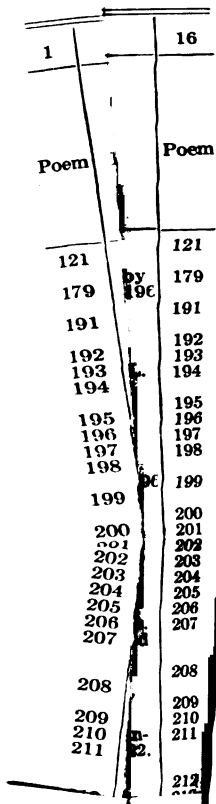

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In general, marked change in script or in ink indicates that the poem in the new script or ink was transcribed in a period later than that in which the preceding poem was transcribed. If, however, in any three successive poems the script and ink of the second differ from those of the first, and the script and ink of the third are identical with those of the first, it is at least possible that the third was transcribed in the same period as the first, and that the second was transcribed later. Such is clearly the case if the second stands over an erasure. That it may well be the case even if the second does not stand over an erasure is indicated by the instance of No. 179, referred to above.

If there is no change in script, and the change in ink consists simply in its being somewhat lighter or somewhat darker, it is perfectly possible that the change is due simply to a thinning or a thickening of the ink while the transcription was in process, or to an incidental change in firmness in the transcribing hand. Such a change, therefore, does not necessarily indicate a change in the period of transcription.

In a series of poems written continuously, there would be a tendency for the script to grow larger and less careful toward the end of the series—not only because of the natural tendency toward relaxation in care as such work progresses, but because of the tendency of ink to thicken and of a pen to lose its fineness. It is therefore clear that a diminution in size and an increase in carefulness are more indicative of a new period of transcription than a corresponding increase in size and decrease in carefulness.

Petrarch certainly regarded his *canzoni* and *sestine* as poems of a type distinctly other than and higher than the sonnet type. It is probable that in the sheets which contained the working copies of his poems the *canzoni* and *sestine* were in general separated from the sonnets. This is the case in V.L. 3196; and the general tendency to separate *canzoni* from sonnets is illustrated both in the great MS collections of thirteenth-century lyrics, and in many MSS of the *Canzoniere* itself. Petrarch's mingling of longer and shorter poems in the *Canzoniere* is indeed an innovation of great significance. There is obvious, in the portion of V.L. 3195 transcribed by Petrarch, a general tendency toward the transcription of *canzoni* and *sestine* with special

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care. It follows that a slight refinement in script as Petrarch comes to the transcription of a *canzone* or a *sestina* does not necessarily indicate a change in the period of transcription.

III

The question of the initials deserves special study.

The scribe, in the portion of the MS transcribed by him, entered tiny guides in the margins for the direction of the illuminator who should later put in the red and blue initials. When Petrarch started his work he at first put in some such guides. They are still visible in the cases of Nos. 194–97: none are visible in the cases of Nos. 191–93, 198, 199, and 319–21; but it is possible, in these cases, that they were entered and later covered by the colored initials.[1]

The red and blue initials stop with No. 199 in Part I and No. 321 in Part II. There are no guides beyond these points, and the initials of the later poems are in ink and in the hand of Petrarch.

Nos. 121 and 199 offer special problems. No. 121, the madrigal *Or vedi amor che giovenetta donna*, was transcribed by Petrarch over erasure of the *ballata Donna mi vene spesso nella mente*, as has been said. Examination of the initial O of the madrigal shows roughness and irregularity at just those two points on the left where projections would appear if the initial were a D. It is then obvious that this O was obtained by removal of portions of an original initial D. Evidence to be presented in section IV of this paper will indicate that the substitution of the madrigal for the *ballata* took place at a relatively late period of Petrarch's work—long after the illuminator had stopped his task. It is then obvious that the change of the D to the O was made by Petrarch himself at the time when he substituted the madrigal for the *ballata*.

The initial O of No. 199 proves, on inspection, to be quite different from all the other O's of the MS. It is carefully done; the central space is even about a vertical axis; and the sides are even and regular. The initial O's of previous poems—for instance, Nos. 146, 158, 161, 164, and 172—are more cursive; the axis of the central space is not

[1] For the material of this sentence and for information on certain other points referred to below I am indebted to the great kindness of my colleague Professor B. L. Ullman, who examined the MS for me in the autumn of 1925, and reported his results in letters dated Nov. 6 and 21, 1925.

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quite vertical, but slopes down from left to right; and the sides are not perfectly regular. The right side is characteristically marked at the top by a sudden outward bulge. The inference is clear that the initial of No. 199 was done as a separate piece of work, and not as part of the same task which included the other initials. Evidence to be presented in section IV of this paper will indicate that No. 199 (like No. 179) is an inset, transcribed by Petrarch in the same period in which he substituted No. 121 for the *ballata Donna mi vene spesso nella mente,* long after he had transcribed the poems which immediately follow No. 199, and long after the illuminator had stopped his work. It is then obvious that the initial O of No. 199 was done by Petrarch himself at the time when he transcribed the poem. The fact that he was interested at the same time in the colored initial of No. 121 and the fact that No. 199, as he filled it in, stood immediately after the last poem then having a colored initial account sufficiently for Petrarch's putting in a colored initial in this one case.

It would appear from the foregoing considerations that the work of the illuminator was done at a time when the MS contained 198 poems in Part I, the 121st being the *ballata Donna mi vene spesso nella mente,* and Nos. 264–321 in Part II. The only reasonable alternative to this inference, so far as I can see, lies in the possibility that the MS was put in the hands of the illuminator not then, but at a later time when additional poems appeared in the MS, and that the illuminator stopped his work with No. 198 in Part I and No. 321 in Part II because these were the last two poems for which he found guides. The former alternative is clearly the more probable. In either case it is apparent that a considerable interval in the transcription followed the entry of No. 198 in Part I and No. 321 in Part II; for a discontinuance of guides in both Parts I and II would indicate a notable change in habit.

The story[1] of the ink initials which appear in the rest of the MS is clearly as follows. During the transcription of the portion of Part I ending with No. 255, and of the portion of Part II extending to the end of the MS as it was before the insertion of the *duernione,* Petrarch did not put in the initials of the poems as he transcribed them—

[1] Already told in part by Quarta, p. 94, and Vattasso, p. viii, n. 6; and much more fully by Ruth S. Phelps, *The Earlier and Later Forms of Petrarch's Canzoniere* (Chicago, 1925), pp. 201–3.

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evidently because he intended to have them done by an illuminator or to do them himself.

When he wrote the *duernione*, however, he entered the initial in each case as he wrote the poem—thus evidently abandoning the plan of having red and blue initials. Why he abandoned the plan we can only guess. Probably he did not feel disposed to undertake the unfamiliar task of entering the colored initials himself. Perhaps he had found his work on the initial of No. 199 too laborious, or unsatisfactory in some respect. Very probably, when he had reached this point, he had no one in his own employ who could do the initials, and did not care to send the MS away to a professional illuminator.

After inserting the *duernione* he proceeded to enter in ink the initials of all the poems already in the MS which still lacked initials. First, using the same ink which he had used during the writing of the *duernione*, he put in the initials of the poems on the two pages between which the *duernione* was inserted—f. 66v, containing Nos. 335, 336, 350, and 355; and f. 71r, containing Nos. 351, 352, 354, and 353. At a later time he entered in a dark ink the initials of all the remaining poems then in the MS which still lacked initials, namely, Nos. 200–255 in Part I, and Nos. 322–34 and 366 in Part II.

As he entered the few remaining poems in Part I, Nos. 256–63, he entered the initial in each case as he wrote the poem.

It is then clear that a considerable interval in transcription followed the entry of No. 255 in Part I and the completion of all of Part II except the *duernione*.

While it would seem a priori probable that the entry of the initials for Nos. 200–255, 322–34, and 366 preceded the transcription of the whole poem No. 256, it is obviously not impossible that these initials were entered at a later time, after the transcription of one or more of the poems Nos. 256–63; and evidence to be presented at the end of section V of this study will indicate that this was in fact the case.

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(To be concluded)

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JUGGLING TRICKS AND CONJURY ON THE ENGLISH STAGE BEFORE 1642

In the numerous discussions of Elizabethan stagecraft, the tricks that stage players learned from jugglers and conjurors have received little attention, despite an obvious debt which many Elizabethan plays owe to these humble entertainments. A study of juggling and conjury in relation to the theater explains many apparent crudities of the early stage; to tricks of the juggler and a popular demand for such exhibitions can be traced in many instances spectacular Elizabethan realism. The Elizabethan delighted in the dexterity of the juggler and the supernatural mysteriousness of the conjuror; playwrights and producers appeased the popular appetite for shows and spectacles by inserting juggling and conjuring acts into play performances, frequently without regard for dramatic structure or plot requirements.

It is the purpose of this paper to point out instances in English drama before 1642 of the use of legerdemain, tricks of sleight, and elaborate spectacles of conjury. In most of these exhibitions, the interest is primarily in the spectacular element; in many cases, the juggling and conjuring scenes are purely extraneous; in some instances, the performances aid in plot advancement but are over emphasized for the sake of the spectacle. The same interest which still attracts crowds to vaudeville performances of a "magician" led to the insertion of similar performances in Elizabethan and pre-Elizabethan plays. Indeed, it is probable that realistic scenes of bloodletting, bodily injury, and stage executions often derive from tricks common to the repertoire of the ordinary juggler.

The art of jugglery or legerdemain early reached a high degree of perfection; the tricks included sword-playing, juggling with coins and balls, illusions of various sorts, mind-reading, and other exhibitions so marvelous that suspicion of black art at times fell upon jugglers and conjurors.[1]

[1] In 1584 Reginald Scot published his *Discoverie of Witchcraft* to disprove supernatural elements of witchcraft by exposing, along with other things, the tricks of jugglers and conjurors. His work furnishes a valuable source of information about the methods of Elizabethan magicians and conjurors.

Interest in legerdemain was not new in Elizabethan England. Chaucer shows considerable interest in jugglery; cf. *The Frankeleyns Tale*, ll. 455 ff., and *The Hous of Fame*, ll. 186 ff.

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Elizabethan England was deeply interested in magic of all sorts, and it was only natural that the theater should reflect this interest in spectacles of legerdemain and conjury. It is fairly certain that much extraneous entertainment was inserted in play performances which was omitted from the printed texts. Ample evidence remains, however, of the insertion of juggling scenes. An indication that some plays had such shows is contained in the denial by the Prologue of any jugglery in *Summer's Last Will and Testament:* "Such odd trifles as mathematicians' experiments be artificial flies to hang in the air by themselves, dancing balls, an egg-shell that shall climb up to the top of a spear, fiery-breathing gores, poeta professeth not to make."[1]

Apparently the clown in the early drama sometimes played the rôle of juggler. In the intermean at the end of Act II of Jonson's *Staple of News*, Tattle wishes for a vice with a wooden dagger; Mirth replies: "That was the old way, gossip, when Iniquity came in like Hokos Pokos, in a jugler's jerkin, with false skirts, like a knave of clubs." In a prose tract, *A Knights Coniuring*, Dekker alludes to the stage-devil's trick of spitting fire and brimstone.[2] The same author in *The Wonder of a Kingdome* says that Baptista

> Has blackt his beard like a Comoedian
> To play the Mountibanke, ...[3]

A reference to the use of legerdemain in plays occurs in a pamphlet, *Mr. William Prynn his Defence of Stage Plays, or a Retractation of a former Book of his called Histrio-Mastix* (1649):

> And whereas divers objections have been made against Stage-players, for that many of them are profane, many of them have swearing and blaspheming in them, many of them have cozening, cheating, legerdemain, fraud, deceit, jugglings, impostures and other lewd things which may teach young people evil things," . . . .[4]

Jugglers and mountebanks were often serious rivals of stage plays. Speaking of a mountebank, Clotpoll, in Brome's *Covent Garden Weeded*, says: "And then again, he drew such flocks of idle people to him that the Players, they say, curst him abhominably."[5] During the reign of

[1] Hazlitt, *Dodsley*, VIII, 18.

[2] "Percy Society Publications," V, 19.

[3] Act III, scene i.

[4] W. C. Hazlitt (ed.), *The English Drama and Stage* (Roxburghe Library; London, 1869), p. 270.

[5] Act I, scene i.

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James, a juggler called "Hocus Pocus" created widespread interest. Jonson, in *The Magnetic Lady*, makes the Boy wish for him.[1] "Hocus Pocus" became the generic name for legerdemain performers. In 1638 at Coventry an entry was made of the appearance of the "Kings Players and hocus pocus."[2] Evidently the actors found that their audiences were increased by this added attraction.

The Induction to *Bartholomew Fair* enumerates a number of extraneous attractions, among them the performance of a juggler with an ape, which the Stage-Keeper claims some dramatists would have inserted. The Stage-Keeper is regretful that the poet has not included these sights, and declares it was different in the days of Tarlton.

In *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, the citizen's wife orders the boy to dance and then asks if he can tumble and eat fire.[3] What is the point of this unless fire-eaters and tumblers had been seen in plays?

The rôle of magician was one of the stock parts in *commedia dell'arte* performances by Italian players in England, and tricks of magic frequently enlivened a dragging play on the fully developed Elizabethan stage. Enough examples have been preserved in the texts of plays to show that tricks of sleight, jugglery, and the more intricate wonders of magic were a definite part of the variety show entertainments offered in the course of regular play production before 1642.

Scenes of juggling in plays date back to the religious drama. It is true that the Mystery plays were performed by non-professional players who would not be expected to have great skill in jugglery, but there seems to be evidence that jugglers were pressed into service in the rivalry between guilds. Indeed, the guild accounts show numerous records of the employment of minstrels, and minstrels by the time of the Mystery plays had degenerated into variety entertainers who could often do tricks of jugglery as well as furnish music.

Evidence in the Towneley play of *Pharaoh* seems to indicate that Moses employed tricks of legerdemain in his appearance before

[1] In the intermean at the end of Act I, the Boy says: "Do they think this pen can juggle? I would we had Hokos-pokos for 'em then, your people; or Travitanto Tudesco."

[2] John Tucker Murray, *English Dramatic Companies*, 1558–1642 (London, 1910), II, 253.

[3] Act III, scene v. Fire-eaters were common. Sir Henry Wotton mentions a fire-eating performance in 1633. Evelyn described a similar exhibition in 1672. These examples of legerdemain are mentioned by H. Houdini, *Miracle-Mongers and Their Methods* (New York, 1920), p. 17.

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Pharaoh. Moses comes into Pharaoh's presence with a wand, the sign of conjurors since classical antiquity; he is accompanied by two boys, his assistants, when he turns his wand into a serpent, and he uses the very language of conjury. Deus draws attention to the wand by commanding Moses to turn it into a serpent before the king and to take it by "the tayle again in hand" to change it back into a wand.[1] Whether the player of Moses' rôle actually performed this trick of sleight cannot be proved, but spectators accustomed to marvelous tricks of jugglery would hardly have been satisfied with any thing less than an actual exhibition of the trick. Thomas Ady in 1656 describes methods for performing such tricks[2] and remarks that all the tricks done by Pharaoh's magicians could be done by any common juggler, who found it no difficulty to turn a bowl of water into blood, to multiply frogs, or "with slight of hand to throw down an artificial Serpent instead of his staffe, and convey away his staffe, that so they might think his staffe was turned into a Serpent, for these Histories are set down according to the apprehension of the deceived beholders, etc." The tricks were old in Ady's day, and with little doubt were among the most interesting features of this particular Mystery play. In the York *Departure of the Israelites from Egypt*, Moses shows similar evidence of jugglery.[3]

The interest in conjury is apparent in the night spell said by Mak in the Towneley *Second Shepherds' Play* in which Mak draws a circle and says the spell in conjuring terms.[4] Anti-Christ in the Chester *Coming of Anti-Christ* is a sorcerer who does tricks of "maistery," raises the dead, dies himself, and comes to life again. How elaborate these tricks were, it is impossible to tell from the text, but apparently some of the tricks of hypnotism were employed.[5]

[1] The significant portion of this play comes in ll. 88–261. Moses approaches Pharaoh, accompanied by the two boys, and changes the wand into a serpent:

"heere I lay it downe;
lo, syr, here may thou se the same."

He changes the serpent back into a wand:

"Then he sayde, wythouten fayll,
hyt shuld turne to a wand agayn.
lo, sir, behold."

Pharaoh determines to keep the boys and refers to Moses as a "sotell swayn."

[2] *A Candle in the Dark* (London, 1656), *passim*.

[3] Ll. 241 ff. [4] Ll. 278 ff.

[5] Ll. 65 ff., 132 ff., 410 ff., 610 ff. Reginald Scot, *op. cit.*, Book XIII, chap. xxx, describes tricks of hypnotism employed by conjurors and jugglers.

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The morality, *Mankind*, has a reference to a decapitation trick, apparently similar to one described with diagrams by Scot.[1] This may be merely a reference to the tricks of jugglers and not an indication of the performance of the trick in the play. Myscheff boasts that he can smite off a head and put it on again: "I kan choppe yt of, & make yt agayn." New-Gyse immediately after remarks that he has "a schreude recumbentibus, but I fele no peyn." Now-A-Days comments: "And my hede ys all saue & holl agayn."[2] If the trick was not performed by these three rascals, it is certainly a reference to such exhibitions. It is certain that decapitations took place in connection with certain execution scenes to be mentioned later.

In the moralities and interludes which follow *Mankind* indications of jugglery become more specific. Skelton's *Magnificence* presents an imitation of a juggling trick for the sake of clownery; Folly boasts that he can do "mastryes," and then goes through the motions of juggling a louse from Crafty Conveyance's coat.[3]

Elaborate tricks of legerdemain are used in *All for Money*. The stage was arranged in advance. When Arte, Science, and Theology leave the stage, Money enters in accordance with the directions:

> These three going out, Money commeth in, hauing the one halfe of his gowne yellowe, and the other white, hauing the coyne of siluer and golde painted vpon it, and there must be a chayre for him to sit in, and vnder it or neere the same place there must be some hollowe place for one to come vp in.

Money takes his seat and "faineth himselfe to be sicke." Adulation calls for Mischievous Help, and they assist Money in his juggling trick. Money says:

> Now I will assaye to vomitte if I can,
> Therefore either of you play now the pretie man.

The two helpers hold his head and his stomach while Money vomits Pleasure in accordance with the directions: "Here money shal make as though he would vomit, and with some fine conueyance pleasure shal appeare from beneath, and lie there apparelled." Sinne is brought forth in the same way, and Damnation is likewise born of Sinne with much travail and calling attention to the trick.[4]

[1] Scot, *op. cit.*, Book XIII, chap. 33. [2] Ll. 450–505. [3] Ll. 1191–96.
[4] *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, XL (1904), 151–52, ll. 202 ff.

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The art of the juggler was not overlooked in *Cambyses* in the effort to increase delight in execution scenes. Cambyses orders Sisamnes to be flayed alive on the stage, obviously a rather difficult procedure without some trickery, but the stage directions make the manner of flaying quite clear: "Flays him with a false skin."[1] Such representations were regularly a part of the juggler's repertoire, along with beheadings and thrusting of weapons into the body. Cambyses comes in with a sword sticking in his side: "Enter the King without a gown, a sword thrust up into his side bleeding."[2] Note that he comes in without a gown to show that the sword is actually sticking in his side from which the blood drops. Explanation of the realistic bleeding occurs in the direction, "A little bladder of vinegar pricked."[3]

Hieronimo gives an example of a juggler's trick in *The Spanish Tragedy*. When the king tries to extract from him an account of the slaying of Balthazar and Lorenzo, he bites out his tongue and offers it to the king.[4] Some simple trick of sleight accomplished this stage business.

Conjury is employed extensively for spectacular effect in *A Looking Glass for London and England*. Magi raise an arbor out of the ground. Priests enter, "carrying fire in their hands," and "a hand from out a cloud threatens with a burning sword."[5]

Interest in magic was keen throughout the Elizabethan period; scenes in drama showing the feats of magicians were drawn out and exaggerated for the pleasure they afforded. The magic motif is skilfully employed in *Doctor Faustus*, but not every play using magic so skilfully weaves it into the plot. Even in *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* some of the scenes give the impression of detached shows. Perhaps ventriloquism was used to make the brazen head speak.[6] Greene again uses the brazen head and magic in *The History of*

[1] Hazlitt, *op. cit.*, IV, 199. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 244.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 217. Tricks of weapon-thrusting were common. Scot, *op. cit.*, Book XIII, chap. xxxiii, furnishes diagrams to show how they were performed. He describes a method "to thrust a dagger or bodkin into your guts very strongly and to recover immediately."

[4] IV, iv, 194: "First take my tongue, and afterwards my heart. (*He bites out his tongue*)."

[5] II, scene i and IV, scene iii. These scenes are almost purely masque. A study of jugglery and conjury in masques would make the subject too large for adequate treatment here.

[6] Act IV, scene i. Seeming to indicate that ventriloquism was used instead of an actor inside the head is the fact that "a hand appears that breaks down the Head with a hammer."

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Alphonsus, King of Aragon more for spectacle than for dramatic value.[1] The contemporary audience must have looked on the conjury even in such burlesques as *The Old Wive's Tale*[2] and *John a Kent and John a Cumber* with keen delight for the spectacles themselves.

Jugglers' tricks, similar to those in *Cambyses*, were evidently employed in *Edward I.* In the torture of Longshanks, the directions are: "Meredith stabs him into the armes and shoulders"; "He showes him hot pinchers"; and then, "He cuts his nose."[3] Such tricks of piercing the body with sharp instruments were among the commonest of jugglers' performances.

Jugglery is employed in *George a Greene, the Pinner of Wakefield* in the scene in which George tears up the commission and makes Mannering eat it. He holds up the seals to the audience and then orders Mannering to swallow them:

MANNERING: Well, and there be no remedie, so George.
(*Swallows one of the seals.*)
One is gone. I pray thee, no more nowe.
GEORGE: O sir, if one be good, the others cannot hurt.
(*Mannering swallows the other seals.*)[4]

Only an iron-stomached actor could have swallowed the seals without some trick of sleight. Later the clown burlesques a juggler in producing George's sweetheart by casting a gown into a circle and drawing out the girl.

From the period in which Shakespeare began to write for the stage until the closing of the theaters, tricks of jugglers and conjurors continued to hold an important place on the stage. Shakespeare himself employed spectacular effects of magic on several occasions. In the second part of *Henry VI*, a play in which Shakespeare might have had a hand, the conjuring of Margery Jourdain and Bolingbroke is considerably emphasized.[5]

Tricks of jugglery are without doubt employed in *Titus Andronicus* to add to the bloody spectacle. In Act III, scene i, Aaron cuts off Titus' hand; the latter is all the while in full view on the stage.

[1] Act III, scene ii; Act IV, scene i.
[2] Note particularly ll. 574 ff., ll. 655 ff., and ll. 804 ff.
[3] *Malone Society Reprints*, D iiii, verso.
[4] Ll. 130 ff.
[5] Act I, scene iv.

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Throat-cutting and the catching of blood in a basin in Act V, scene ii, furnish realistic diversion for a blood-loving audience.[1] Any actor, with a little preparation, could perform these simple tricks of the juggler.

To their contemporaries, the witches in *Macbeth* no doubt served the double purpose of extraneous entertainment and dramatic atmosphere. Throughout *The Tempest* Prospero appears in the rôle of a magician with Ariel as his assistant. In one scene, at least, there appears to have been a trick of legerdemian by Ariel, who makes a banquet disappear.[2]

Simple tricks with cards and dice by the clowns in *Nobody and Somebody*, immediately following a wrestling match, furnish part of the extraneous diversion in this play. Just what tricks were performed is not quite clear, but the clowns juggle the dice, cut the cards, and talk about tricks with cards.[3] Probably the tricks varied with the performance. This was one of the plays by English comedians that found favor in Germany because of its varied entertainment.

A juggler entertains the audience before the play opens in *Wily Beguiled*. As the Prologue is about to speak his part, the juggler asks: "Will you see any tricks of legerdemain, sleight of hand, cleanly conveyance, or *deceptio visus*? What will you see, gentlemen, to drive you out of these dumps?" The Prologue bids the juggler be gone, but the latter stays, recites his accomplishments, and performs the trick of making the title-board disappear and another stand in its place:

> Marry, sir, I will show you a trick of cleanly conveyance—*Hei, fortuna furim nunquam credo*—with a cast of cleanly conveyance. Come aloft, Jack, for thy master's advantage. He's gone, I warrant ye. [*Spectrum* is conveyed away, and *Wily Beguiled* stands in the place of it].

A feat of magic requiring considerable skill occurrs in *Grim the Collier of Croydon* when St. Dunstan's harp is made to sound on the

[1] The directions for the scene are: "Re-enter Titus, with Lavinia; he bearing a knife, and she a basin"; a little later, "He cuts their throats." Titus cuts the throats of Chiron and Demetrius; Lavinia catches their blood in the basin.

[2] In Act III, scene iii, the direction is: "Thunder and lightning. Enter Ariel, like a harpy; claps his wings upon the table; and with a quaint device, the banquet vanishes." A little later is another direction: "He vanishes in thunder; then, to soft music, enter Shapes again, and dance, with mocks and mows, and carrying out the table." All of this was mere spectacle to please an audience demanding elaborate displays.

[3] Richard Simpson (ed.), *The School of Shakespeare* (New York, 1878), I, 336–39.

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wall without being touched. The direction says, "Dunstan's harp sounds on the wall," and Forrest calls attention to the feat:

> Hark, hark, my lord! the holy abbot's harp
> Sounds by itself so hanging on the wall![1]

The art of the juggler is called on to help furnish two spectacles of mutilation in *Two Lamentable Tragedies*. In Act II, scene i, a hammer is left sticking in the head of one of the victims. The stage directions are: "When the boy goeth into the shoppe Merrie striketh six blowes on his head & with the seaventh leaves the hammer sticking in his head; the boy groaning must be heard by a maide, ..." A neighbor comes in and reminds the audience of the hammer. This triumph of realism was even further improved in Act II, scene vi, by an illusion of the mutilation of Beech's body.

A play that illustrates the lust for spectacle and conjuring shows is *The Devil's Charter*. In addition to the legitimate use of magic for the sake of atmosphere and dramatic motive, scenes of conjury and deviltry are greatly emphasized. Pope Alexander is presented as a master of the black art. A conjuring monk calls up a spectacle of sulphurous smoke and devils; Alexander conjures up a king riding upon a lion or dragon;[2] the last scene is filled with devil play and thunder. The chief interest in the play lies in the spectacular scenes of horror called up through the machinery of conjury.

A play that depends upon a similar interest in conjury, devil play, and clownery is *The Birth of Merlin*. A Saxon magician calls up Hector and Achilles to fight.[3] Act V begins with a scene of pure vaudeville in which the old trick of finding coins and taking coins from another's pocket is staged; Merlin and his "little antick Spirit" mystify the clown and the audience with this legerdemain.[4] In the same act Merlin calls up fight between a white and a red dragon.[5]

[1] Act II, scene i. [2] Act IV, scene i. [3] Act II.

[4] Merlin asks the clown why he searches his pockets; the latter replies: "I do feel a fault of one side, either it was that Sparrow-hawk, or a cast of Merlins, for I finde a covy of Cardecu's sprung out of my pocket." The juggler restores the money but takes it a second time from the clown who says as he reaches for the money he thinks is in his pocket: "Yes, my little juggler, I dare show it, ha, cleanly conveyance agen, ye have no invisible fingers have ye? 'Tis gone certainly."

[5] Spectacle in which the miraculous was simulated was one of the most popular of the stage tricks learned from the juggler. In the temple scene in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (Act V, scene i), a hind is made to vanish under the altar, and in its place a rose tree ascends. In a few minutes "is heard a sodain twang of Instruments, and the Rose falls from the Tree."

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Near the end of Act IV, Merlin charms the too talkative clown so that he can only say, "Hum, hum, hum." Such scenes of mixed jugglery, devil play, and clownery made the old play a favorite with the populace.

That devil play and conjury were sufficient to make a good play is the statement of the Prologue to *The Two Merry Milkmaids:*

> . . . . 'Tis a fine Play:
> For we have in 't a Coniurer, a Devill,
> And a Clowne too, ...

Much of the interest in this comedy depends upon the more or less extraneous conjuring of Bernard and Landoffe, and the buffoonery of the clown, Smirke. By conjury the latter is made invisible and goes about the stage kicking his enemies, kissing the women, and engaging in buffoonery of all sorts.[1] Certainly the conjuror was a favorite performer with the populace; he took rank with the clown and devil; the uncritical crowd cared little about the dramatic requirements of the play; they wanted to see the conjuror's spectacles, extraneous or otherwise, and they agreed with the Prologue to *The Two Merry Milkmaids* that it was a good play when it had these performances.

The use of fireworks to furnish spectacles on the stage was a trick learned from the juggler; in both medieval and Elizabethan drama, players made use of fireworks to entertain their audiences. The fires of Hell-Mouth gave way before more elaborate spectacles, but the same type of entertainment persisted among other stage devices. One of the simplest uses of fireworks is referred to in *Women Beware Women:* ". . . . Here rose up a devil with one eye, I remember, with a company of fireworks at's tail."[2] In *The Triumph of Death,* Plutus furnishes a spectacle by striking a rock from which flames fly out.[3] In Kirke's *Seven Champions of Christendom,* spirits fight with fiery clubs[4] Dekker's *If This Be Not a Good Play, the Devil Is In It* has several

[1] Act IV, scene i. Jonson (*The Staple of News,* Act I, scene ii) makes Tattle lament the lack of a fool and devil in the play; Mirth informs her that she had heard that the poet was profane "and all his plays had devils in them; that he kept school upon the stage, could conjure there above the school of Westminster, and doctor Lamb too: not a play he had but had a devil in it."

[2] Act V, scene i.

[3] From *Four Plays in One;* no act division.

[4] Act III; no scene division.

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exhibitions of tricks with fireworks that lend nothing to the play except extraneous spectacle. At one point Ruffman announces:

> . . . . You shall see
> At opening this hand, a thousand Balles
> Of wilde-Fire, flying round about the aire—there.
> (*Fire-workes on Lines.*)[1]

Later in the play a direction indicates another display of fireworks: "*Fireworkes: Scumbroath falls.*"[2] In the closing devil scene, Ravillac has his hand burned off before the audience.[3] These and other spectacles show Dekker's willingness to draw crowds to the playhouse by sensational displays that had little relation to the structure of the drama itself.

Thomas Heywood, surpassing even Dekker in his willingness to supply sensational exhibitions, employs fireworks extensively in his *Age* plays to thrill the crowd that packed the pit. The last act of *The Silver Age* is a series of spectacles. Jupiter descends "in his maiesty, his Thunder-bolt burning." When he touches the bed of Semele, "it fires, and flyes up, Iupiter from thence takes an abortive infant." Another great display of fireworks occurs when Hercules invades Hell. Heywood varies this scene by having fireworks shot off among the spectators, all over the theater, as the directions indicate:

> Hercules sinkes himself: Flashes of fire; the Divels appeare at every corner of the stage with severall fireworks. The Iudges of hell, and the three sisters run over the stage, Hercules after them: fireworkes all over the house. Enter Hercules.[4]

Pluto shortly afterward comes in with a burning club, wearing a burning crown, attended by a bodyguard of devils bearing burning weapons. The entire scene is of spectacular entertainment, precisely the sort of thing which would have most appealed to the uncritical Red Bull audience for whom the play was written.

Heywood again plays the juggler's game to the utmost in *The Brazen Age* which is filled with spectacle similar to that in *The Silver Age*. In the last act, Hercules caps the climax of wonder by allowing

[1] *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker Now First Collcted* (London, 1873), III, 294. J. White (*A Rich Cabinet with Variety of Inventions, etc.* [1651]) tells "how to make your fireworks to run upon a line backward and forward."

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 239. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 350.

[4] *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Heywood Now First Collected* (London, 1874), III, 154–55.

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a fire to be built around him on the stage. Before taking his place in the flames, he burns his club and lion's skin to prove that the fire will really burn.[1]

Tapers that light themselves must have mystified the spectators of Middleton's *Game at Chess*. An altar is discovered bearing unlighted tapers; after a conjuring song, the tapers take light of themselves and move in a dance.[2]

Jonson employs the tricks of the juggler in satirizing impostors who pretend to be bewitched in *The Devil Is An Ass*. Fitzdottrel, in Act V, scene v, eats enormously, spits fire, and later confesses that the trickery was accomplished by means of a false belly and a bellows.[3]

The popularity of tricks of mutilation on the stage has been pointed out. The art of the juggler was carried to the extent of representing decapitations in a few execution scenes. The blood drama could go no further than this; no further extreme from the classical ideal of death off stage could be found than in the execution of Isabella in Marston's *The Insatiate Countess*. The execution takes place on the stage in full view, following a farewell speech by the victim, whose remarks are concluded by a stroke of the axe:

> . . . . Mount to thy Maker, spirit!
> Leave here thy body, death has her demerit.
> (*The executioner strikes off her head.*)[4]

The order is then given for the body to be borne out. Near the opening of the scene, the necessary equipment for performance of the trick had been provided in a scaffold which a stage direction says is "laid out."

The decapitation of Barnavelt in *The Tragedy of Sir John Van Olden Barnavelt* also takes place in full view. This time the victim

[1] Shirley later used the same device in *St. Patrick for Ireland*, Act IV, scene i, when Milcho casts himself into a fire, after having first thrown in various articles. Perhaps such tricks were in the mind of Webster when he made the conjuror in *The White Devil*, Act III, scene i, speak of jugglers who

> ". . . . endanger their own necks
> For making of a squib, etc."

[2] Act V, scene i. This scene has no definite dramatic value but seems to be inserted for its spectacular appeal.

[3] Earlier, Act V, scene iii, Meercraft had explained how the trick was to be performed:

> "A little castle-soap
> Will do't, to rub your lips; and then a nut shell,
> With tow, and touch-wood in it, to spit fire."

[4] Act V, scene ii.

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tells the executioner to strike when he gives the word. There is no stage direction, but the dialogue indicates at what point the axe fell:[1]

> I come, I come, o gracious heaven. now! now,
> Now, I present. . . . .

The ax falls and the executioner asks if it was well done.

The head of Dorothea in Massinger's *Virgin Martyr* is cut off on the stage. She also makes a farewell speech from the scaffold, and her closing words are followed by the direction: "Her head is struck off."[2] An angel who comes and touches the mouth draws attention to the spectacle.

Proof of the ease of stage decapitations is given by Reginald Scot in his exposé of jugglers' tricks; he even prints diagrams of a scaffold to show how easy was the feat. The section describing decapitation is headed, "To cut off ones head, and lay it in a platter, &c. which the jugglers call the decollation of John Baptist."[3] After describing means for performing the trick, Scot adds:

> Then to make the sight more dreadful, put a little brimstone in a chafing dish of coals, setting it before the head of the boie, who must gaspe two or three times, so as the smoke enter a little into his nostrils and mouth . . . . and the head presently will appeare stark dead; if the boie set his countenance according; and a little bloud be sprinkled on his face, the sight will be the stranger, ...

Somewhat simpler even than Scot's method of decapitation is one described by Ady in *A Candle in the Dark*. Ady's explanation will show how adaptable it was to stage executions:

> . . . . He layeth his Boy down upon the Table upon a Carpet, with his face downward, commanding him to lye still, then he taketh a linnen cloth,

[1] Act V, scene iii. Earlier in the play, Act V, scene ii. the executioner of Utrecht had boasted that he could "whip your dodipoll as clearly of and set it on againe as handsomely as it stands now, that you may blow your nose and pledge me too cans after. . . . ." Cf. a similar boast cited from the Morality play, *Mankind*.

[2] Act IV, scene iii. That a similar execution occurs in the last scene of Chapman's *Tragedy of Charles Duke of Byron* is entirely possible. Byron is condemned to be beheaded and makes a farewell speech. The text of the play gives no indication of how the rest of the scene was managed; Professor Parrott surmises that it was a tableau with the curtain drawn across the inner stage as Byron mounted the block. But it seems probable that spectators of the play actually saw Byron's head struck off. An entry in *Henslowe's Diary* (Greg, I, 182) of payment for "a scafowld & bare for the play of berowne" may give a hint as to the staging of the scene in what was probably the source of Chapman's play. Even traveling actors sometimes presented realistic decapitations, it seems; a chronicler of the early life of Louis XIII relates how the young prince witnessed a play by English actors and "listened with coldness, gravity, and patience till the head of one of the heroes had to be cut off" (quoted by J. J. Jusserand, *Shakespeare in France*, p. 55).

[3] *Op. cit.*, Book XIII, chap. xxxiii.

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and spreadeth it upon the Boys head broad upon the table, and by slight of hand conveyeth under the cloth a Head with a face, limned so like his Boys Head and Face that it is not discerned from it; then hee draweth forth his Sword or Falchion, and seemeth to cut off his Boys head; but withal it is to be noted, That the confederating Boy putteth his head throw a hole in the Table made on purpose, yet unknown to the Spectators, and his Master also by slight of hand layeth to the Boys shoulder a peece of wood made concave at one end like a scuppit, and round on the other end like a mans neck with his head cut off, the concave end is hidden under the Boys shirt, and the other end appeareth to the company very dismal (being limbned over by the cunning Limbner) like a bloudy neck, so lively in shew that the very bone and marrow of the neck appeareth, insomuch that some Spectators have fainted at the sight hereof; then he taketh up the false Head aforesaid by the hair, and layeth it in a charger at the feet of the Boy, ...[1]

With slight modifications, either of the methods described by Scot and Ady was adaptable to stage executions. The dramatic request of Barnavelt that his head be struck off when he spoke the word was simply to enable the executioner to know when the apparent victim was ready for the consummation of the trick.

Jugglery was not always concerned with gruesome realism, and, as has already been pointed out, conjury frequently descended to clownery; jugglers were often no more than clowns; such, for example, is Forobosco, the conjuror in Fletcher's *Fair Maid of the Inn*, who conjures his boy and forces him to dance half-naked.[2] A scene of mock conjury and clownery occurs in *A New Tricke to Cheat the Divell* when Friar John conjures forth the banquet about to be enjoyed by the deceitful wife and her paramour, the constable; he finally brings the constable from under the bed and introduces him to the husband as the devil Asteroth.[3] A combination of witch scenes, conjury, and an animal act occurs in Middleton's *The Witch* when in Act I scene ii, Hecate conjures and a cat enters playing on a fiddle; this scene is purely extraneous.

Sleight-of-hand tricks are used to get the attention of the spectators in the opening scene of Act III in Fletcher's *Beggars Bush*. After three songs, Prig comes out to juggle and asks:

[1] Pp. 38–39. [2] Act II, scene i. [3] Act III, scene i.

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> Will ye see any feats of activity,
> Some Sleight of hand, Legerdemain? hey pass.
> Presto, be gone there?

He juggles with three bullets which he pulls from the noses of the boors who are watching him, juggles money from their pockets, and makes his exit. The scene is frankly extra-dramatic and has no integral place in the play.

Heywood, always ready to employ variety show tricks in his plays, makes use of the slight motivation of witchcraft to insert a number of juggling tricks in *The Late Lancashire Witches*. In Act II, scene i, Moll makes her milk pail move across the stage unaided, a simple feat probably performed with an invisible piece of string. In Act III, scene i, a spirit turns a cake into bran, a trick which modern "magicians" are still performing. A little later in the same scene, a pie is opened, and a flock of live birds flies out. The tricks are frankly called by one of the characters *deceptio visus*, the contemporary name for such tricks of sleight.

The interest in tricks of conjury persisted down to the end of the Elizabethan period. In Fletcher's late play, *The Chances*, the conjuring of Vecchio helps to farce out the last two acts. The action of the main plot is complete after Act III, and the chief interest from then onward lies in the performances of Vecchio, who conjures with soft music and brings forth spirits, women in the play, etc. In the adaptation of the play by Villiers after the Restoration, all of this conjuring was omitted and the end of the play changed in order to unify it.

From the extant evidence it is clear that Elizabethan dramatists employed juggling and conjuring tricks to a now generally unrealized extent, and that popular interest in conjury and magic led to this interest being capitalized in spectacular shows on the stage. From the court to the rowdy Red Bull, audiences delighted in the trickery of jugglers. At court and on the most plebian of the public stages there was the same interest in the unusual. This Renaissance penchant for the strange and out-of-the-ordinary made magic and jugglery favorite entertainments, both on and off the stage. The texts of the plays give many examples of this diversion, but, without doubt, the juggler and

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conjuror appeared more frequently on the stage than extant records can prove. Players took over and adapted to their use certain tricks of jugglers with a resulting increase in realistic detail. In other cases, players and playwrights simply inserted extraneous exhibitions of jugglery and conjury in order to satisfy the popular craving for sensational shows. This willingness to comply with public taste helps to explain many of the incongruous violations of dramatic structure in Elizabethan drama.

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THE CRITIC OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY AND HIS ATTITUDE TOWARD THE FRENCH NOVEL

In discussions regarding the development of the French novel a valuable source of information has thus far been neglected. The following article is an effort to throw light on the early evolution of the modern French novel by means of an examination of what seventeenth-century critics conceived to be the nature and purpose of this form of literature. By approaching the question from this angle we may, for the time being, dispense with an analytic and interpretative study of the novels themselves. The novelist, however, cannot be ignored since he frequently assumes the rôle of critic, usually in his prefaces but sometimes, as in the case of Sorel, in an independent treatise on the history and art of novel-writing. In the following appreciation of seventeenth-century criticism of the French novel there are, of necessity, points where the critic loses contact with the advance of the novel and also, on the other hand, where he anticipates the achievement of the novelist. The main purpose of this article is to provide a means of corroborating, controlling, and perhaps amplifying that picture of the development of the seventeenth-century novel which the reader has obtained from a study of the novels themselves.

Paradoxical as it may sound, the early seventeenth-century novelist is governed by a certain respect for probability. Gomberville and D'Urfé, the protagonists of the pastoral novel, insist upon this aspect of their art. *La Carithé*, according to the former, consists of "plusieurs rares et véritables histoires de notre temps" and later in his Preface he points out that his work is the story of the amours of Charles IX though all the allusions, geographical and historical, have been disguised. D'Urfé also makes no secret of the fact that all his shepherds and shepherdesses are purely conventional masks for contemporary notables. The device of the bucolic setting has been perfectly explained by Cherbuliez: "A l'époque de la Renaissance les raffinés préféraient jouer au pauvre en imagination; ils recouraient pour cela à la

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pastorale."[1] As D'Urfé indicates in his Preface, one must not reproach his ladies with not speaking naturally. They are not "de ces bergères nécessiteuses qui, pour gagner leur vie conduisent des troupeaux aux pâturages."

Interspersed through the various books of his *Berger extravagant*[2] we find observations by Sorel on the art of novel-writing: these foreshadow his *Bibliothèque française*[3] and his *Connaissance des bons Livres*,[4] two works which contain much valuable material on the novel of the time. Sorel attacks the abuse of poetry in this type of literature, a defect which detracts from the probability of the characters. Contrary to the usual view, he is not here hitting only at D'Urfé, whose *Astrée* he admired, but also at lesser novelists such as Du Rosset and D'Audiguier. Sorel and D'Urfé are not so far apart as might at first be imagined. They really approach the same objective but from different directions. Both look on the novel as a reflection of contemporary life but, whereas the author of the *Astrée* would retain the conventional poetic disguise, Sorel will have nothing to do with anything that savors of the *merveilleux*.

Like the modern reader, Sorel objects to the annoying seventeenth-century habit of plunging *in medias res* at the beginning of a novel. A keen critic of technique (in others), he very properly scolds Du Parc for anticipating events by such unartistic methods as these: "Oh Lucidor, que la lettre que tu as écrite te coûtera cher. . . ." He jeers at the extravagant poetic jargon of these lesser novelists and at their stock heroines with their flinty hearts, lily-and-rose complexions, and eyes like suns. He finds even *Don Quichotte* improbable, and is highly amused at Cervantes setting himself up as an antagonist of the *roman romanesque* since in his own novel the Spaniard falls into those very errors which he claims to condemn.

> Elle [*Don Quichotte*] n'a garde de faire beaucoup contre les romans vu que même elle est entremêlée d'une infinité de contes fort romanesques et qui ont fort peu d'apparence de vérité si bien que, comme elle, elle peut être mise au rang de tant d'autres qui ont trouvé ici leur critique.[5]

Camus, the witty bishop of Belley, who will always be remembered for his gallant effort to found a religious and didactic novel, condemns

[1] *Revue des deux Mondes* (Jan., 1910).
[2] 1628. [3] 1664. [4] Amsterdam, 1672.
[5] Conclusion of *Le Berger extravagant* (ed. 1633), p. 1083.

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improbability, in theory at least. The three inseparable ingredients of the novel, he tells us, are truth, probability, and conjecture, by which he means imagination.[1] It is true that he fails to carry his theories into practice, but we are concerned with the critic and not the novelist, with the conception and not the performance.

In the theories of Camus we encounter two elements which all seventeenth-century novelists claim to respect—probability and morality. Mareschal, in his Preface to *Le Secret des Romans*,[2] suggests a third. "Je ne me suis servi de l'Antiquité," he says, "que pour donner une couleur étrangère au bien et au mal de notre temps." In other words, he respects verisimilitude in his portrayal of abstract ideas like vices and virtues, but in order to arouse interest he envelops these in a "romanesque" and even exotic atmosphere. As to the actuality of his work, a manuscript key to the Bibliothèque Nationale copy of *Le Secret des Romans* indicates that the love adventures described were authentic since they are said to be those of Mlle Hotman and M. du Tronchet. Like Scudéry and other writers of the heroic or pseudo-classic school, Mareschal makes no pretense to historical accuracy in his references to antiquity. The setting of such *romans héroïques*, like the scenery and costume of Racine's plays, is merely conventional; so long as accuracy is observed in the portrayal of sentiment the authors are content. Here, of course, we must recognize a lamentable gulf between theory and practice. The heroic school, then, differs from Sorel and his followers, Segrais for example, who will have no trifling with probability even in the *cadre* of the novel.

Despite the absurdities of his work we must place in this latter category a novelist called De Gerzan. This strange author takes his art very seriously. Several things, he tells us, are necessary to the composition of a good novel. In the first place, the "invention" must be good; the narrative should be logical and the story must consist of several well-defined plots, yet so well interwoven that no one of them may be omitted without breaking the thread of the history. Above all, he adds: "C'est peu de chose d'observer tout ce que je viens de dire si l'on ne met dans la vraisemblance les inventions des romans."[3] He is of course a complete failure as a novelist but his critical ideas

[1] Preface, *Agathonphile* (Paris, 1623).

[2] *La Chrysolite ou le Secret des Romans* (Paris, 1634). Bib. Nat., Y². 7107.

[3] *L'Histoire afriquaine de Cléomode et de Sophonisbe* (1627).

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are interesting if we make allowance for the fact that he is a pioneer. In this connection much of the contempt expressed by the modern reader for the seventeenth-century novel is quite unreasonable. When De Gerzan, for instance, gravely informs us that "en ce genre d'écrire je me suis attaché à des particularités que peu de gens ont observées, principalement à l'exacte géographie et à la vraie histoire,"[1] he is being perfectly sincere. The absurdities which he afterward proceeds to narrate represent the then-existing knowledge of distant lands. Historical accuracy is a relative affair, and there are many who regard the historical novels of Scott with the impatience shown by M. Maigron[2] for the pseudo-historical classic novel of the seventeenth century. In this study of the influence of Scott I do not think that the author explains the evolution of the French historical novel since he neglects to examine its origins in his own country. De Gerzan's illusion that he could carry out his ideas is excusable, but his conception of the novel is perfectly sound. "J'accommode mes inventions à la vraie histoire," he says, "d'elle-même je tire les plus belles aventures et m'en sers de telle sorte qu'on les prendroit d'abord pour des vérités, si fort je m'attache à la chronologie et à la géographie." What we have here is, obviously in an embryonic form, the modern theory of the scientific novel of which the classic example is Flaubert's *Salammbô*.

Segrais, in his Preface to *Les Divertissements de la Princesse Aurélie*,[3] reveals an intelligent understanding of the defects of the contemporary novel. It is clear from his introductory remarks that one of the chief reproaches leveled against the new genre of literature is its lack of any serious moral or didactic purpose. Segrais, like most of his colleagues, feels obliged to defend the novel as an educational medium. "Les beaux romans ne sont pas sans instruction quoi qu'on en veuille dire, principalement depuis qu'on y mêle l'historique et quand ceux qui les écrivent, savants dans les mœurs des nations, imaginent des aventures qui s'y rapportent et qui nous instruisent." Here he attacks the majority of heroic novels on the score of improbability. He deplores the liberties taken with historical truth and, in particular, the practice of attributing French manners and morals to Greeks, Persians, and Indians—"des choses un peu éloignées de la

[1] Preface, *ibid.*

[2] *Le Roman historique*, (1910).

[3] Also called *Les Nouvelles françaises* (1656).

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raison." He then bluntly states that the object of the novel is to entertain by means of probable and natural fictions, a somewhat daring admission in an age when reading was not so much a diversion as a serious intellectual exercise. Segrais as a critic is a pioneer. He is the first to suggest the possibility of a national novel. "Je m'étonne," he exclaims, "que tant de gens d'esprit qui nous ont imaginé de si honnêtes Scythes et des Parthes si généreux n'ont pris le même plaisir d'imaginer des chevaliers ou des princes français aussi accomplis dont les aventures n'eussent pas été moins plausibles."[1] The Spanish novelists, he points out, use only national appellations in referring to characters and places and, apart from custom, there is no reason why the French should not do the same Finally, pursuing his plan of bringing the novel closer to actual life, Segrais asks: "Qu'est-il besoin que les exemples qu'on propose soient tous de Rois et d'Empereurs comme ils le sont dans tous les Romans?" How is it possible for the ordinary reader to model his conduct on that of such exalted personages? Here, it will be seen, he is advocating in the novel reforms which anticipate those urged by Diderot in drama nearly a century later.

In the course of his interesting remarks Segrais defines the *roman* as distinct from the *nouvelle*. He says:

> Il me semble que c'est la différence qu'il y a entre le roman et la nouvelle; que le roman écrit les choses comme la bienséance le veut et à la manière du poète; mais que la nouvelle doit tenir un peu davantage de l'histoire et s'attacher plutôt à donner les images des choses comme d'ordinaire nous les voyons arriver que comme notre imagination les figure.

Here we have a distinct advance toward our modern conception of the novel as a reflection of life. Yet if we take Segrais' words too literally we run the risk of attributing to him reforms of a revolutionary sort. It is clear from the context that by *choses* he means chiefly historical events or, at most, adventures which occur in aristocratic society and not the daily happenings which constitute the sum total of life in society at large. Still, he points to the coming of a new type of novel, the short and simply told story of sentimental or passionate love in a French court setting, the type of novel in fact whose chief representative is *La Princesse de Clèves*.

[1] Preface, *Les Nouvelles françaises*.

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Sorel, in his *Bibliothèque française*, is not only a critic but one of the first historians of the French novel. In tracing the development of the novel from its origins until 1664 he ably emphasizes the fact that its successive modifications respond to an increasing demand for greater probability. The earliest examples of French fiction were the *romans de chevalerie* "appelés des romans tant en France qu'en Espagne pour ce qu'ils n'étaient point écrits ny en langage des Gots ny en langage des anciens Gaulois, mais en la langue corrompue du langage Latin ou Roman."[1] These were succeeded, he tells us, by the *romans bergers*. "On est venu aux amours des bergers dont les actions ont été jugées plus *faisables* et plus douces."[2] These were, however, still unsatisfactory, and the public continued to ask for more probability. "On voulait des histoires feintes qui représentassent les humeurs des personnes comme elles sont et qui fussent une naïve peinture de leur condition et de leur naturel."[3] Already attempts had been made in France to portray in novel form the adventures and love affairs of princes and *grands seigneurs*. Works like *Les Aventures de Floride*, *Le Cabinet de Minerve*, *La Pucelle d'Orléans*, and *L'Histoire d'Orléans* had tried to satisfy the growing desire for verisimilitude, and did at least account for their situations by rational methods instead of resorting to the magic and enchantment of the old novels.[4] But it was the *nouvelle* which saved fiction from the excesses of improbability. "On commençait aussi à connaître ce que c'étaient des choses vraisemblables par de petites narrations dont la mode vint qui s'appelaient des *nouvelles*. On les pouvait comparer aux histoires véritables de quelques accidents particuliers des hommes."[5] We must thank the Spaniards and Italians, says Sorel, for models which, although reprehensible from the moral point of view, yet gave rise to French imitations in which the license was considerably toned down.

In praising the *Princesse de Montpensier*, the style of which is "tout à fait du beau monde," our author mentions that its theme is

[1] *La Bibliothèque française* (2d ed.), p. 174.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 175.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 177.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 177–81 *passim*. This is Sorel's comment: "Mais leurs entretiens n'étaient pas fort subtils et ce qu'on doit estimer là-dedans, ce sont les sentiments d'honneur et de vertu qui sont les plus beaux du monde avec quantité de secrets de la nature et de l'art par le moyen desquels plusieurs choses extraordinaires se font, au lieu que les anciens romans rapportent tout à la magie faute d'invention et de doctrine."

[5] *Ibid.*

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based on an actual contemporary adventure though the *cadre* is historical. And as will be seen from the following quotation, Sorel conceives the *nouvelle* as primarily topical. "Nous devons remarquer que pour les [i.e., les nouvelles] rendre judicieuses, il semble que toutes celles qu'on raconte ne doivent être que des choses arrivées depuis peu, autrement il n'y aurait pas raison de les appeler des *nouvelles*."[1] Many, however, do not observe this rule. Sorel grasps very clearly one of the chief characteristics of the *nouvelle* and one of its drawbacks. Owing to its brevity, its range is extremely limited. Such fictions "ne représentent que de certains accidents de la vie ainsi que font quelques relations véritables. Pour chercher un entier divertissement nous devons avoir des relations plus amples lesquelles on appelle des *romans parfaits* ou des *romans héroïques*."[2] The title *roman*, he observes, which was originally confined to novels of chivalry, is now extended to embrace all works of fiction. We shall discuss shortly his opinion of these novels.

In works of the *Clélie* type, what Sorel admires is their picture of the society of their day. He distinguishes from this class of novel, which aims only at probability, another type which pretends to be not only probable but true. To this category belong *L'Histoire de Meléante et de Cléonice*, *L'Exil de Polexandre et d'Ericlée*, *Le Palais d'Angélie*, and *L'Histoire de Lysandre* which describe contemporary happenings. But, says the critic, this is a difficult type of fiction: "il ne fait pas bon mentir en des choses si récentes."[3]

There is however a species of novel which gives a much more faithful picture of life than any other, "les actions communes de la vie étant leur objet."[4] This is of course the *roman satirique* or *burlesque*, and it was the Spaniards who first introduced this sort of novel, which is at the same time probable and entertaining. The author of *Francion* is well qualified to speak on this subject but it is a little odd to hear him deploring the licentiousness of foreign models. However, few will disagree with his enthusiastic remark that good comic novels are natural pictures of life.

Sorel is determined to realize his conception of a novel which shall be a close imitation of real life. The *nouvelle* seemed to offer a solution, and he is discouraged to find it degenerating into a vehicle for exag-

[1] *Ibid.* [2] *Ibid.*, p. 180. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 187. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 188.

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geration and license. "On se sert fort dangereusement de cette belle invention. Au lieu de nous donner des nouvelles sages et discrètes on nous en fait souvent de folles et impertinentes où tous les vices sont en leur règne."[1] His warning is prophetic. Unconsciously he is pointing to the origins of the *roman corrupteur* which in the hands of Crébillon, La Morlière, and Chevrier became fashionable under Louis XV.

It is not difficult when we read Sorel's criticisms of the heroic novel to understand why he concluded that the salvation of the genre as a whole lay in the *roman comique*. The reformer tends always to fly from one pole to another. In his respect for historical truth Sorel is of his century. While he is glad that *le merveilleux* has been abolished, he has no patience with the equally improbable adventures, ballets, battles, and *carrousels* which have taken its place. It is not so much the pseudo-classic setting which annoys him as the fact that it is presented with no regard for local color. Sorel, of course, does not use this expression but it is what he means.

> Les auteurs de tels livres savent si peu les coutumes des nations qu'ils les décrivent toutes de la même manière, donnant de la douceur et de la civilité à des Scythes et à des Indiens et faisant vivre avec toutes les politesses de nos villes ceux qui sont encore logés dans des cavernes avec les bêtes farouches et sous des taudis de feuillages.[2]

Authors display the grossest ignorance as to foreign sacrificial and marriage customs, not to speak of costume and methods of warfare. Frequently this is simply due to lack of observation as when a novelist makes his hero stand up in his stirrups to deal a blow when in fact he grips his horse tightly with his knees. It is just because authors do not trust their knowledge of such technical things that they situate their stories in past ages. "S'ils voulaient raconter ces choses comme arrivées en ce temps-ci ils auraient beaucoup de peine à garder la bienséance. Chacun s'en établirait juge et en connaîtrait les défauts."[3] Again, there is no originality and no progress in the heroic type of fiction. The same *clichés* are preserved: the same eternal shipwrecks, corsairs, disguises, and abductions are endlessly repeated.[4] In short, the art of novel-writing has become a mechanical process like weaving.

[1] *De la Connaissance des bons Livres* (1672), chap. iv.

[2] *Ibid.*, chap. i. [3] *Ibid.*

[4] Sorel does not see the real reason for this apparent lack of imagination. The explanation is that the novel has not shaken off the influence of the epic and, as La Harpe points out in reference to Florian's *Gonzalve*, hackneyed situations which in the epic are redeemed by the beautiful language in which they are expressed are quite impossible in prose fiction.

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Boileau, like Sorel and Segrais, has no patience with the improbabilities of the heroic novel. However, M. Morillot exaggerates when he says that the *Dialogue sur les Héros de Roman* closes the history of the French novel for fifty years—a clear case of *post hoc, propter hoc.*[1] The French novel has now shed many of its superfluous incidents and improbabilities together with much of its verbiage. That this transition period, attended naturally by a certain hesitancy, should have coincided with the date of the conception of the *Dialogue* (*ca.* 1665) is a mere accident. M. Morillot also attributes to the sole influence of Boileau a movement toward probability in the novel which, as we have seen, is the result of a natural evolutionary process. He says: "Romans héroïques et romans burlesques n'oseront plus se montrer sous l'œil irrité du satirique, farouche de la vérité en prose comme en vers. Seule subsiste la *nouvelle* venue timidement de l'Espagne au commencement du siècle." But what is the *nouvelle* but the *roman* in its new and shorter form, and in 1664 we learn from Sorel that *nouvelles* had begun to appear which were to all intents and purposes short *romans*. "Les nouvelles qui sont un peu plus longues et qui rapportent les aventures de plusieurs personnes ensemble sont prises pour de petits romans."[2] The fact is that the old heroic novel was already moribund when Boileau conceived his *Dialogue*, which was not published until 1710. It is known, of course, that Boileau read his satire in manuscript to his intimate friends, but these must have been few compared to the numbers of novel readers. In 1672 there was no decline in the popularity of the novel. "On quitte tous les autres livres pour ceux-là," observes Sorel, and again, "C'est n'être pas du monde que de n'avoir point lu de tels livres. Ils font partie de l'entretien de plusieurs bonnes compagnies."[3] Further one has only to consult the registers of privileges of *Nouvelles*, *Vies*, *Relations*, *Histoires*, and *Mémoires* published between 1665 and 1700 to realize that novels were very much in demand. It is important, too, to note that many of these ran through two, three, and sometimes four editions. Of course, few have survived until today but that is rather beside the point since the more closely a novel reflects contemporary life and

[1] *Le Roman français*, p. 12.

[2] *La Bibliothèque française*, pp. 181 ff.

[3] *La Connaissance des bons Livres*, chap. i.

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thought the less chance it has of interesting the average reader of posterity. At the close of the seventeenth century a regular school of feminine novelists arose who apparently plied their craft with profit. One of these, Mme de Villedieu, received 100 sols a page[1] from Barbin, who was no philanthropist but a shrewd publisher. Novel-writing must have been a paying and popular profession.

The critic, then, favors the short sentimental novel set in a historical *cadre* which is usually national. I will pass over Huet despite the promising title of his *Traité de l'Usage des Romans*, interesting only for its definition of the novel as "une histoire amoureuse écrite en prose avec art pour le plaisir et l'instruction du lecteur." A much better critic is Pierre Perrault, brother of the famous Charles and also an enemy of Boileau. He has left us in manuscript some shrewd observations on the novel of his day.[2] He divides all novels into two classes, *poétiques* and *comiques*, though strictly speaking, he points out, all novels are poetic in the sense that they are fictions. In the first category he places what today we should call "romantic novels" since by virtue of their poetic quality

l'on permet aux auteurs de supposer des choses extraordinaires soit pour la valeur de leurs Héros, soit pour la beauté de leurs Héroïnes, soit pour leurs aventures; l'on admet des déguisements, des enlèvements, des captivités. L'on suppose entendre et parler toutes sortes de langues. L'on leur donne des richesses et des pierreries à point nommé.

The *manière comique*, on the contrary, presents nothing which is not natural and which does not conform to the ordinary tenor of life. Perrault draws an interesting parallel between the novel and contemporary painting. He compares the idealistic or poetic manner to the conventional style of painting which portrays ladies *à la Diane*, carrying bow and quiver and dressed in sumptuous finery "avec de gros diamants et de grosses pierres qui n'ont point leur pareilles au monde." The "comic" manner has its counterpart in the school of painting which presents its subjects dressed as in ordinary life.

Catherine Bernard, one of the many feminine novelists of the close of the century, discusses a new tendency. She admits that in her previous novels she failed to copy nature closely. She fell into the

[1] See Bib. Maz. MS 4328, *Mélange d'histoire*, by Quincye de Saint Maurice.

[2] Bib. Nat. MS fr. 25572, *Critique du livre de Dom Quichotte de la Manche*, by Pierre Perrault, Receveur Général des Finances de Paris.

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error of portraying not a passion but "the rational idea of a passion." This authoress conceives a type of novel which, from the exceptional nature of its theme, deliberately appeals to an élite and not to the general public. The *Comte d'Amboise*[1] is an example of this esoteric novel, and deals with a situation reminiscent of the *Princesse de Clèves*. The hero is generous enough to surrender his mistress to a rival. Bernard feels that the nobility of the conception amply compensates for its lack of probability.

If we were to judge of the progress of the novel at this stage by the interest evinced in it by the critic, we should point to the last years of the century as a period of decline. Registers and catalogues reveal, however, no falling off in output while the quality of the novels remains much the same as usual. The explanation is that literary criticism is wholly absorbed with the quarrel of the ancients and moderns and here the battle rages naturally round the older genres, tragedy, poetry, and comedy which supply ample material for *Parallèles* like those of Charles Perrault. Professional criticism really arises on a large scale with the advent of the literary journal, and from 1720 onward the novel will come in for its full meed of attention.

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[1] *Nouvelle galante* (1689).

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NOTES ON THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF POPE

The following notes are supplementary to *Alexander Pope: A Bibliography*. Volume I, Part I, by Professor R. H. Griffith (University of Texas Press, 1922), and to the review of that volume by Professor George Sherburn in *Modern Philology*, XXII (1925), 327–36. Arabic numerals refer to books described in Professor Griffith's volume, Roman numerals to Professor Sherburn's additions, and letters to additions by the present writer. Unless otherwise stated, the books described below are in the Yale University Library.

5. *The Spectator*, No. CCCLXXVIII. There is a period, not a colon, after "Messiah" in the title.

27. *An Essay on Criticism.* The Fourth Edition. After "2 lines Latin" in the title, insert "Horat."

The book is not a small octavo, but a duodecimo, the first twelve leaves of which have been printed in the manner described by R. W. Chapman in his "Notes on Eighteenth-Century Bookbuilding," *Library* (4th series), IV (1923), 167–69, except that in this instance the smaller part of the sheet is placed after the larger part and not within it. The chain-lines in the paper are horizontal.

For a description of an entire book printed in this manner see Book XIX, below.

A. THE / British Parnassus: / Or, A Compleat / *Common-Place-Book* / OF / ENGLISH POETRY: / CONTAINING / The most genuine, instructive, diverting / and sublime THOUGHTS. / *VIZ.* / Allegories, Comparisons, Similitudes, Apho- / risms moral and political, Characters and / Descriptions of Persons, Passions, Places / and Things, that are in the WORKS / of our most celebrated POETS. / *To which is prefix'd* / A DICTIONARY of *RHYMES*; / more copious than any hitherto extant. / — / In *TWO VOLUMES.* / — / VOL. I. / — / *By* EDW. BYSSHE *Gent.* / — / [3 lines Latin —Lucr.] / — / Printed by J. Nutt in the SAVOY: And Sold / by J. Pemberton at the *Golden Buck* and *Sun* / against St. *Dunstan's* Church in *Fleetstreet*, and / J. Morphew near *Stationers-Hall.* MDCCXIV.

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Title in black and red.

12°. Sig.: 3 leaves; a–c in sixes; d, 3 leaves; B–U in twelves; X, 6 leaves; X*, 2 leaves.

Pp.: 6 pp.; i–[xlii]; 1–472.

The title-page of the second volume differs from that of the first only in the substitution of "VOL. II." for "VOL. I."

Sig.: 1 leaf; Y–Tt in twelves; Uu, 5 leaves.

Pp.: 2 pp.; 473–986.

A comparison of the collation of this book with that of Bysshe's *The Art of English Poetry*, Volumes III and IV (Griffith, No. 91) indicates that the two are identical except for the title-page, which is a cancel in the later issue. The importance of the book as evidence of the rapidity of Pope's rise to fame is heightened by the knowledge of its earlier publication. It cannot have appeared before March 4, 1714, however, since it includes passages from the revised version of *The Rape of the Lock*.

31. *Poems and Translations.* "Several," in the title, begins with a capital *S*.

There are no stubs visible in the Yale copy, but there is a false catchword ("Wit—A Wish") from page 84 to page 85. ("Pp. 83–92" in Professor Griffith's collation is a misprint for "pp. 85–92.") The Table of Contents agrees with the book as it stands, indicating that leaves G5–8 are a cancel half-sheet substituted before publication.

B. Poems on Several Occasions. / By N. Rowe, Esq; / The Third Edition. / London: Printed for E. Curll, at the Dial and / Bible against St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet-street. / MDCCXIV.

12°. Sig.: A, 12 leaves; B, 6 leaves; C, 5 leaves.

Pp.: 4 pp.; [1]–42.

The Yale copy lacks the first two leaves. I have not personally examined a copy of the title page; the transcript above was taken from the copy in the British Museum, and does not indicate styles of type.

Apparently this book, when first issued, consisted of gatherings A and B only; C was added subsequently. This is indicated by the presence of the word "Finis" at the bottom of page 32, and by the fact that many existing copies lack gathering C.

In 1715 remainder copies, some with and some without gathering

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C, were combined with remainder copies of *Original Poems And Translations. By Mr. Hill*, etc. (Griffith, No. 33) and reissued as *The Elzevir Miscellany*, Second Edition (see Book D below).

The *Epigram on a Lady who shed her Water*, etc. appears on page 32 [B6 verso], and is followed by a Latin translation.

The quarto edition of Rowe's poems, also published in this year, does not contain this epigram or anything else by Pope [B.M., 11643. bbb. 20(1)].

C. The / Poetical / Works / of / Nicholas Rowe, Esq; / London: / Printed for E. Curll at the Dial and Bible / against St. Dunstan's Church in Fleetstreet. 1715. / Price 5s. ["5s" is in MS.]

British Museum [11611. d. 28].

I have not examined this book personally. From the description sent me it is evident that it is not identical with Book B. The *Epigram*, however, appears on the last page (p. 38).

D. THE / *Elzevir* MISCELLANY: / Consisting of ORIGINAL / POEMS, / TRANSLATIONS, and IMITATIONS. / By the most Eminent HANDS, / *VIZ.* / *Mr.* ROWE, / *Mr.* SHIPPEN, / *Dr.* KING, / *Mr.* SEWELL, / *Mr.* HILL, / *Mr.* EUSDEN, / *Mr.* BROOME, / *Mr.* JONES. / — / The Second Edition. / — / [ornament] / — / *LONDON*, / Printed for E. CURLL, at the *Dial and Bible* against / St. *Dunstan's* Church in *Fleet-street*. 1715. / Price 2*s.* 6*d.*

The names of the authors are arranged in two columns. The words "The Second Edition" are in black letter.

12°. Sig.: A, 12 leaves; B, 6 leaves; C, 5 leaves; B, C in sixes; D, 5 leaves.

Pp.: 4 pp.; [1]–42; 1–33; 1 p. (book-list).

This is a "made-up" miscellany (see under Book B, above). The first two leaves of *Poems on Several Occasions* were removed and two other leaves, one a plate and the other a title-page, were substituted. The title-page of *Original Poems And Translations* was likewise removed.

This volume also failed to sell, and Curll therefore utilized the copies remaining in 1726 in making up *Miscellanea*, The Second Volume (Griffith, No. 180; see below).

E. *The Art of Painting.* This is a large and fine paper copy of

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Griffith, No. 46: only thirty such copies were to be printed, according to the advertisement in the *Post-Man* of March 8–10, 1716. The title agrees with that of the ordinary edition, except that it is in black and red, and that the imprint reads: *LONDON:* / Printed for BERNARD LINTOTT, between / the *Temple* Gates, in *Fleetstreet.* 1716.

The collation agrees with that of Griffith, No. 46.

Professor Griffith, relying on the advertisement mentioned above, gives the date of publication of *The Art of Painting* as March 10 or earlier. The advertisement, however, reads, "There will speedily be published, Fresnoy's Art of Painting. . . . ." The first "This day" advertisement seems to be that in the *London Gazette* of March 17–20.

51. *Court Poems.* One of the two Yale copies of this book has an incorrect catchword, "CAR-," at the foot of page 1. The copies are otherwise identical.

53. *To the Ingenious Mr. Moore.* Advertised as "this day published" in the *Post-Boy,* April 28–May 1, 1716.

55. A full description of this volume follows:

STATE POEMS. / *VIZ.* / I. VERSES upon the *Sickness* and / *Recovery* of the Right Honourable / ROBERT WALPOLE, Esq; / By N. ROWE, Esq; &c. / II. The Three PATRIOTS. / III. The RAMBLE between BELINDA / a *Demy-Prude,* and CLOE a *Court-* / *Coquette.* In Imitation of FONTAINE. / IV. An EPILOGUE written for the / New *Comedy,* call'd the *Drummer,* / but not spoke. / V. The WORMS. A Satire. / By Mr. POPE. / — / [ornament] / — *LONDON:* / Printed for *J. Roberts* near the *Oxford Arms* in / *Warwick Lane.* 1716. Where may be had, / Mr. *POPE's Court Poems.* Price 6 *d.*

Half-title: STATE POEMS. / BY / The most Eminent Hands. / Price Six Pence.

The MS date "May 19" in the Aitken copy is corroborated by a "This day" advertisement in the *Post-Man,* May 17–19, 1716.

To the Ingenious Mr. Moore appears on page 24.

57. *The Worms.* This may be dated by the following advertisement in the *Post-Man,* May 3–5, 1716:

This Day is published the 2d Edition of The Worms: A Satire, Written by Mr. Pope. . . . . Mr. Curll hereby gives Notice, that he received a Letter

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on Wednesday last [May 2], sign'd Peter Pencil: If the said Peter will send Word how a Letter may be directed to him, he shall receive a satisfactory Answer to his Epistle.

It will be noted that the letter referred to by Curll was received on the day following the publication of the first edition of *To the Ingenious Mr. Moore.* One is led to wonder if Peter Pencil may not have been Pope in quest of information as to the manner in which Curll secured the manuscript of the poem.

59. [An advertisement by Pope.] This appeared in the *Post-Man*, July 28–31, 1716. As it has never been reprinted; I give it in full:

Whereas there have been publish'd in my Name, certain scandalous Libels, which I hope no Persons of Candor would have thought me capable of, I am sorry to find myself obliged to declare, that no Genuine Pieces of mine have been printed by any but Mr. Tonson and Mr. Lintot. And in particular, as to that which is entituled, A Version of the first Psalm; I hereby promise a Reward of three Guineas to any one who shall discover the Person or Persons concerned in the Publication of the said Libel, of which I am wholly ignorant.

A. POPE

One is inclined to agree with Pope's remark, in his letter of August 7, 1716, to Martha Blount, that he had "equivocated pretty genteelly" in this advertisement.

III. *More Court Poems.* I know of no complete copy of this book, but I believe it is possible to identify it. It was almost certainly a "made-up" miscellany, the remainder copies of which were in turn merged, in 1717, in *The Ladies Miscellany* (Griffith, No. 97). The title of the latter book reads, in part: ". . . . VI. On the Lady *Berkeley.* / — / To which are ADDED, / COURT POEMS, on Several Occasions. /. . . . ." The poems which follow *On the Lady Berkeley* in the miscellany are: (*a*) *Melesinda's Lamentation on the Burning of her Smock;* (*b*) *A Version of the First Psalm;* (*c*) *A Tale of the Finches;* (*d*) *To Sir Samuel Garth;* (*e*) *On Mr. Walpole's Recovery;* (*f*) *Ode to Hygeia;* (*g*) *The Patriots;* (*h*) *The Ramble;* (*i*) *An Epilogue written for . . . . the Drummer . . . . ;* (*j*) *To the Ingenious Mr. Moore;* (*k*) *The Force of Religion.*

It will be observed that the list of titles from (*a*) through (*j*) includes all the pieces named in the advertisement of *More Court Poems*

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cited by Professor Sherburn. An examination of *The Ladies Miscellany* discloses the fact these poems originally constituted three separate pamphlets, as follows: (*a*) and (*b*); (*c*); (*d–j*). Piece (*c*) was published separately by Roberts in 1716; the group (*d–j*) was also published by Roberts (in 1714) under the title, *State Poems* (Griffith, No. 55; see above). Piece (*k*) was almost certainly not a part of *More Court Poems*, as I hope to show.

More Court Poems, then, appears to have been constructed in the following manner. Roberts set up an 8° half-sheet containing the title-page and pieces (*a*) and (*b*); he then removed the title-pages from remainder copies of *A Tale of the Finches* and *State Poems*, and bound the three pamphlets as one book. Finding that this volume did not sell, he disposed of the remainder copies to Curll, who used them in making up *The Ladies Miscellany*. It was almost certainly at this time that *The Force of Religion*, originally published by Curll as a separate pamphlet, was added to the collection.

A Tale of the Finches, it will be noted, was not named in the advertisement of *More Court Poems*. That it was actually a part of the volume is indicated, however, by the catchword "A" at the foot of the page containing *A Version of the First Psalm*. The catchword cannot possibly refer to *State Poems*, the first poem of which is *To Sir Samuel Garth*.

If the foregoing reasoning is sound, the collation of *More Court Poems* is as follows:

8° in fours. Sig.: A, 4 leaves [first leaf lacking in copy seen]; B, C in fours; D, 2 leaves; B–D in fours; E, 2 leaves.

Pp.: [1]–8 [first 2 pages lacking in copy seen]; 1–20; 1–28.

IV, (V). *Ovid's Metamorphoses* (Sewell's ed.). Advertised as "this day published" in the *Post-Boy*, October 25–27, 1716.

A comparison of the first and second editions of this translation (both in the Yale Library) shows that the second is from a different setting of type. This indicates that the first edition was sold out, and makes its rarity even more remarkable. The second edition is described below (Book H).

66. *Three Hours After Marriage.* The last gathering has two leaves, the second of which carries a list of books printed for Lintot.

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IX. The collation of this item, as printed in the *London Mercury*, contained a number of errors. A correct description follows:

POEMS / ON / Several Occasions: / BY / *His Grace the Duke* / *of* Buckingham, / *Mr.* Wycherly, / *Lady* Winchelsea, / *Sir* Samuel Garth, / N. Rowe, *Esq*; / *Mrs.* Singer, / Bevil Higgons, *Esq*; / And other eminent Hands. / [ornament] / *LONDON:* / Printed for BERNARD LINTOT between / the *Temple*-Gates, 1717.

8°. Sig.: A, 4 leaves; B–N, *N, O, P, in eights; Q, 4 leaves.

Pp.: 8 pp.; [1]–192; 177–226; 2 pp.; 203, 204, 227, 228.

The two leaves between pages 226 and 227 were meant to be cut out by the binder and placed as follows: the two unnumbered pages, carrying a book-list, at the end of the book; the other leaf, in place of the original leaf O6.

In addition to the copy at Yale, a second copy of this rare volume has been located in the Dyce Collection in the South Kensington Museum.

87. Advertised in the *Post-Man*, July 9–11, 1717, as "this day published."

As Professor Griffith surmises, this is the same book as Griffith, No. 145, except that in the 1724 issue the 1717 title-page has been removed, and two new leaves, carrying a title and a dedication, have been substituted. The 1717 title-page reads:

THE / Agreeable Variety. / — / In TWO PARTS. / — / CONTAINING, / First, DISCOURSES, CHARACTERS, / and POEMS, relating to the most / useful Subjects; and extracted from / many worthy AUTHORS. / CONSISTING, / Secondly, Of LETTERS, POEMS, / *&c.* by several Private Persons, on / divers OCCASIONS. / Never before Printed. / [row of ornaments] / *LONDON:* / Printed for the Author, and Sold by G. STRAHAN, / over-against the *Royal Exchange*; A. BETSWORTH, / in *Paternoster-Row*; J. HOLLAND, and H. CLEMENTS, / in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*; J. WALTHO, in the / *Temple*; and C. KING, and B. BARKER, in *West-* / *minster Hall.* MDCCXVII.

91. *The Art of English Poetry.* See Book A, above.

92. The title-page is spaced as follows:

THE / Complete ART / OF / POETRY. / — / By CHARLES GILDON, *Gent.* / — / Vol. II. / — / [ornament] / — / *LONDON:* /

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Printed for CHARLES RIVINGTON, at the / *Bible* and *Crown* in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*, 1718.

Pope's name is not included in the list of poets quoted, at the beginning of the volume.

96. *The Iliad* (Vol. IV). Title in black only.

97. *The Ladies Miscellany.* See Book III, above.

109. *Eloisa to Abelard* (2d ed.). The date on the title-page is spaced "M DCC XX."

In the collation, "A–D in 4's" should be "A–D in 8's."

111. A complete description of this book follows:

A / COLLECTION / Of DIVINE / HYMNS and POEMS / UPON / Several Occasions: / By the / *E. of* Roscommon, / John Dryden, *Esq*; / *Mr.* Dennis, / *Mr.* Norris, / *Mrs.* Kath. Phillips, / *Mrs.* Singer, *& others.* / — / The THIRD EDITION. / — / To which is added, / I. Death's Vision: A Philosophical / Sacred Poem. Writ at the Request of / the late Mr. *Locke.* By Mr. *Reynolds.*/ II. *God, the Creator and Preserver.* By / the Reverend Mr. *Daniel.* With / several others not in the Former / Editions. / — / *LONDON:* / Printed for W. TAYLOR at the *Ship* in / *Pater-Noster-Row.* MDCCXIX.

12°. Sig.: A, 6 leaves; B–M in twelves; frontispiece, facing title-page, not counted in signatures.

Pp.: 2 pp. (frontispiece); 12 pp.; 1–256; 8 pp.

Frontispiece, L. Cheron Inv.—G. V^{dr} Gucht Scul.

F. SCATING: / A / POEM. / — / By Mr. ADDISON. / — / [ornament] / = / *LONDON:* / Printed for E. CURLL in *Fleetstreet.* / — / M.DCC.XX.

Half-title: [ornament] / Mr. *Addison's* Poem / UPON / SCATING. / AND / Mr. *Pope's* Verses / TO THE / Lady *Mary Wortley Montague.* / [Price Six Pence.] / [ornament].

8°, signed in fours. Sig.: A–C in fours.

Pp.: 6 pp.; 1–17; 1 p.

The verses *To Lady Mary Wortley Montague* appear on pages 15–17.

This is probably the pamphlet which Professor Sherburn notes as being advertised in the *Evening Post* of March 29, 1720 (Sherburn, No. XIV). It is advertised still earlier, however, in the *Post-Boy*, March 19–22, 1719–20, as follows:

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This Day is publish'd the Two following Poems, The Second Eve; a Poem on the Lady Mary Wortley Mountague. By Mr. Pope. 2. Scating: A Poem. By Mr. Addison. With a Preface concerning it. Price 6 d. Printed for T. Bickerton in Pater-Noster-Row, W. Meadows in Cornhill, E. Curll in Fleetstreet, and T. Griffith at Charing-Cross. . . . .

The Preface mentioned in the advertisement attempts to show that the poem on skating, ascribed in the *Musae Anglicanae* to Philip Frowde, was really the work of Addison.

The copy described above has only Curll's name in the imprint. There may be several variants of the title-page, one for each of the publishers concerned.

115. *The Iliad* (Vol. V). Title in black only.

119. *The Iliad* (Vol. VI). Title in black only.

120. *A New Miscellany*. Advertised as "this day published," in the *Post-Boy*, May 17–19, 1720.

123. *An Historical Account*, etc. In the imprint the date reads "M.DCC.XX."

128. *The Works of the Right Honourable Joseph Addison*. In the imprint, for "Katherine" read "Katharine." The date is spaced: "M DCC XXI."

G. *The Works of John Sheffield*, etc. This book (in the possession of the present writer) differs from Griffith, No. 137, in the following particulars: (1) both the portrait and the monument plate are placed in Volume I; (2) the imprint reads, "*LONDON:* / Printed by JOHN BARBER, Alderman of / *London*, MDCCXXIII."; (3) the pages excised from Volume II have been supplied by printed cancels, as in the Newberry Library copy.

I do not believe that Volume II has been re-made to satisfy Whig censorship, since the cancels contain all the matter which, according to contemporary journals, caused the suppression of the original sheets. The best evidence of this fact is that every one of the objectionable passages cited by *Pasquin*, No. XIII, occurs verbatim in the book as it now stands. It may therefore be assumed, I think, that these cancels are a reprint of the original suppressed leaves. Two possible explanations of their presence in the volume may be suggested:

1. The cancels were printed and sold surreptitiously for insertion in mutilated copies; and the 1724 edition, advertised in the *Evening*

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Post (see Sherburn, No. XVIII) was a new book, from which the objectionable matter was excluded.

In favor of this view is the existence of a book called *Buckingham Restored*, with the imprint "Hague: Printed by T. Johnson in the Year 1727." This contains the two suppressed pieces (*Some Account of the Revolution* and *A Feast of the Gods*), and is some evidence that they were not included in the edition permitted to be published in 1724. But the 1726 edition of the *Works* has all the suppressed material; and *Buckingham Restored*, which is a cheap reprint, may have been designed for a public which was not interested in the complete *Works*.

2. The cancels were not printed until 1724, when the republication of the book in its original form was permitted. The Jacobite passages (which might have been dangerous in 1723, during the excitement over the Atterbury plot) were no longer regarded, in 1724, as sufficiently offensive to warrant continued suppression, especially since their general tenor had already become public through the Whig newspapers.

Against this view may be urged the improbability of such a *volte-face* by the censors in so short a time. Moreover, my copy of the 1723 edition has in its inside cover the following note in an eighteenth-century hand: "Best Edition—the Edition of 1729 in 2 Vol. octavo being castrated on account of some political Opinions & Statements regarding the Revolution." If this information is correct (I have not seen a copy of the 1729 edition), then the 1726 edition may be incorrectly dated, or it may have been issued surreptitiously. In this case the 1724 edition, whether newly printed or not, probably lacked the two suppressed pieces.

Nichols states in his *Literary Anecdotes* (I, 258) that William Bowyer printed the Duke of Buckingham's poems for Barber in 1723. No doubt by "poems" Nichols means "works," but it is not quite clear that the reference is to the edition issued in 1723; the hypothetical 1724 edition might have been printed in 1723 and issued in 1724. The imprints of the two 1723 title-pages are of no assistance, one reading "printed for" Barber and the other "printed by" Barber—a fact that is not reassuring to bibliographers who might wish to rely on the truth of such phrases, since it is quite clear that the two 1723 issues are identical, except for the title-pages.

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In any case, it appears that the bibliographical irregularities in Volume II of the edition of 1723 existed from the beginning, and some reason other than Whig censorship must be found for them. The misnumbering of pages 105–12 as 289–96 may, I think, be set down to carelessness on the part of the compositor, who gave to sheet P the page numbers appropriate to sheet Pp. The presence of sheets **B, **C, and *R, and of leaf *65, is not so easy to explain. If they contained treasonable matter it might be supposed that Pope had printed them with the intention of including them only in copies to be supplied to persons known to have Tory sympathies. This would be in line with the charge made by *Pasquin*, No. XIII, and it may conceivably be true of leaf *65, which contains a rather bitter reflection on the enemies of James II. Excepting one comment on the bravery of James II, however, there is nothing in the other starred sheets which could possibly offend the most ardent Whig. It is probable that **B and **C, containing the *Memoirs* of Buckingham's life, were intentionally paged and signed to stand apart from the rest of the volume, and that *R, which contains a speech of no great interest, was added by Pope as an after-thought.

The *St. James's Journal* of Saturday, February 2, 1723, states that the *Works* were seized "last Saturday" [January 26] and not on Sunday, as the *British Journal* declares. If the *St. James's Journal* is correct, the book had but one day's uninterrupted sale—Friday, January 25.

Much of the material for the foregoing note has been supplied by Professor Sherburn.

142. *The Poetical Register.* In the title, for "An" read "an"; insert a comma after "Sculptures." In the imprint, delete the comma after "Meadows."

144. A more complete description of this item follows:

The British Journal.

No. 1, Sept. 22, 1722–No. 277, January 13, 1728 (2 issues numbered "246"). Succeeded by *The British Journal: or, The Censor*, No. 1, January 20, 1728.

Folio. At first usually six pages to a number, the last leaf being a half-sheet; later, four pages to a number.

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No. CXIII. Nov. 14, 1724. *The* WISH; *to a Young Lady on her Birth-Day. / By Mr.* Pope.

The poem is preceded by a letter addressed to the editor, dated November 6, and signed "G. L."

H. *OVID*'S / METAMORPHOSES. / In FIFTEEN BOOKS. / Made ENGLISH by / SEVERAL HANDS. / — / ADORN'D with CUTS. / VOLUME I. / — / The Second EDITION, with great Improvements / By Mr. *SEWELL.* / — / [ornament] / *LONDON:* / Printed by S. PALMER, for A. BETTESWORTH, / at the *Red-Lyon*, and E. TAYLOR, at the *Black-* / *Swan*, both in *Pater-Noster-row*; W. MEARS, at the / *Lamb* without *Temple-Barr*; and T. WOODWARD, / at the *Half-Moon* against St. *Dunstan*'s Church, in / *Fleet-street.* MDCCXXIV.

12°. Sig.: A, 6 leaves; B–M in twelves.

Pp.: 2 pp.; [i]–x; 1–258; 6 pp.

Frontispiece and eight plates.

The title-page of the second volume follows that of the first, except for the omission of the phrase "In FIFTEEN BOOKS," the substitution of a different ornament, and the omission of the hyphen in "*Fleet-street*" in the imprint.

Sig.: A–I in twelves; K, 6 leaves.

Pp.: [1]–224; 4 pp.

The "great improvements" advertised on the title-page do not affect the text of Pope's contribution.

180. *Miscellanea.* The Second Volume. (Variant *c*). The collation of the Yale copy of this variant agrees with that described in the Grolier Club catalogue, but not examined by Professor Griffith, except that the Yale copy has two additional leaves at the beginning of group *u*. These leaves are the frontispiece and the title-page of *The Elzevir Miscellany* (2d ed., 1715) (see Book D, above).

J. *Miscellanea.* The Second Volume. (Variant *d*). This consists of groups *r*, *v*, and *t*. The title-page and the last leaf are lacking in the Yale copy.

190. A more complete description of this book follows:

TRAVELS / INTO SEVERAL / Remote Nations / OF THE / WORLD. / — / In FOUR PARTS. / — / By *LEMUEL GULLIVER*, / First a SURGEON, and then a CAPTAIN / of several

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SHIPS. / — / To which are prefix'd, / Several Copies of VERSES Expla- / planatory and Commendatory; never be- / fore printed. / — / Vol. I. / — / The SECOND EDITION. / — / *LONDON: / Printed for* BENJ. MOTTE, *at the* Middle / Temple Gate *in* Fleet-street. M DCC XXVII.

The misprint "Expla- / planatory" is not noted by Jackson.

Sig.: A, 1 leaf; a, 6 leaves (first signed a2); b, 4 leaves; balance of A, 7 leaves; B–K in eights; L, 1 leaf; *, 2 leaves; balance of L, 7 leaves; M–U in eights; X, 4 leaves; Y, 1 leaf.

Pp.: [i, ii]; 20 pp.; [iii]–xii; [1]–148; 10 pp.; [1]–164.

191. *The Rival Modes.* The Second Edition. Except for the title-page and the half-title, this is identical with the first edition (Griffith, No. 182). A printer's error has been corrected on page 25, but the type has not been otherwise reset.

XIX. A more complete description of this book follows:

A / COLLECTION / OF / EPIGRAMS. / — / To which is Prefix'd, / A Critical DISSERTATION on / this Species of POETRY. / — / [4 lines English verse] / — / [ornament] / — / *LONDON: / Printed for* J. WALTHOE, *over-against / the* Royal-Exchange, *in* Cornhill. / — / M.DCC.XXVII.

Half-title: A / COLLECTION / OF / EPIGRAMS.

12°, alternately in eights and fours (cf. Book 27, above).

Sig.: A, 8 leaves; a, 4 leaves; B–Z alternately in eights and fours.

Pp.: [i]–xxiii; 265 pp.

Besides the epigram noted by Professor Sherburn, CVIII (*On a Lady who shed her Water, etc.*) and CDXLI (*On a Fan, in which was painted the Story of Cephalus and Procris*) are also by Pope.

K. THE / HISTORY / OF THE / NORFOLK STEWARD / CONTINUED. / — / In TWO PARTS. / — / Part I. Containing an Account of Mr. / *LYN*'s private Character, and the Me- / thods by which he grew Rich. / Part II. Containing some farther Account / of Mr. *LYN*'s Management, and also / of his Stating and Ballancing Accounts. / — / [1 line Greek.—Anacreon.] / [1 line Latin.—Hor.] / — / *LONDON:* / Printed, and *Dublin* Re-printed in the Year / — / M DCC XXVIII.

Half-title?

8°, signed in fours. Sig.: 3 leaves; B–D in fours.

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Pp.: 6 pp.; 1–24.

This may be a genuine Dublin reprint, or it may be Griffith, No. 197*a*.

207. *The Posthumous Works of William Wycherly, Esq.* The "two scarce cancelled pages" are probably pages 239–40, which contain an erotic poem.

211. *The Dunciad, Variorum.* The running head of leaf a4 has the misprint "Puplisher."

219. *The Dunciad. With Notes Variorum,* etc. The owl plate, with the half-title on the recto, is used as a frontispiece in the Yale copy.

XX. A more complete description of this book follows:

MISCELLANEOUS / POEMS, / BY / Several HANDS: / PARTICULARLY / The D— of W—N, / Sir SAMUEL GARTH, / Dean S—, / Mr. JOHN HUGHES, / Mr. THOMSON, / Mrs. C—R. / — / PUBLISH'D BY / Mr. *RALPH.* / — / *LONDON:* / Printed by *C. Ackers,* for W. MEADOWS at the *An-* / *gel* in *Cornhill*; J. BATLEY at the *Dove* in *Pater-* / *noster-Row*; T. COX at the *Lamb* under the *Royal-* / *Exchange*; S. BILLINGSLEY at the *Judge's Head* / in *Chancery-Lane*; R. HETT at the *Bible* and *Crown* / in the *Poultry* near *Cheapside*; and J. GRAY at the / *Cross-Keys* in the *Poultry.* M DCC XXIX.

12°. Sig.: A, 6 leaves; B–P in twelves; Q, 6 leaves.

Pp.: 12 pp.; [1]–348.

Prudery ("What is prudery?") is printed on page 224.

L. *Timoleon.* This is a later issue of the edition described as Griffith, No. 228. There is no change in the title. The leaf following the title-page is signed "A3," indicating that leaf A, not leaf A8, is missing. It was quite possibly a half-title. The Preface, page [A6], is longer and more carefully phrased than in the earlier issue. The last gathering, F, has four leaves, of which all but the last page are occupied by two epilogues and a song; the last page carries a book-list.

238. A more complete description of this book follows:

THE / Present State / OF THE / REPUBLICK / OF / LETTERS. / For *January,* 1728. / VOL. I. / [2 lines Latin.—Horat.] / *LONDON:* / Printed for WILLIAM and JOHN INNYS, / at the West End of St. Paul's, M DCC XXVIII. / Price One Shilling.

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8°. Continued to be issued monthly until December, 1736, after which it was merged in *The Works of the Learned.* In its bound form there are two volumes to the year.

Vol. V. June, 1730. Art. XLII, p. 456. *An Account of a* Latin *and* English IN- / SCRIPTION, *proposed to be engrav'd on / the* Monument *that is shortly to be E- / rected in* Westminster-Abbey, *to the / Memory of Sir* ISAAC NEWTON. *By / Mr.* POPE.

The Latin version differs widely from that in the *Grub-Street Journal.*

M. THE / TRAGEDY / OF / *SOPHONISBA.* / Acted at the / THEATRE-ROYAL / IN / *DRURY-LANE.* / By His MAJESTY's Servants. / — / By Mr. *THOMSON.* / — / [ornament] / = / *LONDON:* / Printed, and sold by the Booksellers of *London* and / *Westminster.* / M. DCC.XXX.

12°, signed in sixes. Sig.: 1 leaf; A, 1 leaf; A, 4 leaves; B–G in sixes; H, 2 leaves.

Pp.: 8 pp.; 1–76; 4 pp.

Pope's Prologue is printed on page A2.

N. THE / TRAGEDY / OF / *SOPHONISBA.* / Acted at the / THEATRE-ROYAL / IN / *DRURY-LANE.* / By his MAJESTY's Servants. / — / By Mr. *THOMSON.* / = / *DUBLIN:* / Printed by S. POWELL, / For GEORGE RISK, at the *Shakespear*'s Head, / GEORGE EWING, at the *Angel* and *Bible,* And / WILLIAM SMITH, at the *Hercules,* Booksellers in / *Dame*'s-*street,* M DCC XXX.

8°. A–D in eights; E, 4 leaves.

Pp.: 8 pp.; [1]–64.

Pope's Prologue is printed on page A4.

O. THE / TRAGEDY / OF / SOPHONISBA. / BY MR. THOMSON. / [large ornament] / LONDON, / PRINTED FOR THE COMPANY. / — / M. DCC. XXX.

8°. A–D in eights; E, 6 leaves.

Pp.: [1]–74; 2 pp.

Pope's Prologue is printed on page 7.

This book may be Griffith, No. 251 or No. 252.

255. *Fog's Weekly Journal. Dawley Farm* appears in No. 138, June 26, 1731.

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257. The *Gentleman's Magazine* (second title-page). There is no period after "St" in the imprint.

P. THE / *WINDSOR* MEDLEY: / BEING / A Choice COLLECTION of several / Curious Pieces in PROSE and VERSE: / That were handed about in MANUSCRIPT / and PRINT, / During the Stay of the Court at WINDSOR-CASTLE / last Summer. / Most of them never before Printed. / *VIZ.* / [a partial list of the Contents in two columns] / — / The THIRD EDITION Corrected, with large Additions. / = / *LONDON:* / Printed for A. MOORE, near St. *Paul*'s; and sold by the / Booksellers of *London* and *Westminster*. 1731. / (Price One Shilling.)

8°. Sig.: 1 leaf; B–H in eights; I, 3 leaves.

Pp.: 2 pp.; 1–62.

A Question ("Tell, if you can, which did the worse") is printed on page 22.

265. A corrected description of this book follows:

AN / EPISTLE / TO THE / Right Honourable / *RICHARD* Earl of *BURLINGTON*. / Occasion'd by his Publishing PALLADIO'S Designs of / the BATHS, ARCHES, THEATRES, *&c.* of Ancient / ROME. / — / By Mr. *POPE*. / — / [2 lines Latin.—Hor.] / — / The SECOND EDITION. / — / [ornament, as in the first edition] / — / *LONDON:* / Printed for L. GILLIVER at *Homer*'s Head in *Fleet-* / *street*, MDCCXXXI. Price 1 *s.*

Folio. Sig.: 2 leaves; B–D in 2's.

Pp.: [1]–14; 2 pp. (last blank).

268. *A Collection of Pieces*, etc. As this is a "made-up" miscellany, there are naturally variations between copies. The Yale copy contains the same pamphlets as that described by Professor Griffith, but its collation differs slightly:

Sig.: A, / A–F in fours; / 3 leaves, B–F in fours; / b, B–H in fours; I, 2 leaves; / a, / a–c in fours; d, four leaves, with a quarter-sheet, *d, *d2, inserted; / B–F in fours; G, 1 leaf.

288. *The First Satire of the Second Book of Horace* (variant *a*). The catchword on page 13 is "In" (erroneous).

Q. AN / ESSAY / ON / MAN. / In EPISTLES to a Friend. / — / EPISTLE III. / — / [ornament] / *LONDON:* Printed. /

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DUBLIN, / Re-printed, by and for GEORGE FAULKNER, / in *Essex-Street*, opposite to the *Bridge*, / MDCCXXXIII.

Small 8°, signed in fours. Sig.: A, B in fours; C, 2 leaves.

Pp.: [1]–18; 2 pp. (book-list).

Line 60 is unnumbered; line 70 is misnumbered 76; line 129 is misnumbered 130, and this error is continued to line 308, which is misnumbered 310; line 313 is misnumbered 315.

A comparison of these mistakes in numbering with those made in Griffith, No. 308, shows that the latter book served as copy for this Dublin edition. The page numbers are centrally placed, in parentheses; the paragraphs are spaced; the final note is in two lines.

R. *An Essay on Man.* Epistle III. The note in the Lefferts catalogue, referred to by Professor Griffith in his description of No. 315, is correct. The Harvard Library possesses an issue in which line 315 is correctly numbered.

317. *The Impertinent.* If the misspelling of Wilford's name in the imprint was intended as a safeguard in the event of prosecution, the bookseller soon recovered from his fears, as his name is correctly spelled in advertisements of the book in the *Grub-Street Journal* of November 8 and the *Weekly Miscellany* of November 24.

S. AN / ESSAY / ON / MAN, / Being the FIRST BOOK of / *ETHIC EPISTLES.* / TO / *HENRY St. JOHN*, Lord *Bolingbroke.* / — / [engraved ornament] / — / *LONDON*, Printed: And, / Re-printed in *Dublin*, by GEORGE FAULKNER, in / *Essex-Street*, opposite to the Bridge, 1734.

I have not examined this book, which is in the Harvard Library.

ARTHUR E. CASE

YALE UNIVERSITY

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THE BRIDGEWATER MANUSCRIPT OF *COMUS*

The Bridgewater Manuscript of Milton's *Comus* has always been held by the family and is now at Bridgewater House, the London residence of the Earl of Ellesmere.[1] This version has had less attention from English scholars than the other contemporary forms of *Comus* because the Trinity College draft in Milton's own hand is of higher authority in reference to the three editions of the masque printed during his lifetime. The 1637 text, published anonymously, and that in the 1645 edition of the *Minor Poems* are held to be the products of scrupulous revision by the author; they consequently outrank the earlier manuscript materials and the edition printed for the blind Milton in 1673.

Quite apart from these facts the Bridgewater Manuscript has unique value as a work of collaboration. For the first presentation of the masque Henry Lawes set the songs to music, and he may have suggested cuts in the longer speeches that make this version over a hundred lines shorter than any other form. As actor of the principal rôle he may have had the privilege of adapting the text; quite as surely his musical skill and familiarity with masque traditions would give weight to his suggestions in regard to stage directions and settings.[2] Though such points have had notice in the two editions of this text,[3] no record

[1] Through the courtesy of the Earl of Ellesmere and with assistance from Mr. Strachan Holme, librarian at Bridgewater House, the notes for this study were made from the manuscript.

[2] In 1634 the masque tradition was drawing to its close as the aristocratic followers of Charles I withdrew their patronage from this blend of music, poetry, and pageantry. In the final development of the form Henry Lawes had an important part, in company with his brother William, Inigo Jones, Carew, and Shirley. Lawes gathered the experience for the *Comus* production at Ludlow Castle by assisting with the sumptuous performances of other masques at Whitehall and the Inner Temple. His place in the cast was a natural result of that experience joined with his service as teacher of music in the Bridgewater family.

[3] The full text of the Bridgewater *Comus* appeared as Appendix II, pp. 167–92, in H. J. Todd's *Comus*, etc., Canterbury, 1798. See also his modifying notes in his *Poetical Works of John Milton*, V (1801), 431–38. Disagreements with Todd's assertions are too numerous for mention here. All his comparative notes on the *Comus* text are open to question because based on Thomas Warton's study of the Trinity College Manuscript instead of on original work. The other printing is that of Lady Alix Egerton: *Milton's Comus, being the Bridgewater Manuscript, with Notes and a Short Family Memoir*, London, 1910. Though not devised as a critical study of all the *Comus* materials, this edition is noteworthy on account of its excellent Introduction based on unpublished papers of the family dating from the seventeenth century.

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has been made of some significant peculiarities in the stage directions. These have a bearing on the relationship existing in 1634 between Lawes and Milton.

One unique feature of the manuscript has been noted, namely, the use of nineteen lines of the Epilogue as printed in the 1637 text for the opening of the first speech. Henry Lawes in the rôle of the Attendant Spirit[1] spoke these lines and made them more significant dramatically than they are in the printed versions of the masque. Presumably in Milton's original draft they actually stood first or else they were shifted at the request of Lawes for his own advantage as an actor. Another variant from all other versions is the breaking of the lines preluding the rising of Sabrina[2] into seven speeches, whereas elsewhere the entire passage is given to the Attendant Spirit. This too may be a mark of Lawes's handiwork. Though many verbal differences exist in the texts of the two manuscripts, none of these can be ascribed to Lawes with any assurance,[3] so that a study of his modifications must be restricted to the title-page of the Bridgewater Manuscript and the stage directions. Only the two passages noted above evidence textual handling that cannot as plausibly be credited to Milton.

One erroneous idea regarding the Bridgewater Manuscript is that it is in the hand of Henry Lawes. The notion grew from his own assertion that frequent copying of the masque for others so tired his pen that he was forced in 1637 to put it into print.[4] Todd held this belief even after seeing the manuscript,[5] presumably because he had no authentic specimens of the handwriting of Lawes, and his assertion still stands without printed denial. Knowledge that the manuscript is not in the hand of Milton led to this *non sequitur* conclusion. That the version as a whole is not the work of Lawes is made certain through a comparison with four accepted specimens of his writing preserved in

[1] In the Bridgewater version called the "Guardian Spirit" or "Demon," as in the Trinity College Manuscript.

[2] Ll. 869–89 in standard editions.

[3] No substantial evidence strengthens the alluring idea of Todd (1798 ed., p. 40) that Lawes is responsible for the "professional alteration" in l. 230 of the Bridgewater Manuscript making it read "And hold a counterpoint to all heav'n's harmonies" in place of the standard line of Milton (l. 243) "And give resounding grace to all Heav'ns harmonies." Had he seen the Trinity Manuscript, he would have noted that Milton's effectual blotting of the essential words left visible enough of the word "hold" to prove that he himself originated the musical term.

[4] Dedication of the 1637 edition.

[5] *Op. cit.*, V, 431–32.

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the British Museum and elsewhere.[1] The same handwriting test proves, however, that he did make significant additions to this manuscript after the full form had been put down by another hand.

All the evidence suggests that the Bridgewater Manuscript was written by a skilled copyist. Marginal rulings, particularly for the ornamental lettering of the title-page, and a use of red ink for the names introducing all the speeches are indications of special care in preparing a copy for the library of the Earl.[2] With no available evidence concerning the person who wrote out the manuscript in its entirety, we may consider the additions made in the hand of Henry Lawes. This may be done advantageously in connection with a description of the manuscript.

The forty-eight unnumbered pages, measuring six by seven-and-a-half inches each, are arranged in six gathers of two folded sheets.[3] The first gather of eight pages has the formal title on *2a;* on *3a* the text begins. The sixth gather of eight pages has the closing lines on the first half-page. The total of lines exclusive of stage directions is 908 as compared with the standard form having 1,023 lines.

Beneath the formal heading of the title-page and in the same hand is a line that reads "The chiefe persons in the rep'sentacon were." Immediately below, but in the writing of Lawes, are given the names of the three children of the Earl having rôles:

THE LORD BRACKLEY
THE LADY ALICE } EGERTON
MR. THOMAS }

At the foot of the page is the entry of still a third person, the second Earl of Bridgewater, crediting Milton with authorship of the masque.

[1] The Museum specimens are: a note from Lawes to Milton, undated except as it bears upon the Italian journey, regarding a safe-conduct overseas for Milton and one servant, Add. MS 36,354; a letter from Lawes to Captain Thomas Faulconbridge, Add. MS 33,965, fol. 58; four sheets of words and music for *Comus*, the fourth having his signature, Add. MS 11,518. The last item has been compared with a large collection of signed manuscript copies of songs set by Lawes which is now in the possession of Rev. H. R. Cooper-Smith.

[2] The second Earl of Bridgewater wrote on the title-page "Author Jo: Milton" (Egerton ed., p. 32). Identification of his handwriting implies that this note was made long after the performance, for he was but a boy in 1634.

[3] In every case the fold covers all but the ends of the watermark. These ends are of conventional design, being pointed grape clusters, with a fool's cap forming the tip of one end.

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In the upper right margin of 6*b* is the stage direction "they all scatter." The words are cramped because of the small space available, but the color of the ink and individual letter forms connect them clearly with the Lawes entry on the title-page. Page 19*b* has the direction "Sabrina descends and the lady rises out of her seate," and 20*a* has the words "Songe ends." All three of these stage directions are duplicated in the Trinity College Manuscript, where they stand significantly in the right margins over against solid text matter as written by Milton when composing the masque. The deduction is that as evident additions to Milton's solitary composition of *Comus* these are related directly to the notes of Lawes as added to the Bridgewater Manuscript. Considering the Lawes entries in their reference to the manuscript in which they stand, we may feel sure that Lawes used this finished copy with his mind on the first staging at Ludlow Castle on September 29, 1634.

The stage directions incorporated in the Bridgewater Manuscript by the copyist have still greater significance when checked against their appearance in the Trinity College Manuscript. Where the former has (ff. 1. 230) "Comus looks in and speaks" Milton has changed his original reading "Comus enters" to correspond. Where the Bridgewater Manuscript has as the second sentence of the stage direction following line 639 "Comus appears with his rabble, and the Lady set in an inchaunted chayre, to whome he offers his glasse, which she puts by, and goes about to rise," Milton has "Comus is discov*e*r'd with his rabble & the Ladie set in an inchanted chaire. She offers to rise." The Bridgewater Manuscript follows the Demon's song beginning "Sabrina fair" with "The verse to sing or not," but Milton has no such stage direction. Instead, at the right of the next line of text, he wrote "to be said." His couplet

> Listen and appeare to us
> In name of great Oceanus

is thereby noted as the place to resume speech, and it is followed by six marginal lines of text for insertion. Here are proved contacts of the two manuscripts; they have a relationship recorded in no printed version of the masque. It is significant that this evidence accords with Milton's marginal note after what is now line 671 of the standard text: "that w^{ch} follows heere is in the pasted leafe begins [two words deleted] and first behold this" and his insertion of thirty-four lines

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that also are given in the Bridgewater Manuscript.[1] The evident conclusion is that the Bridgewater Manuscript in its entirety represents a shortened version of the Trinity College Manuscript, being itself a fair copy.

The other deduction from these compared stage directions is that either Milton revised his original stage directions somewhat while working alone or that he did so after conferring with Lawes. Two arguments make the second possibility virtually a certainty: all of Milton's agreements with the cases cited from the Bridgewater Manuscript are either alterations of directions standing in proper spacing within his Trinity Manuscript text or else they are additions put in the margins at points exactly agreeing with their placing in the Bridgewater Manuscript. Like forms, with some verbal variation, demonstrate Milton's collaboration with another person interested in the staging of the masque at Ludlow. Such collaboration is evident only through study of the two manuscripts, for he obscured it by other revisions when making ready for the 1645 edition.

When taken in connection with the shift of nineteen lines noted previously, these added stage directions signify that Milton personally had little to do with the production. They further may be vitally related to the fact that the longer version of the masque was printed in 1637 without his name as author. Had Lawes any peculiar reason for failing to register Milton as author when he wrote the names of the three children on the title-page of the Bridgewater Manuscript? Did he omit his own name as well through a feeling of class deference? If the masque in 1637 was actually "not openly acknowledg'd by the Author,"[2] whereas Lawes had the status of collaborator in the printing as in the staging, one can but presume Milton then to have been restrained by diffidence—not by inordinate pride inciting toward perfected workmanship before he should offer his work to the public. Some account is to be taken of the motto from Vergil appearing on the title-page of the 1637 edition

> Eheu quid volui misero mihi! storibus austrum
> Perditus—

as being a sincere reflection of his feeling. He was possessed by both motives, beyond a doubt; yet at the staging of his masque in the year

[1] Cf. also the Bridgewater Manuscript stage direction after l. 886, "2 Songe presents them their father and mother," and Milton in the Trinity Manuscript giving merely "2 song."

[2] Dedication of the 1637 edition.

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1634 Milton was partially dependent upon the advice of Lawes and in 1637 was acting under pressure to print. The manuscript evidence intensifies what Milton has recorded of his uncertainty, mistrust of self, and his dependence upon others during the years before his Italian journey. To ignore these facts gives the only means possible for those who argue to the contrary concerning the essential quality of Milton's youth.

Recurring for a moment to the Bridgewater Manuscript, one sees the meaning of Milton's deference to the experience of Lawes in the composition of his masque and finds the cause of his gracious tribute in the sonnet beginning

> Harry, whose tuneful and well measur'd song
> First taught our English music how to span
> Words with just note and accent, not to scan
> With Midas' ears, committing short and long. . . . .

This deftness in setting lyrical verses to music won similar poetic tributes from many other contemporaries, as can be seen in the introductory pages of the collected editions of the Lawes settings published during the seventeenth century. It is noteworthy, however, that Milton was the only poet to find him serviceable as collaborator, musician, actor, producer, and editor. The obligation seems unique in the story of English letters. It should be recorded still further of Henry Lawes that his 1637 edition of the masque, with the famous Dedication, brought Milton the favor of Henry Wotton and thereby the introductory letters that gave the poet free entry everywhere along the route of his continental tour. Lawes likewise procured passport privileges for Milton and his manservant.[1] For all these signs of friendship toward Milton, Henry Lawes ranks as more than a symbolic Attendant Spirit treading the poetic mazes of *Comus* at Ludlow Castle. He quite evidently put Milton in the way of favor from the aristocracy, but above that is his rôle of collaborator in staging and publishing *Comus*. It is a fair question whether Milton would have put off his natural tendency toward solitariness without energetic help from Henry Lawes, musician of the Chapel Royal to Charles I and fashioner of delicate airs for a new lyric poetry.

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[1] Add. MS 36,354.

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MILTONIANA (1679–1741)

The subject of Milton's early influence has now been studied so minutely[1] that any additional illustrations, even of a minor character, may be assumed to have an accidental value. With one exception, the seven poems which are here described, poems published in the period between 1679 and 1729, have been unnoted by students of Milton, and some of them have escaped the observation of bibliographers. This obscurity is in itself sufficient proof that they are intrinsically of no great moment. Such significance as they have consists in the additional light they throw: first, upon the widespread interest in Milton; and, second, upon the strange reactions of minor poets to a literary example which they admired but could not appreciate. It is no longer necessary to argue that crude workmanship is sometimes of peculiar historical value, for inept writers often reveal popular movements more clearly and expose literary processes more nakedly than their greater contemporaries do. This is especially true of various minor poets during the transitional period of the eighteenth century. Some of the following specimens are worthy of note chiefly because they illustrate with remarkable clearness a crude stage of the romantic evolution and the ironical part Milton played in the change.

With the poems I have included also an apparently unknown critical essay of 1741 on *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained.*

I

The anonymous poem *Order and Disorder: or, The World Made and Undone* (1679) appears to be both an imitation of *Paradise Lost* and also a veiled rebuke of Milton. Nowhere is *Paradise Lost* or its author mentioned, but apparently the very small poem was suggested by the very great one. That the writer could have traversed the same biblical ground Milton had gone over twelve years earlier without being

[1] J. W. Good, *Studies in the Milton Tradition* (1915); George Sherburn, "The Early Popularity of Milton's *Minor Poems*," *Modern Philology*, XVII, 259–540 (reprinted separately, 1920); Raymond D. Havens, *The Influence of Milton in English Poetry*, 1922; other studies cited by these writers; and H. G. De Maar, *A History of Modern English Romanticism* (1924), I, 162, note.

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aware of the fact is highly improbable. His version of the Genesis story consists of five cantos, written in the stiffest of heroic couplets. The ostensible motive is explained in the Preface. Like most of the English poets since the time of Wyatt, the author found it advisable in manhood to do penance for a strain of youthful paganism. From having translated "the account some old Poets and Philosophers give of the original of things" the author had become so affected by the blasphemous inventions of human wit that he now thought it

> necessary to have recourse to the fountain of Truth, to wash out all ugly wild impressions. . . . . Lest that arrive by misadventure, which never shall by my consent, that any of the pudled water, my wanton youth drew from the prophane Helicon of ancient Poets, should be sprinkled about the world, I have for prevention sent forth this Essay; with a Profession that I disclaim all doctrines of God and his works, but what I learn out of his own word, and have experienc'd it to be a very unsafe and unprofitable thing for those that are young, before their faith be fixed, to exercise themselves in the study of vain, foolish, atheistical Poesie.

While this corrective design is stated with reference only to the author's own youthful indiscretions, he evidently had his eye on other transgressors. Milton himself had been uneasy concerning the use of pagan myth in a Christian epic, and the apology he offers is hardly satisfactory. The first object of his puny successor was to remove from the Mosaic legend all accretions from heathen fable and philosophy. He returns to this subject in that part of the poem itself which describes the state of the fallen angels. Milton had managed in this connection to unite Christian and pagan legend by repeating the traditional explanation that the various false deities worshiped by the Gentiles were really Satan and his followers in disguise. To the poet of *Order and Disorder* the fables of the classics contained at most "some truths, wrapt up in many lies."

> But not to name these foolish impious tales,
> Which stifle truth in her pretended veils,
> Let us in its own blazing conduct go,
> And look no further than that light doth show [p. 47].

Milton had thrown out cautions of the same kind; the difference is that the *poeta minimus* actually conforms to his doctrine that a Christian poem should admit no defilement whatever from the alien.

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He was determined to weed out, also, the numerous inventions made by the Christian poets themselves. The old Genesis story had been so daubed over by the redactors that the divine truth had become deeply incrusted with human error. Christian poets had thus added to the confusion that originated in pagan falsehood. In this part of his criticism the censor was almost certainly glancing at *Paradise Lost*. Considered merely with reference to historical content, Milton's epic is distinguished from *The Devine Weekes and Workes* of Du Bartas and from other precursors by an artificial union of the two testaments; by means of the Vergilian device of the vision from the mount Milton imparts to Adam the entire doctrine of Christianity. This unauthorized procedure is alluded to, I think, in the following passage of *Order and Disorder:*

> How far our parents, whose sad eyes were fixt
> On woe and terror, saw the mercy mixt,
> We can but make a wild uncertain guess,
> As we are now affected in distress,
> Who less regard the mitigation still
> Than the slight smart of our afflicting ill [pp. 64–65].

To guard against such errors, the author of this poem inserts in the margins scriptural reference for every painful step he takes in the narrative. It is true there are references to the Christian atonement, but they are addressed exclusively to the reader, and the knowledge conveyed is carefully secreted from Adam and Eve. In other words, *Order and Disorder* forces the biblical story back into the narrow channel of literalism which Milton had allowed it to overflow. Except for the few asides to the reader concerning the miracle of redemption, it is a complete reversion to the pessimistic tone of Nicholas Billingsby's *Kosmobrephia, or the Infancy of the World* (1658). The author's conscience allowed him to make free use of Phineas Fletcher's *Purple Island;* the most readable part of his performance is a close reproduction in Canto III of Fletcher's allegory of the body. Otherwise he appears to have revised Milton quite independently of all direct inspiration except from his Bible.

While removing Milton's mythology, he also eradicated all theological heresies. *Paradise Lost* was thus rendered a thoroughly authentic and orthodox story, the kind that might be read with secure

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profit by the "painful ministers of God's word" and their literal-minded auditors. The author was unconcerned for literary fame. Truly prophetic, he foretold in his Preface that he should not be prominent in the roll of poets.

I know I am obnoxious to the censures of two sorts of people: First, those that understand and love the elegancies of Poems, they will find nothing of fancy in it; no elevation of stile, no charms of language, which I confess are gifts I have not, nor desire not on this occasion; for I would rather breath forth grace cordially than words artificially. . . . . Had I had a fancy, I durst not have exercis'd it here; for I tremble to think of turning Scripture into a Romance.

To a second class, those who "think Scripture prophan'd by being descanted on in numbers," he offers the hackneyed defense that much of Scripture itself is in poetical form.

II

Milton was destined to suffer chiefly, not from his correctors, but from unworthy imitators. Like Spenser, he was put to very base uses. No doubt many Puritans agreed heartily with the author of *Order and Disorder* in exalting orthodoxy above the art of poetry. At the other extreme of Restoration society were the gay and flippant worldlings who saw in *Paradise Lost* new possibilities for profane diversion. The poem gave new vigor especially to the satirical treatment of women. Although Milton was not the inventor of the crooked rib, he did give the old story of the origin of woman additional prestige, and his treatment of the sex problem was masculine enough to satisfy the most serious and the most facetious anti-feminists. As the warfare between the sexes waxed hot, the story of Eve's tragic indiscretion came to play a larger part than ever before in controversial and satirical literature. From the lofty Miltonic height the Genesis story was thus dragged down to the mud of Restoration vulgarity.[1]

[1] The following passage occurs in John Dunton's *Female War* (1697), Letter XIX: "Well rest the Ghost of poor *Milton*, who when you had blinded him, like his own *Sampson*, yet made a shift to give you one *Sparring Blow*, before he dy'd. For thus he compliments you, and instructs us in his *Sampson Agonistes:*

". . . . *Heav'ns Universal Law,*
Gave to the Man despotick Power,
Over his Female, in due awe,
Nor from that right *to part an* Hour;
Smile *she or* lour,
So shall he least Confusion *draw,*
On his own Life, *not* sway'd
By Female Usurpation, *nor* dismay'd" (p. 210).

Letter XXI makes similar use of an extract from *Paradise Lost*, preceded by the statement that "*Milton* will once more show 'em their Picture, and they can't deny but 'tis to the Life" (p. 233). For satirical use of the Genesis story, see *Female Excellence: or, Woman Dis-*

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A comparatively innocuous stage in the process of degradation is exemplified in *The Great Birth of Man: Or, the Excellency of Man's Creation and Endowments Above the Original of Woman. A Poem. By M.S.* (1686; 2d ed., 1688). The author (Matthew Stevens?) concealed his name because his "Book was importun'd into the World" before he had had time to revise it. Besides, he seems to have been reluctant to trust his fame in the hands of the reading public when a "Bunyan may have more Editions than a Cowley"! The poem is written in couplets and extends to twenty-four pages. Here, too, we have a complete rehearsal of the old story—the revolt of Lucifer, the creation of man, the temptation, and the fall. The tone is entirely serious, but all the material is selected with special reference to the thesis announced in the title—the superiority of the male over the female. The concluding moral will sufficiently illustrate the poetical caliber of the entire piece:

> Take heed Posterity, and Learn from Me,
> What dangerous Treach'rys in false Women be.
> Secure your selves by Countermining Arts,
> Lest they blow up, or else betray your Hearts.
> Take heed, for when, like Crocodiles, their Tears
> Do gently Fall, then's greatest cause of Fears:
> Then their deceitful Hearts design a Prey,
> And in the midst of seeming pity Slay.
> And if they Charm you once within their Pow'r,
> They'll sweetly Sing, like Syrens, to Devour.
> That Pride which cast down *Lucifer* from Heav'n,
> And was by Foolish *Eve* renew'd again,
> Will ever in depraved Woman Reign.
> Nor their Ambition, shall whole Worlds suffice,
> Nay *Hell* as soon be Glutted, as their Eyes:
> Through Blood and Sacriledge, 'twill make its way,
> And be as Violent as the Raging Sea.
> They'll long for things because they are deny'd,
> To show their Folly's equal with their Pride:
> Excepting where some mischiefs the intent,
> Then Woman's sharper Wit, does Mans prevent;
> Their being practis'd in such wicked Arts,
> Gives the advantage to their weaker Parts.
> Take Heed (my future Sons) or you'l too late,
> With dear Experience, buy your Heavy Fate.

---

play'd, In Several Satyrick Poems. By a Person of Quality (1679) and *Love given o're: or, A Satyr against the Pride, Lust, and Inconstancy, etc. of Women* (1682), both of which were often reprinted and are usually attributed to Robert Gould.

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One would hesitate to call this vulgar diatribe Miltonic, and it might conceivably have been uttered if Milton had never written; but apparently it does contain reminiscences of *Paradise Lost* (Book XI) and *Samson Agonistes*. The obligation is more pointed in some of the narrative passages and in the long dialogue between Adam and Eve after their transgression.

III

Professor Havens has devoted a brief paragraph[1] to a Miltonic imitation by Matthew Smith, *The Vision, Or A Prospect of Death, Heav'n and Hell. With a Description of the Resurrection and The Day of Judgement* (1702). Intrinsically, the volume deserves no more than the space he has allotted to it. From some points of view, however, it has curious historical interest. Of the author, a clergyman in Yorkshire, very little seems to be known except that after serving Bacchus and Venus for a time, he consecrated his exiguous literary talent wholly to the cause of piety. He himself speaks of the favor he enjoyed under the good queen. Evidently he took an active part in aiding the Society for the Reformation of Manners. Some of the pieces he wrote in connection with this reform movement were republished, with other poems of his, as *An Entire Set of the Monitors Intended for the Promoting of Religion and Virtue, and suppressing of Vice and Immorality. In Several Poems on Divine Subjects. In pursuance of Her Majesty's Most Gracious Directions.*[2] Smith at least has the accidental distinction of being one of the first poets in England who made a serious endeavor to reproduce the high moral earnestness and religious spirit of *Paradise Lost*. The master himself would undoubtedly have dismissed this disciple as an unworthy conquest; long passages of the *Vision* are appropriated bodily from *Paradise Lost*, with only such modifications as were needed for the rhyme of heroic couplets. The imitator himself feared the charge of dishonesty.

> But one great Shot I expect level'd at me, *viz.* the Character of a Plagiary, for taking some Hints from *Milton*, you will find them but few, which I freely own, and since *Dryden* hath done the same, and *Oldham* from *Ben Johnson*, I am not asham'd of it, nor is it esteem'd a fault when acknowledged.

[1] *Influence of Milton*, pp. 95–96.

[2] See also Watt, *Bibliotheca Britannica*, and Halkett and Laing, *Dictionary*.

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He was as firm as the author of *Order and Disorder* in discountenancing heathen fable.

In the Description of Hell, I omitted the River *Lethe;* for tho *Milton* hath wonderful fine thoughts in his account thereof, yet it hath been such a constant Fiction of all the Heathen Poets that methinks 'tis better left out, for to be too fictitious in such solemn Matters, may Countenance Atheists and Libertines in their exposing the whole for a Fiction.

Smith may confidently be accepted as representing the attitude of the pious middle class of his time and much later. Dryden, Addison, and the other critics knew one *Paradise Lost;* John Dunton, Smith, and their bourgeois public, another. The scholarly set looked upon it as an example of epic art, comparable to the *Iliad* and the *Aeneid,* and in some ways superior; the religious zealots read it as they did Wesley's complete Bible in verse and numerous other paraphrases of the Scripture, admiring its soundness and regretting that it was at some points unsound. One phase of Milton's genius was not fully appreciated even by the learned, and it was completely lost upon the lower orders. The catholicity of mind which all but enabled the author of *Paradise Lost* to unite in a single system the conflicting ideals of the Renaissance and the Reformation, to strike a balance between beauty and duty, between the world of sense and of spirit, was perceived, if at all, very dimly. Consequently, there was no real conception of his most heroic moral achievement, the astonishing force of character he exhibited in rising superior to the close religious air he had breathed from childhood and constructing out of the ruins of the old dogma a philosophy of hope and cheer. The spirit of *Paradise Lost* was completely falsified in pious imitations. With a critical blindness difficult to comprehend, poets made Milton sponsor for a medieval gloominess of thought, a cheerless asceticism, and a narrow-minded dogmatism the very absence of which constitutes a marked difference between him and most of his religious contemporaries.

Smith is a shining example of this stupid interpretation. Conducted by his "Angel Tutelar," he makes a complete tour of the universe, notebook in hand. While of course he works up to the joys of heaven as the logical climax, the impressive fact is that all along the route he seizes upon every possible opportunity for religious terrorism. Where Milton is sublime in the depiction of horror, the little man is

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merely grotesque. He specialized, as all of Milton's early contemporaries had done, in the grisly and disgusting. The first point of special interest in Smith's excursion is the Palace of Death—set aside exclusively for the wicked(there is another for the saints). The description, extending over five pages, begins:

> A great but Ru'nous Palace to our Veiw
> Appear'd now, of a dark and sullen hue,
> With Ciprus compass'd and with baneful Yeugh;
> Night-Ravens croaking Death hover'd around,
> And boading Screech-Owls with their om'nous sound,
> All unclean Creatures which appear by Night,
> And take in Blood and Cruelty delight,
> From their Foul Dens and lurking Holes repair
> To fill with Howls and horrid Noise the Air.
>
> The Palace's Slimey Walls were plaister'd 'ore
> With Faetid Earth, temper'd with Humane Gore,
> Each Corner had a Piramid, whereon
> Was fixt for Ornament a Skelleton,
> Each brandishing a Bloody, Mortal Dart,
> And on the point a yet-warm, reeking Heart,
> The Battlement with Racks and Tortures crown'd,
> Which Dread and startling Horrour dealt around [pp. 16–17].

Another point of supreme interest in the itinerary is Hell. When the travelers approach,

> Millions of Yells and Screams are heard around,
> Loud Bursts of Roarings joyn the dreadful Sound.
> Infinite Fiends their restless Toyls persue,
> Their Tortures ev'ry Moment to renew,
> But changing them to greater, still from less,
> Whilst ev'n the Change it self does give excess.
> Plunge them sometimes ten thousand Fathom deep
> In Lakes of liquid Fire; and then they'll heap
> Them Mountain-high upon a Burning Soil,
> Circled around with Flames to parch and broil:
> Whirlwinds of Fire then to another shore
> Of Frost and Cold Eternal waft them ore:
> In Mountains there of Ice to feel new Pain,
> They wedg them in; then fetch them back again
> To Flouds of boyling Sulphur, where they drench
> Them over in the suffocating Stench [pp. 32–33].

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When the poet rises, as he does, for example, in Satan's address to his followers, the source of sublimity is amusingly evident.

> Great Princes, Virtues, Dominations, Pow'rs;
> Once Potentates of Heav'n; no longer ours:
> Such the Almighty's Thunder prov'd, unknown,
> Till we attempted the Imperial Throne
> Of Heav'n. Tho great, yet Glorious was our Fall,
> Since we contended for no less then all.
> Yet all's not lost, we these Dominions have;
> Large Confines, which our Fiery Surges Lave.
> In Tortures exquisite, 'tis true we Reign,
> Involv'd in most Intollerable Pain:
> But more, Ambitious Minds like mine 'twill please
> To Reign in Torment, then to serve in Ease [pp. 48–49].

Milton himself was weak in the portrayal of heavenly scenes. Here his follower becomes hopelessly ludicrous. The fifth, and last, part of the poem is reserved for the Day of Judgment. It illustrates another general trait of religious poetry in the eighteenth century; the rage for depicting the final consummation was completely revived, and the poetical result is frequently a mélange of Milton and such pedestrian versifiers as the Earl of Stirling and Michael Wigglesworth.

If we considered Milton primarily with reference to the thought and mood embodied in the productions of his little imitators, we should see that he played the ironical part of sponsoring a vast deal of the most lugubrious poetry in the early eighteenth century. It became the fate of John Milton, through uninspired admirers of *Paradise Lost* as well as of *Il Penseroso*, to foster the morbid sentiments finally brought to a climax in graveyard poetry, and at least to encourage a taste for the very similar but more grotesque work of the Gothic romance. As some of the extracts given above sufficiently illustrate, this strain is painfully evident in Smith's poem, and it could be traced unbrokenly through the work of his successors who depended chiefly upon a reading public better instructed in piety than in poetics.

IV

The relation of John Dart's *Westminster-Abbey: A Poem* (1721) to Milton's work is slight but clear. It consists almost wholly in imitative

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or copied phrases used in the introductory portion of the poem. Following a reference to the "painted landskip" comes the passage:

> I pensive, to more solemn Scenes retire;
> To the long sounded Isle, and hallow'd Quire:
> Where moss-grown Turrets crown the Reverend Seat,
> And Battlements with chattering Daws replete:
> In holy Contemplation wrap'd, profound,
> Indulg'd by the loud-pealing Organ's sound:
> With Eye erect the figur'd Roof behold,
> Rich with Intaglio, and bestreak'd with Gold;
> While the gay-pictur'd Windows, richly dight,
> Project a painted Shade and stain the Rays of Light.
> My mind prepar'd by Images like these,
> And lower'd to sober Thought by just Degrees;
> Lead on my Muse, while trembling I essay,
> To trace thy Footsteps thro' the cloyster'd Way, etc.

Though not written in octosyllabics, these lines contain obvious borrowings from *Il Penseroso*. When it is recalled that the posthumous works of Parnell were not published until the very close of 1721, it will be seen that Dart's free use of the minor poetry is exceptional for the time of his writing.

The crepuscular melancholy of *Il Penseroso* is an excellent preparative, and the borrowing was not that of a wholly unintelligent poet. *Westminster-Abbey* has either been completely neglected or unjustly abused. It is known, if at all, because it contains a eulogy of Chaucer and was written by a very faulty biographer of the great poet.[1] The *Dictionary of National Biography* considers Dart's work as a biographer ridiculous, his paraphrase of Tibullus wretched, his poetical description of the Abbey still worse. On the contrary, I hold that several passages in *Westminster-Abbey* would have done credit to poets of the time who stood much higher in public esteem than Dart. In moments of mere platitudinizing he repeats the *Sic transit gloria mundi* lesson with effective intonation and not without a poetic feeling for the right detail; he failed mainly because he lacked a delicate ear. The description of the hushed silence that follows a splendid funeral in the Abbey comes little short of true poetry, and is one of several

[1] Eleanor P. Hammond, *Chaucer, a Bibliographical Manual* (1908), pp. 37, 46–47, 468; Caroline Spurgeon, *Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion*, Part I, pp. 346, 358, 361, 363.

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passages that suggest the influence of this poem upon Washington Irving's prose essay.

> The hooded *Prebend* plods along before,
> And the last *Virger* claps the ringing Door.
> Should any Curious Thoughtful stay alone,
> In the dark Temple when the rest are gone,
> No Noise shall strike his Ear, no murm'ring Breath,
> Nor one low Whisper in the Hall of Death;
> No sounding Foot to trample on the Floor,
> Nought but the striking Clock, that wakes the drowsy Hour [p. 55].

In spite of Beaumont's(?) beautiful poem on the tombs in Westminster,[1] in spite of an incessant stream of verse upon the vanity of life and the grim fact of mortality, English poets of death had still to learn how much more effective the *memento mori* warning would be if recited among the graves. The general neglect of Westminster as a *mise en scène* for such moralizing is somewhat strange. Dart was probably encouraged in his choice by Addison's essay in *Spectator*, No. 26 (1711), and a passage in Young's *The Last Day* (1713); but a sufficient explanation is the many hours he had spent among the solemn reminders of death in the preparation of a history of the Abbey. When his *Westmonasterium* was published, in 1723, the poem, which had been printed anonymously two years earlier, was included as a kind of introduction. Dart was both antiquarian and poet, and this combination of closely related interests prefigures the work of Thomas Warton and others whose antiquarian knowledge greatly enriched the stream of romanticism. As a moralist of the tombs he preceded the entire group of eighteenth-century writers usually designated as the "graveyard school." Probably his example would have counted for more historically if his *Westminster-Abbey* had not been followed immediately by Parnell's *Night-Piece on Death* (December, 1721).[2] Most of the poetical frequenters of the grave preferred, instead, to muse with Parnell among the simple and quiet surroundings of the country churchyard, for the ivy-mantled tower, the owl, and the solemn yew-tree were a more effective setting than even the dusky splendors of the national mausoleum.

[1] Concerning the authorship, see Norman Ault, *Elizabethan Lyrics* (1925), p. ix.

[2] If he exerted an exclusive influence, it is to be seen apparently in Thomas Fitzgerald's "Upon the Poets Corner in Westminster Abbey," a short piece included in *Poems on Several Occasions* (1733), p. 24. Cf. *Westminster Abbey: An Elegiac Poem. By the Revd. Thomas Maurice* (1784).

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V

Samuel Catherall, M.A., Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, laments in the Preface to *An Essay on the Conflagration, in blank verse* (1720) that the sublime subject of his poem had not been treated by Milton or at least the ingenious Mr. Philips, who had designed such a work. The *Essay*, consisting of two books running to sixty-five pages, is patently Miltonic in its "sublimity," though written, as the poet modestly confesses, by a "Mean Follower of *Great Milton.*"

A more interesting specimen is Catherall's *Cato Major* (1725). Catherall was moved to translate Cicero's *De Senectute* by what he very justly considered the faultiness of Sir John Denham's version (1648), of which Johnson afterward remarked that it possessed "neither the clearness of prose, nor the spriteliness of poetry."[1] Denham had used a very stiff couplet, a form thoroughly unsuited to the colloquial ease of Ciceronian dialogue. Catherall recognized the difficulty, and for his own translation attempted the freedom of Milton's blank verse. His *Cato Major* is really not a close translation, but a paraphrase, including additional material derived from Xenophon and Plato and for the Third Book a considerable part of Vergil's *Georgics*. His blank verse suffers, as most blank verse of the time does, from the contaminating influence of the couplet; but occasionally there is an approach to the model.

Like all his numerous predecessors, Catherall was anxious to prove that Cicero's views of religion and morality came surprisingly near the full truth of the Christian revelation. He therefore placed particular emphasis upon Cicero's reference to what Christians came to regard in Plato as a distinct prophecy of the Christ. In Catherall's translation Cato is made to say:

> Plato! There is a Sacred *Page* of *Thine*,
> Full Fraught with *Supernatural Light*, which tells me,
> A *Prophet* Greater, than the World has seen,
> (If not a *God* in *Humane* Shape) e'er Long,
> Shall Deign to Visit, and Inform Mankind,
> Of what is after *Death*, and open *Truths*
> *Mysterious*, Hid from Un-inlighten'd Mortals! [p. 85]

Cato had long since become almost Christianized by translators and commentators. Catherall presents this virtuous heathen, here at the

[1] "Life of Denham," Chalmers' *English Poets*, VII, 227.

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end of the poem, expressing Christian sentiments in phrases he has picked up from his reading of *Paradise Lost!*

> Cato would Welcome the *Bless'd Deity*
> To this vile *Earth*, in View of Happier Times:
> Now Trust me, we are *Fall'n on Evil Days*,
> *And Evil Tongues*, with Darkness compass'd round;
> And if a Radiant *Angel*, or a *God*,
> Can mend the vicious Currents of this World,
> 'Tis Well, etc. [p. 86].

He is familiar also with "profoundest Hell" and other phrases from Milton's epic. Apparently, however, Milton must share honors with Shakespeare. Cato knew *Hamlet* as well as *Paradise Lost.*

> As on the Verge of the *Next Life* I stand,
> I see the Voyage Pointed out for *Cato*,
> And Look beyond the Scanty Bounds of *Time*,
> Into a Distant *Country*, from whose *Borne*,
> No Traveller would ever seek Return:
> There, all the various Shocks, that *Flesh* is Heir to,
> Shall Find a Period, which I wish *Devoutly*! [p. 83]

VI

It is well known that the publication of Thomson's *Winter* (1726) marked the beginning of a new chapter in English poetry. Blank verse had had numerous advocates, but the cause was not really won until the Scottish poet, newly arrived in England, had given a fuller demonstration of the possibilities of Milton's line than any previous imitators had achieved. He was fully as influential, also, upon the content and mood of poetry. Apparently, the first English poet to follow Thomson's example was William Bowman, whose *Poems on Several Occasions* was published in 1727.

At this time still a student at Cambridge, the young author had formed a lofty conception of the art he practiced very imperfectly. We are told in the Preface:

> Poetry has this Advantage peculiar to it self, that while all other Arts and Sciences are limited and confin'd within certain Bounds which they cannot exceed, this alone admits of no Limitation; all Nature submits to its Jurisdiction, and every thing is a Subject for *Verse*. The *Muses* range free and uncontroll'd o'er all the boundless and incomprehensible Tracts of *Eternity* and *Immensity*, pierce even to the tremendous Throne of the *Almighty*, and down again to the gloomy Regions of *Darkness*.

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Having urged this thesis at length, he proceeds to lament the general indifference of his fellows.

> Must it not then seem strange that so glorious a Science shou'd be so miserably neglected and abandon'd in this famous *University* of *Cambridge*? (Otherwise the most illustrious *Seminary* of Learning in the World.) *Philosophy*, *Divinity*, and the other grave Parts of Literature have so entirely here engross'd the Study of the whole Body, that *Poetry* can scarce find Admittance, even at the most idle and unemploy'd Hours.

This he suspects may be due to the "Dullness and Foggyness of the Clime, which generally disposes its Inhabitants to a natural Gravity, and disagreeable Melancholy, or to an Abhorrence, conceiv'd from the Corruptness of *Poetry* in these latter Days." Whatever the explanation, the youthful undergraduate was so humiliated by the "visible Diminution and Decay" of poetry that he came forward in vindication of his Alma Mater.

There is a clear line of cleavage in his collection of verse. Two of the pieces are thoroughly pseudo-classic—*Jesus Grove*, a long descriptive poem in couplets written in avowed imitation of *Cooper's Hill*, and *The Lover*, evidently inspired largely by a study of Waller's addresses to Saccharissa. Most of the other efforts are distinctly of the new school. Milton is honored twice. A sufficient idea of Bowman's command of blank verse may be had from the concluding lines of *Part of the 7th Chapter Job paraphrased. An Imitation of Milton's Stile:*

> Oft have I sought my solitary Bed
> With weary Limbs, and on my downy Couch
> Repos'd my troubled Members; if perchance
> The healing Balm of Comfort might be found
> In silken Slumbers; but ev'n there, O *God*,
> Thy vengeful Hand, with terrifying Dreams
> Torments me, and with Visions, horrid Shock!
> Pursues my frighted Soul; ah! let me then
> To the dark *Caverns* of the *Grave* descend
> In everlasting *Night;* for, oh! I loath
> The hated Light, and cannot think to live
> For ever; *Lord*, thy mighty *Arm* withdraw,
> That holds me up in Life, and let me be,
> As I have never been; for all my Days
> Are nothing, and my Years are Vanity.

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The *pièce de résistance* of the entire volume is *Night. An Imitation of Milton*, which extends through thirty-nine quarto pages. The title itself is another illustration of the general tendency to associate Milton with darkness and gloom, explained partly no doubt by the poet's blindness and the pathetic passage at the beginning of the Third Book of *Paradise Lost*. This supplied the young poet of night the principal hint for his opening apostrophe.

> Hail dreary Shades! hail melancholy Gloom
> Of *Night* tremendous! with Eternity
> Coaeval, and the first primordial Shock
> Of Embryon *Atoms*, in Confusion hurl'd
> Thro' *Chaos*' dark Domain; who yet retains
> Divided Empire with the *Day*, and rules
> Each Hemisphere alternate; while I sing
> Thy Reign audacious, and presumptuous stray
> Along thy dusky, solitary Paths
> Cheerless and blind, each interposing Cloud
> A while withdraw, and from the studded Roof
> Of Heav'n's Expanse, let ev'ry Star benign
> It's friendly Aid afford; the silver Moon
> Pale Regent of the Night, that solemn moves
> High in her silent Orb, nocturnal Sun,
> Direct my wand'ring Steps; and may the Verse
> Not faint beneath the Terrours of my Theme.
> And now that Shades and ever-during Dark
> Mantling surround me, thou celestial *Light*,
> Shine inward, and with pervious Eye disperse
> Mists comfortless and dull, and in each Pow'r
> The Mind irradiate, that, with sprightly Note,
> Of *Darkness* I may sing, and horrid Night.

The body of the poem is purely descriptive, and most of the pictures are from simple country life. If we recall that Thomson's *Winter* (1726) was followed the next year by *Summer*, of which there were two editions in 1727, and that *Autumn* and *Spring* were of later date, we can easily understand why Bowman made a close study, in 1727, of a summer night and a winter night and said nothing of the other seasons. Most of his Milton he takes second-hand from Thomson. There is a fusion of the two influences in the following passage from the first description:

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> Sober *Twilight* hastens on
> In russet Liv'ry clad; now from the Fields
> Repair the jocund Plowmen, and to Meads
> Refreshing, and transparent Streams drive on
> The lowing Oxe, weary and dry; the Swain
> His woolly Charge in careful Durance pens
> Rejoicing; with his Dog, faithful Compeer
> Whistling deceives the Way, and stalking on
> Hastens to Supper.

The imitation of *Il Penseroso* is flagrant in the first lines; the latter part of the description was suggested by one in *Summer*, beginning:

> His folded flock secure, the shepherd home
> Hies, merry-hearted; and by turns relieves
> The ruddy milk-maid of her brimming pail [ll. 1664–66].

A few lines below, Thomson is describing the evening ramble of the rustic lovers:

> Onward they pass, o'er many a panting height,
> And valley sunk and unfrequented; where
> At fall of eve the fairy people throng,
> In various game and revelry to pass
> The summer-night, as village-stories tell [ll. 1670–74].

This hint gave Bowman his best passage:

> O'er the smooth Green the gliding *Fairies* dance
> Their Moon-light *Rounds*, and revel all the Night
> Intent on Mirth, which some belated *Swain*
> Affrighted oft has seen, near a fair Fount,
> Or Forest's Side.

But this means only that the Cambridge poet has expanded Thomson by going to the description in *Paradise Lost* (I, 782–83) of those "faery elves"

> Whose midnight revels, by a forest side
> Or fountain some belated peasant sees.

By this comparative process one could account for most that is readable in *Night;* what is not found in Thomson will be found in Thomson's model, frequently where the poet of the *Seasons* himself has been gathering flowers. But it is Thomson who furnishes the principal material—pictures of peasant life, rural sports, domestic animals, and

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storms. From the same provenance came the tyro's apostrophes to the Deity and his evident bias toward the religion of nature.

Bowman illustrates anew the truism that the genetic forces of literature are fully disclosed only in the minor writers. Although he has been completely overlooked, I doubt if any other poet of this transitional period exposes the process of metabolism quite so nakedly. His clumsy borrowing reveals his own methods and not infrequently strips the mask from Thomson's more artful appropriation. In his feeble poem may be detected some of the main components of the romantic revival and the sources of inspiration. He proclaims himself a follower of Milton. More truly, he may be called the earliest-known disciple of Thomson, to whom he probably owed his enthusiasm for Milton, as several other poets of the time did. He was more deeply nocturnal than either of his models. His *Night* is at times strangely anticipative of the humorless and ponderous solemnity of Young's *Night Thoughts*. In several passages devoted to night-birds, tombs, churchyard ghosts, and other objects of *Schrecklichkeit* can be seen also the shadow of the approaching Gothic romance.

VII

The author of *Paradise Lost* had the doubtful honor, in 1729, of bring imitated in *Geneva: A Poem, in Miltonic Verse*, by Alexander Blunt, Distiller. The drinking of gin by the lower classes had led to such general demoralization that the evil was made the subject of a presentment by the Grand Jury of Middlesex February 12, 1729. This roused the distiller to a defense of his calling, and for the purpose he selected blank verse. The device of an imaginary trial was apparently suggested by the council of the fallen angels, but the parallel is not close, and the performance may be dismissed as a minor curiosity.

VIII

An Essay upon Milton's Imitations of the Ancients, in his Paradise Lost. With some Observations on the Paradise Regain'd was published anonymously in 1741. The advertisement points out that Addison had contemplated a treatment of the same subject (*Spectator*, 321), and laments that he never carried out the design. The foundation of this present canon is laid in the opening passage:

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> Aristotle ascribes the origin of *Poetry* to the Pleasure Mankind takes in *Imitations*, which distinguishes us from all other Creatures, and makes us Lovers not only of this *Art*, but *Painting* and *Sculpture*. This Pleasure arises from the comparison the Mind makes betwixt the Imitation and the Thing imitated: For Example, in a Picture or Statue, from comparing them with the Original; and, in Poetry, from comparing the Descriptions with the Objects themselves [pp. 3–4].

Of this familiar aesthetic principle the critic makes no use whatever except as a point of departure. If the reader finds pleasure in comparing the poetical imitation with its original object, will he not be delighted also by comparing the imitation made by one poet of another? Indeed, this second kind of pleasure is greater than the first. "When one good Poet imitates another, we have a double Pleasure; the first proceeding from comparing the Description with its Object; and the second, from comparing the one Description with the other from which it was imitated" (p. 4). The principle applies likewise to individual similes and other minute details as well as to the whole picture. Also the aesthetic pleasure increases geometrically the further we proceed from the initial literary source. Here we have the real explanation of Milton's greatness. "When a Poet imitates a Description from another Poet, which very Description had been imitated from a Third, our Pleasure is still the greater; therefore, in this Respect, the Imitations in *Milton* are beyond those in *Virgil;* because he has imitated some Places of *Virgil* which are Imitations of *Homer*" (p. 4). This article of the creed called for a slight modification. It is explained that, while the merit of the original description consists primarily in the exactness of reproduction, this closeness is not always to be applauded in "secondary imitations"; here "a considerable Alteration from the Original has a very agreeable Effect" (p. 5).

All this sounds like a parody, like a *reductio ad absurdum* of the classical theory. We have already seen a *poeta minimus* inadvertently betraying the secrets of his betters. Precisely in the same way this criticaster embarrasses the critic. He is merely pursuing to a logical and pedantic conclusion a theory of literature which had now been in nominal operation for the better part of a century. It seems never to have crossed the mind of this Aristotelian successor of Addison that readers do not ordinarily sit down to *Paradise Lost* flanked by

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Homer on one side and Vergil on the other. Without these aids to appreciation, their enjoyment would theoretically be reduced to an unscholarly minimum.

Declaration of critical principle occupies a very small part of the sixty-two-page critique. Most of it is devoted to Milton's analogues in Vergil and Homer and a comparative study of the three poets. The author's talent as a source-hunter is not to be despised, for he added numerous examples to the list compiled by Addison, Bentley, and others. Almost his invariable conclusion is that Milton has improved upon the ancients. This constitutes the glory of *Paradise Lost*. "I must observe," he says, "That, as *Virgil* found it such an immense Labour to improve the Verses of *Homer;* of Consequence it must have been a much harder Task for *Milton* to improve those very ones of *Virgil:* A Task never one but he was equal for" (p. 11). If he is severe upon Milton at all, it is in connection with the poet's habit of punning and an occasional lapse into burlesque or drollery—faults, says the admirer, not to be condoned by his "excessive fondness for *Homer*" (p. 51).

The discussion of *Paradise Regained* is merely a brief postscript directed against the general contempt. He admits that *Paradise Regained* is greatly inferior to *Paradise Lost*, but considers it, with this exception, the noblest composition since the time of Vergil. The criticism here relates principally to the moral of the poem since the hunt for classical sources and parallels was less profitable. It is interesting to see that the writer has formed his critical ideas partly upon the suggestions of Shaftesbury (p. 57), who is quoted against Christian poems employing invocations to pagan muses; but, on the whole, we owe the essay chiefly to Addison's comments upon the principles of Aristotle's *Poetics*.

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VALENTIN ICKELSAMER

Valentin Ickelsamer gilt als der erste deutsche Grammatiker. Schon bei seinen Zeitgenossen. "Wer hat vor Valentin Ickelsamer je ain teutsche Grammatica gelernet? kainer!" ruft Ortolph Fuchssberger von Tittmoning[1] in seiner zuerst 1533 in Augsburg von Alexander Weissenhorn gedruckten "Dialectica" aus. In der Tat ist das Werkchen, das Ickelsamer diesen Ruhm eingebracht hat, betitelt: *Ein Teütsche Grammatica.* Und in der Einleitung schreibt er verheissungsvoll:

> Wer aber meinet, es sey kein Grammatica, die nit alles kinderwerck lere, das in der Lateinischen Grammatic ist, Darzuo sag ich, das der uns noch lang kein Teütsche Grammatic geben oder beschriben hat, der ein Lateinische für sich nimbt und verteütscht sie, wie ich jr etwa wol gesehen, dann der schafft mit vil arbeit wenig nutz, der die teütschen leren will, wie sie sagen vnd reden sollen: der Hans, des Hansen etc., Ich schreib, ich hab geschriben etc. Das lernen die kinder besser von der muoter dann auss der Grammatic.

Aber was er dann an Stelle der hier so verächtlich beiseite geschobenen Flexionslehre bietet, geht über Lautlehre, Leseunterricht und ein bischen Orthographie, Etymologie und Interpunktion kaum hinaus. Es fehlt nicht an Ansätzen zu weiteren Ausführungen, an Hinweisen auf verwandte oder entgegengesetzte Erscheinungen im Lateinischen, Griechischen und Hebräischen, auf dialektische Eigentümlichkeiten, vor allem nicht an Bemerkungen, die uns zeigen, dass Ickelsamer in das Wesen der deutschen Sprache eingedrungen war, mit der Volksseele Fühlung hatte, und recht wohl wusste, was eine lateinische Grammatik leisten müsste. Gerade die oben citierte Stelle zeigt recht deutlich, dass Ickelsamer ein Organ für die verschiedene Struktur der lateinischen und der deutschen Sprache hatte, und es als einen Irrtum erkannt hatte, eine deutsche Grammatik durch Verdeutschung des Donat oder in Anlehung an diesen fabrizieren zu wollen. Er schreibt an einer anderen Stelle:

[1] Vergleiche über ihn *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, VIII, 174 f.

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Ich las einmal einen brieff, den eines Grossmechtigen Fürsten Cantzler an des Stiffts Thuomherren zuo Erffurt geschrieben het, begerende an sie, das man die gestorbne Fürstin mitt Vigilien vnd Seelampten begehen vnd besingen vnd vnder der singenden Mess (dise wort brauchet der Cantzler) ein offenlich vermanung zuo dem volck thuon wœlte etc. Da lachet ich vnd gedacht, wie die Mess singen muest, dann dises teütsch Participium singend heysst so vil, das die Mess muesst singen, da er gesagt solt haben: vnder der gesungenen Mess, vnd solt gewisst haben, das dises Participium Preteritum vil mals also vergangen vnd geschehen heysst, das doch noch gegenwaertig im werck ist vnd jetzt erst geschicht. Also, halt ich, muesst ein Teütscher Grammaticus die teütschen zuo schuol fueren, Naemlich, das er jn die rechten art vnd weiss der teütschen wœrter und rede auss oder nach künstlicher vnd rechter anleytung der rede teyl mit jren accidentien erklaeret vnd zuo verstehn geb. Welcher aber ein lateinische Grammatica schlecht teütschen wil, was sie im latein gibt, des grammatica würdt den Teütschen seltzamer vnd vnbekandter sein dann ein Lateinische oder villeicht ein Chalecutische.

Aber das Programm, das Ickelsamer hier aufstellt ("die teütschen zuo schuol füren") hat er nicht erfüllt, seine *Teütsche Grammatica* ist eigentlich nichts viel anderes als sein vorhergehendes Werkchen, das trotz des anderen Titels fast denselben Inhalt hat: "Die rechte weis, aufs kürzist lesen zu lernen." Mit ihm ist Ickelsamer epochemachend geworden. Er hat nämlich für den ersten Leseunterricht eine neue Methode, die Lautiermethode, aufgebracht, bei der nicht mit dem mechanischen Einpauken der Buchstaben der Anfang gemacht wird, sondern damit, die Wörter in Silben und diese in Laute zu zerlegen und letztere als Naturlaute zu erklären und in kurzweiliger und vergnüglicher Weise einzuprägen.

Das *f* würdt geblasen durch die zene, auff die vndern lebtzen gelegt, vnd stimmet, wie nass oder gruen holtz am feüre seüt. Das *g*, so die zung das hinderst des guomens beruert, wie die Gens pfeyfen, wenns einen anlauffen zuo beissen etc. Das *h* ist ein scharpfer athem, wie man in die hende haucht. . . . . Das *r* ist der Hundts bûchstab, wann er zornig die zene blickt vnd nerret, so die zung kraus zittert.

Die Buchstaben werden also von Anfang an als Zeichen für Laute erfasst. Als Mittel, die Kinder die Buchstaben in Verbindung mit den durch sie bezeichneten Lauten zu lehren, empfiehlt er die Benutzung von Bildern mit den Tieren, die die entsprechenden Laute hervorbringen, oder mit Vorgängen, bei denen der betreffende Laut hörbar wird; *r* z. B. soll durch ein mit diesem Buchstaben bezeichnetes und

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einen knurrenden Hund darstellendes Bildchen eingeprägt werden. Diese Idee ist von Zeitgenossen Ickelsamers, besonders von Jacob Griessbeutel—er ist identisch mit dem gleichnamigen Prediger in Augsburg, der sich als erster dort am 26. August 1523 verheiratete—in seinem zuerst wohl 1533 in Nürnberg bei Kunigunde Hergottin erschienenen *Stimmenbüchlein*,[1] begierig aufgegriffen worden.

Als Begründer der Lautiermethode wird gewöhnlich der 1850 in Gorkau in Schlesien verstorbene Heinrich Stephani gennant.[2] Er hat durch seine *Fibel* (1802), seinen *Kurzen Unterricht in der gründlichsten und leichtesten Methode Kindern das Lesen zu lehren* (1803), und seiner *Stehenden Wandfibel* (1804) der bis dahin immer noch vorherrschenden Buchstabiermethode den Todesstoss versetzt, war sich im übrigen aber recht wohl bewusst, dass er nur einer schon seit längerer Zeit im Vordringen begriffenen Reformrichtung zum endlichen Siege verholfen habe, weshalb er auch die Bitte aussprach, die neue Methode nicht nach ihm zu benennen.

Die *Rechte Weis, auffs kürtzist lesen zu lernen* ist wohl zum ersten Male "Gedruckt zu Erffurdt, durch Ioannem Loersfelt, zum halben radt, ynn der Meymergassen" erschienen (Exemplar im Germanischen Museum in Nürnberg). Eine vermehrte Ausgabe druckte 1534 in Marburg Franciscus Rhode[3] (Exemplar in Berlin, Kgl. Bibliothek). Von der deutschen Grammatik veranstaltete 1882 H. Fechner nach dem Exemplar der wohl ersten Ausgabe, das aus F. L. K. Weigands Nachlass in seinen Besitz übergegangen war, einen Neudruck.[4] Von einer anderen, um ein *kurzes Lesebüchlein* am Schluss vermehrten Ausgabe haben Dr. Kohler in München 1881 und Joh. Müller in Plauen 1882 Neudrucke besorgt[5] (Exemplare in München, Universitätsbibliothek, und Wien, Hofbibliothek). Eine dritte Ausgabe trägt das Impressum: Nürnberg, Joh. Petrejus 1537 (Exemplare in Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek, und Wolfenbüttel, Herzogliche Bibliothek). Die von Fechner neugedruckte Ausgabe kann, da

[1] Neudruck, "Zwickauer Facsimiledrucke," Nr. 15 (1912).

[2] Vergleiche über ihn *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, XXXVI, 90–93.

[3] Vgl. A. von Dommer, *Die ältesten Drucke aus Marburg in Hessen* (Marburg 1892), S. 38, Nr. 54.

[4] *Vier seltene Schriften des 16. Jahrhunderts*, herausgegeben von Heinrich Fechner. Berlin 1882. Vorausgeht eine Abhandlung von Friedrich Ludwig Karl Weigand über Valentin Ickelsamer.

[5] Weigand, S. 35 f.

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des Beatus Rhenanus 1531 in Basel erschienene *Rerum Germanicarum libri tres* und die von Peter Jordan in Mainz verfasste und 1533 gedruckte *Laienschul* citiert werden, nicht vor 1531–33 herausgekommen sein. Vielleicht sind jedoch die Stellen, an denen die beiden Werke citiert werden, spätere Zusätze und ist von der deutschen Grammatik schon 1527 eine—längst verschollene—Ausgabe erschienen. Luther schreibt nämlich am 12. August dieses Jahres an Justus Menius, damals Prediger in Erfurt, in Bezug auf Ickelsamer, damals, wie wir noch sehen werden, Schulmeister in Erfurt: "Miror, quid de grammatica sua scribas, nam ad me nihil horum est delatum, nec resciscere possum, ubi sit, aut quis excudat, quare nihil possum tibi super hac respondere."[1] Näher liegt aber doch die Annahme, dass Luther mit "grammatica" Ickelsamers *Rechte Weis* meine, von der die vermutliche Urausgabe von Johannes Loersfelt in Erfurt gedruckt ist. Dieser druckte 1523 und 1524 in der Pergamentergasse zum Färbefass, 1525 im Hause "Zu der Sonnen bei St. Michael," 1525 "Auf dem wenigen Markt zum halben Rade" oder auch "Zum halben Rad in der Meimergasse"; 1527 zog er nach Marburg.[2] Da seine ersten Marburger Drucke am 30. Mai und 22. Juni 1527 erschienen sind,[3] hat er während der ersten vier Monate des Jahres 1527 wohl noch in Erfurt in der Meimergasse gedruckt. Dürfen wir die Stelle in dem Lutherbrief auf die *Rechte Weis* beziehen, dann würde sich das erste Drittel des Jahres 1527 als Erscheinungszeit der *Rechte Weis* ergeben.

Diesem Schriftchen ist angehängt *Ein christlich Gespräch zweier Kinder*—so die Angabe auf dem Titelblatt—oder: "eine göttliche Lehr, von Jugend auf sich zu erkennen und gottselig zu leben, den Kindern auf Frage und Antwort gestellet"—so der Untertitel.[4] Zwei Mädchen, Margareth und Anna, unterreden sich hier von der Erbsünde, Wiedergeburt, Versöhnung, und Gotteskindschaft. Das Gespräch ist zunächst wohl als Lesestück gedacht, weiter aber auch als Unterlage für den Religionsunterricht und zum Auswendiglernen.

[1] Enders, *Luthers Briefwechsel*, VI, 73.

[2] Joh. Luther, *Beiträge zum Bibliotheks- und Buchwesen Paul Schwenke gewidmet* (Berlin, 1913), S. 185 ff.

[3] Dommer, S. 1 f., Nr. 1, 2.

[4] Dieses Gespräch ist abgedruckt bei F. Cohrs, *Die Evangelischen Katechismusversuche vor Luthers Enchiridion 1* (Berlin 1900), S. 138–42.

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Dieser Zweck steht offenbar in vorderster Linie bei einem Schriftchen Ickelsamers, zu dem er das Widmungsschreiben in Rothenburg o.T. am 25. Mai 1525 unterzeichnet hat: *Ein ernstlich vnd wunderlich Gespräch zweier Kinder mit einander, darin angezeigt wird der grosse Ernst, den Gott in der Schrift mit den Kindern zu haben befohlen hat*[1] (Exemplare in Dessau, Fürst Georgsbibliothek, und Weimar, Grossherzogliche Bibliothek). Hier unterreden sich ein grösserer und ein kleinerer Junge, ein Schusters- und ein Feldhüterssohn. Es wird besonders die Notwendigkeit eines Religionsunterrichts schon an Kindern betont, da Gott sich auch schon um die Kinder bekümmere, bösen Kindern zürne und sie strafe, und da andererseits die Eltern vielfach ihre Erziehungspflicht vernachlässigten. Der Gang der Unterweisung ist dann ungefähr derselbe wie in jenem spätern Gespräch der beiden Mägdlein. Eine religionspädagogische Schrift Ickelsamers, die 1529 "zu Erffordt zum Schwartzen Horn, vor der kremer Brucken," d.h. von Matthes Maler gedruckt wurde, ist leider seit 1768 ganz verschwunden: *Vom wandel vnd leben der Christen in gotlicher forchte vnd guten wercken, welchs leider noch so wenig beweysen, Darinne aber ein frommer gotfurchtiger vater seine kinder unterweiset nachzuvolgen dem exempel des kinds Jesu. . . . .*[2] In der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Gotha, wohin eine Spur wies, war sie nicht zu finden. Auch eine von dem Berliner Auskunftsbureau der deutschen Bibliotheken vor einigen Jahren erlassene Umfrage hatte keinen Erfolg.

Ickelsamers in der ersten Hälfte des März 1525 erschienenes Erstlingswerk: *Klag etlicher Brüder* (zwei Ausgaben: 1. = Weller, *Repertorium typographicum* Nr. 3440 vorhanden in Basel, Universitätsbibl., München Universitätsbibl., Stuttgart, Königliche öffentliche Bibliothek, Weimar; 2. *Clag ettlicher brieder . . . .* vorhanden in München, Hof und Staatsbibliothek, Wolfenbüttel) besprechen wir am besten im Zusammenhang mit der Lebensgeschichte unseres Autors, zu der wir jetzt übergehen, nachdem wir seine schriftstellerische Tätigkeit gemustert und das Bibliographische erledigt haben.

Der Name Ickelsamer oder Ickelschamer weist darauf hin, dass die Familie, der er angehörte, aus einem der beiden kleinen Dörfer

[1] Abgedruckt bei Cohrs, S. 132–38. [2] *Ibid.*, S. 131.

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Ober- und Unterickelsheim im Bezirksamt Uffenheim im bayrischen Regierungsbezirk Mittelfranken stammte. In der Nähe von Uffenheim oder Rothenburg o.T. wird er geboren sein. Als "Valentinus Ickelsamer de Rotenburgia" wurde er im Winter 1518–19 in Erfurt immatrikuliert, wo er auch zwei Jahre später zum baccalaureus artium promoviert wurde. In Wittenberg setzte er seine Studien fort, doch suchen wir seinen Namen im Album dieser Hochschule vergebens. Im Frühjahr 1525 erscheint er zum ersten Male in amtlicher Stellung in Rothenburg, als "teutscher Schulmeister," d.h. als Leiter einer Schule, in der Kinder aus den kleinen Bürgers- und Handwerkerkreisen im Lesen, Schreiben, Rechnen, and etwa noch in Religion unterrichtet wurden.[1] Daneben predigte er aber auch unter grossem Zulauf "bei den Barfüssern in dem rebental" (Refectorium). In dieser Stellung veröffentlichte er in der ersten Hälfte des März 1525, wie schon erwähnt, sein Erstlingswerk *Klag etlicher Brüder an alle Christen von der grossen Ungerechtigkeit und Tyrannei, so Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt jetzo von Luther zu Wittenberg geschieht.*[2] Das interessante Schriftchen rückt Ickelsamer sogleich in ein ganz bestimmtes Licht. Karlstadt war Mitte September 1524 auf Luthers Betreiben aus Kursachsen vertrieben worden und war Ende des Jahres in Rothenburg angelangt. Hier wurde er trotz des am 27. Januar 1525 vom Rate gegen ihn erlassenen Ausweisungsbefehls bis zum 26. März von seinen Freunden verborgen gehalten, worauf er wieder frei hervortreten und in der Pfarrkirche und im Barfüsserkloster predigen durfte; Ende Mai musste er die Stadt verlassen. Ickelsamer erweist sich als Anhänger Karlstadts und des von diesem vertretenen "laienchristlichen Puritanismus." Es war zunächst wohl einfach das traurige Schicksal des von Wittenberg her ihm bekannten Mannes, das ihn trieb, öffentlich für ihn einzutreten, Mitleid und Gerechtigkeitsgefühl veranlassten ihn, sich des vertriebenen, unstät umherirrenden, beschimpften Karlstadt anzunehmen. Er will seine Streitschrift als eine "brüderliche Ermahnung an D. M. Luther und andere dergleichen, so wider jemand ihre Sach allein mit Scheltworten ausrichten," angesehen haben. Er will nicht heimtückisch gegen

[1] Vgl. Otto Mayer in *Württembergische Vierteljahrshefte für Landesgeschichte*, IX (1900), 27.

[2] Neudruck, *Aus dem Kampf der Schwärmer gegen Luther.* Drei Flugschriften (1524. 1525) herausgegeben von Ludwig Enders. Halle a.S. 1893. Vgl. ferner Hermann Barge, *Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt*, II (Leipzig, 1905), S. 318 ff.

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Luther wühlen und intrigieren: "Sollst wissen, dass ich also gesinnet bin, dass ich dir, was mir an dir fehlet, ebenso kühn und kecklich ins Angesicht zu sagen wagen würde, als kecklich ich dieses Urteil von dir unter die Leut lass gehen." Aber dann verfällt er doch in eine recht leidenschaftliche Tonart, wenn er Luther vorwirft, dass er in seinem trotzigen Büchlein wider die himmlischen Propheten seinen Privathass gegen Karlstadt habe ausströmen lassen, wie er überhaupt "ein zornig, unchristlich, bitter Herz und gar ein hitzig, reüterisch Geblüt habe." Er habe ihm einst in Wittenberg zu Füssen gesessen und ihn lieb gehabt. Er habe ihm zugejubelt, als er gegen den König von England und andere dergleichen unchristliche Bischöfe geschrieben, obgleich er schon damals sich des Verdachts nicht habe erwehren können, dass Luther weniger aus Liebe zur göttlichen Wahrheit sie angegriffen habe, als, um sein Mütchen an ihnen zu kühlen. Dann hätten Luthers reaktionäre Massregeln, besonders die Wiedereinführung der Beichte, ihn stutzig gemacht. Vollends aber habe er sich von Luther abgestossen gefühlt, als dieser sich von der Volksmenge, von der er sich doch erst habe emportragen und bejubeln und decken lassen, zurückgezogen und mit den "grossen Hansen," den Mächtigen dieser Welt, zu paktieren angefangen habe, als die Lutherischen Prediger in Behaglichkeit und Bequemlichkeit und sittliche Gleichgültigkeit und Laxheit verfallen seien und über sittliche Verfehlungen, ja offenbare Sünden und Laster in bedenklicher Nachgiebigkeit menschlicher Schwäche gegenüber ein Mäntelchen gebreitet hätten. Ickelsamer ist Sprecher einer grossen Gemeinde, die freilich mundtot gemacht wurde und von der nur wenige Aeusserungen bis zu uns herüberklingen, wenn er ausruft: "Wir sprechen: Wo nicht christliches Glaubens Werk folgen, da sei der Glaub weder recht gepredigt noch angenommen, und sagen von euch, was lang Rom hat müssen hören: wie näher Wittenberg, je böser Christen." Zum Schlusse geht Ickelsamer wieder auf Luthers Vorgehen gegen Karlstadt ein und wirft dem Reformator nochmals in erregter Rede seine Schmäh- und Verfolgungssucht, Rechthaberei und Herrschsucht und Lieblosigkeit vor. Man hat in lutherischen Kreisen diesen Angriff Ickelsamers nicht vergessen.

Die folgende Schrift: *Ein ernstlich und wunderlich Gespräch* ist der Form nach ganz friedlich und unpolemisch, verrät aber auch wie-

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der den Anhänger Karlstadts und des laienchristlichen Puritanismus, besonders an den Stellen, die von der Notwendigkeit der aus einem lebendigen Glauben hervorgehenden Werke der Liebe und Barmherzigkeit, über die Abscheulichkeit lieblosen Polterns und Schimpfens und blindwütigen Zufahrens Irrenden gegenüber handeln. Uebrigens sind die beiden Kinder, die in dem Gespräche sich unterhalten, Kinder bekannter Rothenburger Persönlichkeiten und Kinder aus Ickelsamers Schule; wenigstens kommt der Vater des Jacob Krebs, der Lutzhüter-Feldhüter Hans Krebs zweimal in Thomas Zweifels *Rothenburger Chronik* vor.

Als Ickelsamer am 25. Mai 1525 das Manuscript zum *Gespräch* an den Buchführer Kaspar Weydlin in Nürnberg[1] zur Drucklegung sandte, hatte sich in Rothenburg die Aufregung, die hier durch den Bauernaufruhr hervorgerufen worden war, gerade gelegt.[2] Am 21. März waren die Bauern der Umgegend aufgestanden, am 24. hatte die Bürgerschaft unter Beiseiteschiebung des alten Rats einen Ausschuss gewählt, der alsbald das Regiment an sich riss und in Verhandlungen mit den Bauern eintrat. Zu den 12 Mitgliedern desselben gehörte auch unser Ickelsamer, der indes bei den Verhandlungen eine untergeordnete Rolle als Protokollführer spielte. Er wurde daher auch, als im Mai und in den ersten Tagen des Juni die Bauernhaufen durch den Truchsess Georg von Waldburg vernichtet worden waren, und die Kreise der Rothenburger Bürgerschaft, die mit den Aufrührern sympathisiert hatten, sich ducken mussten, als der alte Rat wieder eingesetzt war und—Ende Juni—ein Strafgericht über die Rädelsführer abgehalten wurde, zwar mit anderen ausgewiesen, aber mit der niedrigsten Geldstrafe—20 Gulden—belegt. Er liess sich nun Erfurt, wo er von seiner Studentenzeit her Bekannte und Gönner haben mochte, als Schulmeister nieder und liess hier seine *rechte Weis* und die verloren gegangene Schrift *Vom Wandel und Leben der Christen* drucken. Mit Luther hatte er sich ausgesöhnt. Justus Menius hatte das vermittelt. Luther schrieb diesem am 12. August 1527—die folgenden Worte gehen den schon oben aus diesem Briefe angeführten über Ickelsamers *Grammatica* voraus—"Icolsamero scripsissem, sed

[1] Vgl. über ihn Karl Schottenloher, *Die Entwickelung der Buchdruckerkunst in Franken —1530.* Würzburg, 1910 ("Neujahrsblätter," herausgegeben von der Gesellschaft für Fränkische Geschichte, 5), S. 32, 50.

[2] Vgl. zum Folgenden: Weigand, S. 17 ff., und Barge, S. 337 ff.

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capitis infirmitas non sinit me occupari studiis, dices tamen ei me ignovisse ei omnia, etiam antequam rogaret, sicut et omnibus inimicis et ignosco et misereor, ut et mihi Christus et Pater iustus ignoscat et misereatur."

Elend und beständig drohende Fährlichkeit und Drangsal hatten wohl den armen Schulmeister mürbe gemacht.

Auf die Dauer gönnten ihm jedoch seine Feinde keine Ruhe. Anfang 1530 war er als Schulmeister nach Arnstadt übergesiedelt. Da erging unterm 27. März ein Schreiben des Kurfürsten Johann von Sachsen an den Grafen Günter zu Schwarzburg,[1] er solle Ickelsamer, der wegen seiner schwärmerischen Umtriebe und seines "schmehebuchs" (der *Klag etlicher Brüder*) von früher her schwer verdächtig sei und jetzt zu Arnstadt eine Schule errichtet habe, "vielleicht in gemut und maynung, seinen Schwirmer geist vnd falsche auffrurische und verfurliche Lehre des orts, wie er dan an andern enden vnd sunderliche zu Erfurt in neulicher zeit auch gethan, an tag zu geben und ausszubreiten," "gefenklich annehmen vnd auf ansuchen vnseres Ambtman vnd des Rats zu Gotha daselbst hin volgen lassen." Der im Weimarer Archiv beruhenden Originalkopie liegt ein Brief des Kurprinzen Johann Friedrich an den Gothaer Superintendenten Friedrich Myconius bei,[2] in dem dieser aufgefordert wird, nebst Justus Menius, den er kraft dieses Briefs dazu einladen solle, Ickelsamer "in beysein gedachts Ampts und rats . . . . auff ansehen aller seiner verfenglichen vnd irthumblichen artigkel vnd lehr nothdurftigklichen zu examinieren." Ickelsamer scheint aber rechtzeitig gewarnt worden zu sein und sich der Gefangennahme und dem Verhör durch die Flucht entzogen zu haben. Nachdem er vergeblich bei Luther um eine Audienz nachgesucht hatte, fand er im Juni in Strassburg bei Wolfgang Capito ein Asyl[3]—im Februar war Karlstadt dort eingetroffen. Seine Gram-

[1] Abgedruckt: *Fortgesetzte Sammlung von alten und neuen theologischen Sachen*, 1722, S. 185 ff. Dazu die Textverbesserungen nach der im Weimarer Archiv befindlichen Originalkopie bei Barge, *Beiträge zur bayerischen Kirchengeschichte*, VII, 278 f. Abgedruckt nach dem Original im Fürstlichen Landesarchiv zu Sondershausen bei Ed. Jacobs, "Die Wiedertäufer am Harz," *Zeitschrift des Harzvereins für Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, XXXII, 2. Heft (Wernigerode 1899), S. 75 f., und bei G. Einicke, *Zwanzig Jahre Schwarzburgische Reformationsgeschichte, 1521–1541*, 1. Teil, 1521–31 (Nordhausen 1904), S. 416 f. Vgl. auch P. Wappler, *Die Täuferbewegung in Thüringen von 1526–1534* (Jena, 1913), S. 91.

[2] Abgedruckt bei Barge, *Beiträge*, S. 279 f.

[3] *Zwinglii opera*, VIII, 465.

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matik schrieb Ickelsamer wohl 1531 in Augsburg.[1] Später ist er auch zu Kaspar Schwenkfeld in Beziehung getreten. Als er an einer schweren und langwierigen Krankheit darnieder lag, schickte ihm dieser einen innigen Trostbrief zu nebst dem schönen Liede Adam Reissners: "In dich hab ich gehoffet, Herr, hilf, dass ich nicht zu Schanden wer." Beides hat Ickelsamer nach seiner Genesung 1537 ohne Schwenkfelds "Geheiss vnd Befehl" veröffentlicht (Exemplar in München, Universitätsbibliothek).[2] Im selben Jahre erschien seine Grammatik in Nürnberg wohl in dritter und letzter Auflage. Seitdem ist seine Spur verwischt.

Dass Ickelsamer keine intensive Tätigkeit entfalten konnte, dass er—wie Sebastian Frank und andere outsiders der deutschen Reformationsgeschichte—ein unruhiges Wanderleben führen musste, dass auch seine pädagogischen Verdienste erst in jüngster Zeit recht anerkannt und gewürdigt worden sind, ist darin begründet, dass er es wagte, religiöse Ansichten zu bekunden, die weder katholisch noch lutherisch, sondern evangelisch waren, und dass er als junger Mann das Herz hatte, für den verhassten Karlstadt einzutreten. Wie energisch die lutherische Inquisition gegen solche "Schwärmer" vorging und der Verbreitung solcher eigentümlichen Meinungen und kritischen Aeusserungen zu wehren wusste, sieht man daraus, dass Ickelsamers Schriften schon lange zu den grössten Seltenheiten gehören. Es ist nicht ausgeschlossen, dass in amerikanischen Bibliotheken ein oder der andere Druck steckt. Vielleicht wird dadurch eine in Deutschland unbekannte Ausgabe belegt. Vielleicht kommt dort gar die hier verschollene Druckschrift von 1529: *Vom Wandel und Leben der Christen* zu Tage.

OTTO CLEMEN

ZWICKAU, GERMANY

[1] Weigand, S. 25. Er war hier wohl Hauslehrer bei dem Patrizier Lukas Rem: Joh. Musler (über diesen vergleiche F. Cohrs, *Die Evangelischen Katechismusversuche vor Luthers Enchiridion*, IV [Berlin 1902], S. 171, Anm. 3, und meine Abhandlung in den *Neuen Jahrbüchern für das klassische Altertum, Geschichte, und deutsche Literatur und für Pädagogik*, II [1903], 524 ff.) an Rem 7. Februar 1538 in: En tandem libellus captivitatis tenebris quasi ab orco in lucem a Venetis principibus revocatus . . . . Venetiis 1539, S. 403, 408.

[2] Weigand, S. 27. Vgl. über Reissner, *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, XXVIII, 150–52.

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JAMES WILSON BRIGHT
1852–1926

The death of James Wilson Bright brought to its close a life that will always be significant in the history of American scholarship. Professor Bright became professor of English philology in Johns Hopkins University in 1891, and until within a few years of his death, he was in active control of an important part of the work of the university. He was therefore not a pioneer but belongs to that remarkable group of scholars who gave to Johns Hopkins University its early distinction, and who by their combined efforts established in America new standards of scholarly endeavor.

Professor Bright did not publish abundantly, and his friends and followers were sometimes inclined to urge upon him the undertaking of tasks of more obvious and general interest than those to which he was content to devote himself. But Professor Bright's achievements are not to be measured merely by the number of books that carry his name upon their title-pages. He gave limitless time to the editing of the journals with which for many years he was connected, and certainly his old students will not undervalue the patience and the sympathy with which he assisted them in all their projects. Deeply imbedded in his nature were certain unworldly ideals of scholarship which those who were brought into contact with him could not fail to realize. Professor Bright never thought that there were any gradations of honor in good work. What was well done, however limited its range, in his eyes was admirable, and what was hastily and inadequately done, even though it looked important, was not tolerated. In this he was moved by the spirit of the artist as well as by the spirit of the scholar. The superficial attractions of a subject never were permitted to deflect his attention from the underlying necessities of sound learning and utter truthfulness to the matter in hand.

Perhaps his most characteristic works are his editions of the West Saxon Gospels. In these texts scholars for all time will find models of

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thorough and exact research, controlled by the strictest adherence to the demands of the subject; in a word, that finality of performance which places them among the permanent achievements of scholarship. In his general writing, likewise, Professor Bright cultivated exactness rather than rapidity or abundance of expression. To these qualities of sincerity and devotion one always returns in the contemplation of this admirable scholar's life. In a day when facile generalizations flourish, nothing could be more salutary than the memory of one who always held firmly and defined clearly the undertakings before him and who never begrudged any amount of painful labor to make strong and true the texture of his argument.

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REVIEWS

Egils saga Skallagrímssonar, nebst den grösseren Gedichten Egils. By FINNUR JÓNSSON. Zweite neubearbeitete Auflage. *Altnordische Sagabibliothek*, Vol. III. Halle: Saale, 1924. Pp. xlii+333.

The first issue of Jónsson's *Eigla* edition in the *Sagabibliothek* appeared in 1894. Before that Jónsson had edited the saga for the *Samfund til Udgivelse af gammel nordisk Litteratur*, 1886–88. This was an almost exact reproduction of the M text, but contained some variant apparatus from texts W and K, and the fragments. Also the 1894 edition was naturally based on the M text, but with a great many adoptions of the reading of other texts that seemed preferable, and of some suggestions made in reviews of the Samfund edition. The present edition is largely a reprint of that of 1894, except for a number of changes in the strophes, where, it appears, the reading of M is more closely adhered to. A review may in this case properly confine itself to recording the departures from the earlier edition.

A distinctive feature of the SB edition was its excellent Introduction (xxxix pp.), of which pages i–xii dealt with "Die isländische Geschichtsschreibung." Though brief, this remains still one of the best things that has been written on the mooted problem of the "gathering" of the Icelandic family sagas. These twelve pages are retained almost verbatim, but I observe one change on page iii. To the statement of his view that then read "Eine ganze abgeschlossene saga in der gestalt, wie wir gegenwärtig diese erzeugnisse besitzen, war vor der litterarischen zeit (im 12 jahrhundert) in Island schwerlich vorhanden," the editor has now added after "schwerlich" the words "oder nur in einigen einzelnen fällen." However, this only apparently represents a certain change of view, for also in 1894 F. Jónsson held it possible that to a certain limited extent there may have been completed sagas before the literary period; but that, as with the kings' sagas and the ecclesiastical sagas, so the family sagas, too, for the most part took shape in the Golden Age, 1150–1250. In the meantime a number of studies have been written on the matter; these are in the main referred to in the discussion, or listed in the notes on pages iv and v. I regret that the two first chapters of W. A. Craigie's *The Icelandic Saga*, 1913, are not mentioned here. Shortly before 1894 Eirikr Magnússon had attempted to fix the authorship of the *Eyrbyggja saga*, to which Jónsson referred on page vii; he disagreed with the views that had *neuerdings* been made, etc. In the present edition the word *neuerdings* had better been replaced by a reference to the place and date of Magnússon's discussion.

In considering the problems mentioned above, F. Jónsson said in 1894 that he did not wish to dispute that the "gatherers" or the authors of the sagas, no

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doubt, often found ready at hand a *getrübte* tradition, and that one must also reckon with the possibility that a subjective conception of persons and facts may in varying degrees have asserted itself. And then he added: "Dies alles muss die kritik aufzudecken und festzustellen versuchen." And this wish stands there now too, thirty years afterward. It is a somewhat discouraging commentary on the slowness with which research has moved in this case. Hardly a single investigator has yet busied himself with the literary form of the Icelandic sagas, those marvelous examples of prose style and narrative art. Finnur Jónsson is speaking of questions of authorship and of saga criticism. For these, too, are the suggested investigations needed. It is hoped that students will in the future sometimes turn also to this aspect of old Northern studies.

Of the remainder of the Introduction I shall note, from page xviii, that *lausavísa*, 17, is not now listed among those that Jónsson stamps as *sicher unecht;* nor are *vísur*, 45–47, now designated as *vielleicht unecht*. There is an addition on Egil's authorship of the *Hǫfuðlausn*, with references to the views of J. Jónsson, B. M. Olson, and W. H. Vogt.

As to the text and notes little need be said; the editor has rarely deemed it necessary to change the original form, beyond the omission of references to the older literature and the inclusion, instead, of some to later published investigations. I observe the omission of many etymological notes now (p. 6, n. 6; p. 7, n. 9; p. 8, n. 6; etc., etc.). There are various kinds of other omissions, and there are also some additions, so that the two editions correspond exactly in their paging throughout.

Under the note to line 2, page 2, *hnúfa*, there might well have been a reference to *Arkiv fnF*, XXVI, 166; under the note, to line 17, page 19, *óttumz ek*, I would also have had a reference here to A. Kock, *ibid.*, XXXV, 74–77; under the note to line 4, page 20, *hvarf til hans*, "küsste ihn," does not seem to me very fortunate; under the note to line 13, page 25, and the note to lines 4, 5, page 26, the only reference in the former in regard to *hirdmaðr* is "s. Konungsskuggsá (ed. F. Jónsson)," and in the latter, also in reference to the *hirð* "(*Litt. hist*[2]., I, 423 ff.)." It is unfortunate that L. M. Larson's study, *The Household of the Norwegian Kings in the Thirteenth Century*, is not called to the attention of the user of the book in connection with the remarks on the *hirð;* under the *lausavísur*, with their numerous difficulties, I miss entirely any reference to F. Detter's "Zur Erklärung der Lausavisur der *Egilssaga*," in the *Abhandlungen zur germanischen Philologie. Festgabe für Richard Heinzel* (1898), pages 1–29. A mention of Detter's attempt to get a meaning out of the last two verses of *lausavísa*, 52, would have been in order. I am not aware that anyone else has really made anything out of the two verses, and F. Jónsson left them unexplained in the Samfund edition, and in the first SB edition; they are also now left so (with the words, "Der schluss der strophe ist unverständlich"). The peculiar form *bergóneres* of *lausavísa*, 23, verse 7, adopted in the 1894 SB edition, is retained; but it is difficult to see

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what can be made out of it. Some *MSS* have *bergǫnundar*, which was accepted in the Samfund edition. It seems to me Detter offered a plausible explanation of the origin of the form *bergóneres* (*op. cit.*, p. 10) as a misunderstanding of the abbreviation of *bergǫnundar*.

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Spanish Grail Fragments. Edited by KARL PIETSCH. "Modern Philology Monographs." Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1924–25. Vol. I: pp. xi+89; Vol. II: pp. xiii+255.

The University of Chicago could hardly have made a more auspicious choice for the opening volume of the "Modern Philology Monographs" than the *Spanish Grail Fragments* edited by Professor Pietsch. Not merely because twenty-five years of effort have here produced "the most extensive running commentary that has yet been published on a single Old Spanish text," but because out of a wealth of learning, and ever repeated evidence of penetration, zeal, and discipline, there speaks a most kindly spirit, the spirit of one whose loving appreciation can link the present with the days of Tobler and give the younger generation of scholars a rare sense of continuity.

The three texts, *El Libro de Josep Abarimatia*, *La Estoria de Merlin*, and the *Lançarote*, fragments written in 1469 of a Grail-cycle previously discussed by the editor (*Mod. Phil.*, XI, 1), are here reproduced from MS 2-G-5 of the Palace Library in Madrid. The fragments (designated jointly as G), together with *El Baladro del sabio Merlin*, Burgos, 1498 (B), and the two parts of the *Demanda del Sancto Grial* (D), derive from a common source (itself a translation from the French) written in that curious 13–14 c. mixture of Leonese with Gallego-Portuguese and Castilian with characterizes the *Alexandre*, *Alfonso XI*, and *Elena y María*. The texts are preceded by a chapter on linguistic and lexicographical peculiarities left by the original in G and D, completing *Modern Philology*, XIII, 369, 625; and further evidence is added to establish the priority of the Spanish *Josep* over the Portuguese, the date of the Portuguese translation being fixed at 1313. The peculiar origin of the texts—translations in a fluctuating idiom—put a paleographical or critical edition out of the question, but with patience and great caution, at least readability has been achieved. The variant readings occupy a somewhat unusual place, being included in the commentary. It is much to be regretted that the index was not furthur elaborated.

The editor is mainly concerned with the text as such, not as a Grail-text, and the lexicographical and grammatical commentary which fills the second, and larger, volume would be likely to stifle anything but silent admiration, were it not for the editor's unaffected modesty and his evident sympathy for his younger followers. Pouring out an overwhelming abundance of evidence

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on almost every case in a bold sweep over practically the whole field of Romance philology, rejuvenating hackneyed discussion at least for the Hispanist and often providing beautifully satisfactory treatment of questions hardly ever touched before, he yet insists on the fragmentary nature of his notes, merely claims to gather material for "the future author of a historical Spanish syntax" (II, 202), and declares himself "glad if younger scholars spin the threads farther" (I, x).

The following remarks hardly touch the Middle Ages, where the editor's matchless information covers almost everything accessible. From the notes of only a few years' reading they merely submit some further and mainly later examples for a few of the problems discussed, with the hope that Professor Pietsch may see in them an expression of a younger generation's pride in his long and successful work.

LIBRO DE JOSEP ABARIMATIA 4, 12 (16)[1]

My belief that in DQuix. I, 1 *Dezia mucho bien del Gigante Morgante* the word *bien* is a substantive is here confirmed against examples of *mucho bien* exclusively as adverb, furnished by Rodríguez Marín. Comp. further El Abencerraje (in Villegas, Inventario, *ap.* Pérez Pastor, Imprenta en Medina del Campo) 216 ... *estas palabras ... le causaron confusion y arrepentimiento del mal que hazia a quien del dezia tantos bienes* ... Anon., BAE, XXXVI, 530d *Díjele, despues de haber cenado y regaládole, ... que cuando la viese la dijese muchos bienes de mí* and Gerónimo de Alcalá, Alonso, mozo de muchos amos, BAE, XVIII, 578b *Determiné de irme á Barcelona, por haber oido decir del reino de Cataluña grandes bienes.* A further example of *mucho bien* in Seb. Fernández, Trag. Policiana (1547, Orig. de la nov. III) 21 col. 1 "*Dorotea* ...—*entiendesme?*"—"*Mucho bien.*"

6, 8 (24) *Tener* as auxiliary also in spoken Judeo-Spanish, Lamouche, Rom. Forsch. 23, 985.

11, 32 (39) Cf. also Cerv., Casam. engañoso (Amezúa) 402–3. The fluctuation of meaning between *confortare* and *cohortari* is especially noteworthy in the Penitencia de amor (Orig. de la nov. III, clxvii) G de Diego, Contrib. al dicc. hisp. etim. nr. 126, notes the Academy's error in deriving *cohortar* = *confortar* from *cohortari*. (In fact from *cohortare*, also in the latest, 1925, edition.)

14, 4 (46) Cf. *En la fuente del Rosel Lava la niña y el Doncel Él á ella y ella á él.* Gallardo, Ensayo III, col. 1236.

16, 29 (53) Cf. Auto de como San Juan fué concebido, Rom. Rev. XVII, Jacob: yo (117) Zacharias: sentiria (282) fiat: dia (484). Auto de la quinta angustia (1552) Rom. Rev. III, Hieremias (367): vida [*r.* via ?] (369): mia (370).

18, 3 (54) Add Lope, El nuevo mundo descubierto, (Barry) v. 768–9 *No permitas, Providencia, Hacerme esta sinjusticia.* Also ibid. v. 796 and Lang, Rom. Rev. II, 344 f.

22, 12 (65) To the cases of haplography or '*a* embebida' may be added Gatos (Northup) III, 12 and note; Bello-Cuervo, p. 98 (Encina, Santa Teresa) and Rinconete (RM) 340 ff. See also infra in the note to 22, 28 TNaharro II, 293.

[1] After the page and line in the fragments the page in the commentary, Vol. II, is given in parenthesis.

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There is a possibility that in LCav. Esc. 473 *da* might not call for *a* (Beardsley, Infinit. constructions, 175).

22, 28 (67) I believe that in certain of the examples of *poder* (subst.) with pure infinitive and probably in the DQuix. I, 7 *no avia poder averiguarse con el* the main verb is part of an impersonal construction (*hay poder*) equivalent to *es posible*. The predominating meaning of *es posible*, normally followed by a pure infinitive, may have caused the preposition to drop. Convincing examples of impersonal *ha poder*, however, seem to occur more frequently isolated or followed by a *que*-construction than with an infinitive. A few examples may not be useless: GVicente (1852) I, 74 *Viste tanto zote ya? No ha poder que no te asombres.* II, 86 *Nunca havedes d'acabar De me prender e soltar? Não ha poder.* Encina 229 *No ha poder que ño esté el hombre Acá dentro mas seguro.* TNaharro II, 238 *No ha poder Son que tengo de caer En el demoño á que vengo.* II, 293 *No ha poder, Ó no praga Lucifer, Y es aquel que está allí echado.* Palau, Custodia del hombre, v. 2102–2104 *O Señor, o Dios bendito! ya poder/* [r. *¿y ha poder ?*] *jurio a san, no puede ser.* Farsa Salamantina, v. 1923 ff. Soriano: *Calla hermano ven aca.* Antón: *A poder/bien hos se yo conoscer* ... SFernández, Trag. Policiana (Orig. de la nov. III) 7a *Casa es de locos esta ... El amo troba, los moços van a rondar, pues algun dia no ha poder que no sea la mia.*

Examples of the pure infinitive after *haber* = *haber de* as early as CMCid 3523 and as late as Cruz, Sainetes (Kany) RHi LX, 172. With *ha poder*+pure infinitive might be compared *puede ser*+pure infinitive: DQuix. 1, 6 *mandó al barbero que le fuese dando de aquellos libros uno a uno, para ver de qué trataban, pues podía ser hallar algunos que no mereciessen castigo de fuego.* Luna, Diál. fam. (Oudin's ed. 1675) 140 *Si hago, mas no sabeis, que no todos los humores son unos, y que podrá ser, lo que a vos os dà gusto, enfadarme à mi?*

23, 14 (69) Further examples of *no nada* (feminine) CBaena 352 *Señor, sé é creo que tu me formaste A la tu ymagen de una non nada.* Autos port. (Michaelis) Auto do Duque de Florença *hermano no seays quexoso/ queste es vna nonada.* Villegas, Selvagia (1554) 24 *una no nada que me mandábades, no habia de cumplir?* Further examples of the masculine in Sâ de Miranda, Poesías, (Michaelis) 922.

27, 19 (83) Add TNaharro II, 11 *No vistes mayor hazaña: Qu'el mozo perdió la habra, Y an la moza piés de cabra, Que no mecía pestaña Dende acras.* II, 350 *Topé lugo allí con un su cuñado; Mas yo, que salia tan dado al dimoño, Habróme por ella que estaba acordado Con ella y conmigo de her martimoño.* Anon. Com. Seraphina (1521) 376 *Has de saber que yo que me abazaba, andando de bien en mejor, elamóme Violante* ...

28, 25 (93) An interesting example of multiple subjects forming a unit construed with singular verb appears in GLasso de la Vega, Destruycion de Constantinopla (1587) 203 vo. *cuyo donaire, ser, gracia, y cordura,/los recatados animos assalta.* With one of the subjects plural: Cerv., Ruf. dich. (Schevill-Bonilla) 32 *pero dame esfuerço y brio/estos zelos y este amor.* Several distinct singular subjects: Celestina (Foulché-Delbosc) 6 *hasta que llega Sempronio y Celestina a casa de Calisto.* Ibid. 44 *Queda Sempronio y Elicia en casa.* Cerv., Nov. ex. (Cuervo) 59 *no le sabe sino Preciosa, y yo, y otra persona;* Ruf. dich. 39 *Vase Lagartija y Lugo alborotados.* As for the type with which the

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note is mainly concerned comp. Rouanet, Autos II, 282 *y vereys que en nuestros dias/se cumplio las profecias/de Jesus, Hijo de Dios.* Navarro, Marquea de Saluzia (C. B. Bourland) RHi IX) v. 214 *sabras cosas que te quadre: padre.* Cerv., Nov. ex. (Cuervo) 52 *no querria que algunas de las demasiadas ocasiones que allí pueden ofrecerse, me saltease la buena ventura que tanto me cuesta.* Nov. ex. (RM) II, 42 *Las nuevas de su locura y de sus respuestas y dichos se extendió por toda Castilla ...*

32, 20 (102) Add Ortiz, Radiana (House) v. 187 *en los tiempos que yo he vido: perdido.* López Rangel, Farsa (Salvá 1298), v. 30: *quiças Domingo la vido: dollorido;* v. 39: *por mi fe yo no la he vido: sentido.* Jdeparis, Farsa (Kohler) 396 *que nunca tal hombre jamás oy he vido: ydo* Bonilla, Cinco obras (RHi XXVII) 428 *pues claramente emos vido: cometido.* See also the example from Encina under 40, 29 (122).

37, 6 (114) M-L III, § 322. Tappolet (Germ. Roman. Monatschr. XIII, 136) observes: "Von einem aufgeweckten Kind sagt z.B. der Berner Jura *il ne veut point être innocent*, 'aus dem wird mal sicher kein Dummerjahn.' "

37, 18 (115) Cerv., Numancia (Obras, Rosell XII) 98 *Estos tan muchos tímidos (sic) Romanos, Que buscan de vencer cien mil caminos ...* Also Suárez de Figueroa, Passagero 352 *Quan ignorantes las mas superiores inteligencias para rastrear parte de tanto mucho como ciñe y abraça!*

38, 11 (118) Some Portuguese examples of *como que* in Ribeiro, Frases feitas, II, 238 f. To the type in Cuervo, Dicc. s. v. *como*, 6, ε, γγ may be added Puerta de las lenguas abierta (1661, RHi XXXV) 115 *el ruyseñor, trina y haze repetidos quiebros y con grata melodia entona y como que gargantea.* It may be instructive to compare the eventual full exposition of Professor P.'s theory of *como que* with the recent attempt in RFE XII, 133 ff.

40, 29 (122) To the cases of attraction may be added Encina 231 *On me spanto como habro Segun en lo que me he vido.* Nov. ex. (RM) II, 11 *pero en lo que más se mostraba era en letras humanas;* also one in which the preposition remains in place and is twice attracted besides: Nov. ex. (Cuervo) 52 *y en el primero caso en que quiero estaros es en el de la confianza que habéis de hacer de mí;* further, one in which a double attraction is produced by a preposition actually omitted: Cerv. Adjunta al Parnaso, BAE, I, 609c: *en el estilo que mas me ocupo, es en el comico.* One may recall here what Campoamor said about the 'rimbombancia' of Juan Donoso Cortés (*ap.* Fitzmaurice–Kelly, Hist. lit. esp. 1921, 323) *En lo único que se parecen los gigantes y los enanos es en lo estentóreo de la voz.* The construction is still common, witness Muñoz Seca in a recent interview (La Esfera, Jan. 30, 1926) *Algunos amigos, al ver con la saña que me tratan me indican ...*

42, 27 (129) A written example of *abrigo = abrigado* in Martín Pérez de Ayala (Segura de la Sierra, prov. de Jaén) Vida (1566, NBAE II) 226 *lugar abrigo, pero desacomodado para ir [a] la isla, por amor del viento terrenal. ...* For *pago* Rodríguez Florián, Florinea (1554, Orig. de la nov. III) 239 *los otros quedarán descontentos y no pagos de hauer penado por ella.* Baroja, Mala hierba (Madrid 1918) 318 *y sacó dos monedas para pagar.-Está pago, replicó el tabernero. Canso* is also attested for the Montaña (García Lomas 104) and given as provincial by Besses, Argot, 46. *Privo* is perhaps doubtful: JSedeño, Arcadia (16c.) ap. Gallardo, Ensayo IV, 564 *Yo vivo estoy; y estoy de vida*

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privo: Yo soy de vida privo y de mí mismo. Castro, Vida del soldado (Serrano) 112 *¿Tan inhumano y privo de razon soy yo que ...* Not so *discurro:* Benavente, Intereses creados (Teatro XVI) 145 *el hambre y el cansancio me tienen abatido y mal discurro.*

43, 7 (131) In some "Notes on the Language of the Rustics in the Sixteenth Century Drama" contributed in 1922 for the Homenaje a Menéndez Pidal, I started from the assumption that the *i* in the oath *pesia*, as Meyer-Lübke contended against Morel-Fatio, was the result of a post-tonic *e* in hiatus, and surmised that the epenthetic *e* in *juria* was a contamination from *pesia* which produced the infinitive *juriar* and the present *jurio*. The examples now offered by Professor Pietsch make it very probable that a more definite phonetic process was responsible for the *i* in *juria*, although not, of course, in *pesia*, which always presupposes a subjunctive. To these examples may be added Valdes, Dial. de Mercurio y Carón (Boehmer) 71 *laberintio*. Nuñez, Refranes, Madrid, 1804, III, 361 *coxio* (given as ast.)

44, 12 (134) *El pecado* = the devil. Add Fernández y Ávila, Infancia, de Jesu-Christo (Wagner) 226; Guzmán de Alfarache, Pte I, l. III, cap. 10: *¡Voto a tal!, que parece que el pecado nos ata los pies, que siempre este chocarrero nos gana por la mano.* The only example I know of *pecado* with an indefinite: López Rangel, Farsa, *ea responde me di/eres animal o hombre/o eres algun pecado.* Is the idea of devil (*el enemigo malo*) also at the bottom of the oath *¡mal pecado!* (Berceo, Milagros, 70d), *por mal pecado* (Apol. 11a) and frequent from the *Celestina* to the *Quixote?*

47, 26 (148) The use of the atonic personal pronoun with *entrar* was probably also furthered by confusion with dativus ethicus (as in CMCid 687) or dative of possession (as in Conf. Amante 286, 13). More examples might also show the reflexive use of the verb bridging the passage from intransitive to transitive (Cf. Schuchardt, ZfrPh, XXXII, 231). Perhaps it may be observed here that with sun, heat, day, night as subject *entrar* would not always be adequately rendered by *empezar* (as in CMCid. III, p. 646, 13–15): Dial. del Capón (RHi, XXXVIII) 271 *pues el sol va entrando á mas andar, ... no tengo de salir deste soto.* DQuix. I, 2 *y el sol entraba tan apriesa y con tanto ardor, que fuera bastante á derretirle los sesos ...* Avellaneda (BAE, I) 16d *por tanto, caminemos ántes que éntre más el sol.* Rinc. (RM) 322 *que se va haciendo tarde y va entrando el calor más que de paso.* DQuix. II, 8 *la noche se nos va entrando á mas andar* ("se nos echa encima" Cejador). Rodríguez Marín (ed. crít. IV, 170) quotes Fernández de Ribera: *Entrábassenos el dia, y yo quise irme, antes que el le calentase más.* In certain cases, at any rate, especially with object pronouns, an idea of something hostile (or sudden, as in our slang "walk in on somebody") is suggested. This is notably the case in Celestina 60.

51, 26 (157) Further examples of *Mares* = *Mars* : RHi, XIX, 81; Santillana, Canciones y decires (Gde Diego) 67 and note; Cotarelo, Fragmentos de una farsa (R. esp. de lit. hist. y arte, I) 140; Eslava, Coloquios (Icazbalceta) 72.

54, 27 (161) I would suggest that there is reason to distinguish two types in the examples given: (1) *yrse camino de su cavalleriza*, where *camino* has, as Clemencín put it, a prepositional force. (2) *yuan el mesmo camino*, where *camino* is a cognate object.

ESTORIA DE MERLIN 66, 28 (200) *hacerlo* (*a una mujer*) explains the game of

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words between Gilyracho and Perogrullo in Gûete's Tesorina (Cronan I) v. 1310 ff: *He, pues, sus;/he, declina* agotelus./—*Pardiez, aqui es el cagar!*/hec et hec agotelus, *juro a san, que ay que tirar./—Dale, di./*—Genetiuo, agoteli, in datiuo, agotelo./*Essa, yo te niego a ti/la puta que te pario.*

66, 29 (200) Two later examples of *fazer [en]creyente:* Cotarelo, Entremeses I, 57 (end 16c.) *vuesa merced se puede tender en este suelo y yo le haré encreyente que es fuelle para el oficio* ... Passamonte, Vida (RHi 55) 412 *la buena de la madre le hizo en creyente al moço por cartas, que le tenia buscado un cargo.* One example from Quevedo in DQuix. (RM ed. crít.) V, 380. Another in Quevedo, Obras III, 322 *Agora se está una dueña Desnudando el ab initio; Haciéndoles encreyentes Que es el Jordán á sus siglos.* The form *encreyentes* also occurs for the singular: Quevedo, Sueños (Cejador) II, 113 *pues me queréis hacer encreyentes que es estornudo el reguelдo* (C. gives one example of *encreyente* from Rueda and two of *encreyentes* from Quevedo). I hope Professor Pietsch had the form with *-s* and also the curious expression *en justo(s) y en creyente(s)* (DQuix. II, 44) in mind, when he promised "more of this at another time."

68, 28 (206) Add Celestina 150 *para, en sintiendo porque, saltar presto* ... Encina 183 *nuestros requiebros son Las muestras del corazon, Que no son á sin porqué.* GVicente II, 93 *Y nos dais vida cuidosa/ Sin porque?* DSBadajoz I, 114 *Oh! que no hice por qué.* Tragic. aleg. (Cronan I) v. 1165 *Tu muger, la generosa,/ tomo siempre este porque* [i.e., cohecho]. Cerv., Com. y entrem. (Schevill-Bonilla) I, 122 *lisongero/y, sin porque, jactancioso* ... 'El menor Aunes,' Sermon de amores (RHi 36, 595 f.) v. 579 f. *y cargays luego las culpas ... /no a vosotros mas a ellas/sin porqué.* Rouanet, Autos, II, 210 *despues de la Pasion/ que a de pasar sin porque,/Xpo yra a vuestra prision* ... With the definite article Canc. de burlas (Usoz) 213 *el porqué yo no lo hallo;* Palau, Salamantina, v. 1984 *El porque/ ciertamente no lo se* ... Castillejo, Obras de amores (BAE, XXXII), 108 *y el porqué Preguntado no lo sé.* Also compare the title of a book on popular medecine *Libro llamado el porqué,* Alcala 1587; DQuix. (RM, ed. crít., II, 234, 2) *y no se me pregunte el por qué, que sería nunca acabar.* Also *para qué* JRodrigo Alonso, Com. de Sancta Susaña (Bonilla, RHi, XXVII, 390 f.) v. 313 *El para que nos dezi.* More curious are the examples of ellipsis where *porqué,* while preceded by the article preserves its conjunctive force: Fern. de la Torre, Cancionero, 150 *Dime ya, triste ventura,/el por que/ m'apartas de quien ame/sin mesura.* JPastor, Farsa de Lucrecia (Bonilla, l. c.) v. 655 ff. *yo quiero sin detener/ ... procurar de llevar/el porque fuy embiado.*

70, 27 (212) For *grand pieça* Santillana (Gde Diego) 28 and note; DQuix. I, 7 *pero al cabo de una buena pieza, preguntó á su ama* ... Ibid, *á cabo de poca pieza salió volando por el tejado.*

72, 17 (216) The original meaning of *camarada:* "group of soldiers sleeping and eating together" continued to exist in the feminine substantive and in adverbial compounds such as *de camarada* (Pic. Justina, ed. Puyol, II, 118 *fuymonos de camarada todas con tanta hermandad como si todas quatro fueramos melliças.*) or *en camarada:* Diál. intit. el Capón (RHi, XXXVIII) 311 *bien será en camarada, así por la seguridad como por la conversación* ... Cerv., Nov. ex., II, 32 *y en su compañía y camarada pasó a Flandes.* The first step toward the masculine would be the application of the word to only one person, gen-

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erally a man, but with the word still feminine, as in the examples given by Professor Pietsch, to which may be added Passamonte, Vida, 325 *se dió orden que una camarada de las mias, que se llama Iuan Fernandes, animasse en cruxia y gritasse.* Ibid. *Yo con otra camarada mia que se llamaua Francisco Pedroso* ... Las Casas (1570) does not mention the word. Covarrubias (1611) gives it only the restricted personal sense. Minsheu (1623) in his additions to Percivale has a first meaning, fem. "a comerade or cabbinmate souldier" and besides the now antiquated "battery," also mentions the "placing of diuers men together." But the striving toward a change of gender is evidenced by the addition of a masc. "camerado" (comp. modern French slang *camaro*) "vide Camerada ... a camerado souldiour." (Cotgrave also spells camerade.) In the Dicc. de Autoridades the first example of the masculine is from Diego Gracián, secretary of Charles the Fifth. Neither the second (from Antonio de Herrera's Historia de Indias, 1601) nor the third (from Quevedo) nor the two remaining, show the gender. The *camarada* as an institution began to disappear with the beginning of the seventeenth century, witness the Spanish army ordinance of 1632 where the decadence of discipline is attributed "al haberse relajado en mis ejércitos la buena y loable costumbre que solía haber de que los soldados viviesen en camaradas" (Picatoste, Los Españoles en Italia, II, 24 f.). But before the *camarada* disappeared as an element of cohesion and economy, French military writers such as Lanoue (quotations from De Langey and Lanoue in Littré) had admired and recommended the custom and the word had passed into French, at first and as late as Cotgrave (1611, cf. also Fr. Schmidt, Span. elem. in Franz. Wortschatz, 83) preserving the feminine gender. Indeed in certain parts of Romanic Switzerland (Conthey, Lens, Chamoson, Liddes) while epicene in modern French, it is even now applied only to women (Tappolet, Germ.-Roman. Mtschft, XIII, 135). In Italian the first clear example of masculine gender given by the Crusca is from Lorenzo Magalotti (d. 1712).

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The Influence of the Arthurian Romances on the Five Books of Rabelais. By NEMOURS H. CLEMENT. "University of California Publications in Modern Philology," Vol. XII, No. 3. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1926. Pp. 110.

Mr. Clement's work is the amplification of a dissertation presented for the degree of Ph.D. at the University of Chicago. His purpose is to set before the students of Rabelais a new theory of the chief source inspiring the composition of the Five Books. This source has been conjectured by Thuasne and De Sanctis in Folengo's *Macaronics;* by Plattard in a combination of the *Macaronics* with the popular romances of France (particularly the *Grandes Chroniques*) and the Italian comic romances; by Fleury, Schneegans, Besch, and Tilley in the *chansons de geste;* and by Lefranc in the reports of navigators which caught the imagination of Rabelais' day. Throwing light as they do

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on various sides of Rabelais' composition, these theories leave enough of it in darkness for Mr. Clement to propose a fifth. He sets up for consideration the thesis that the Five Books form a burlesque imitation of the medieval romances (particularly the Arthurian), with the specification that while I and II are general imitations, the remaining books are modeled from the romances centering about the search for the Holy Grail.

Mr. Clement has listed the romances with which Rabelais certainly, probably, or possibly had acquaintance, and has classified them by material and treatment according to the general plan of Gaston Paris. He takes up in his fourth chapter the details of cultural background which appear in the typical romance and are to be found as well in Rabelais' I and II, pointing out that these books show remarkable parallelisms to the construction and description of a courtly society as conceived by the romance-writers. His fifth chapter studies the evidence for considering III, IV, and V as burlesques of the Grail-romances. The general nature of the voyage of Pantagruel and his companions, the description of the ceremonial which hedges approach to the Holy Bottle, as well as the specific references to the Grail itself, all indicate strongly the presence in Rabelais' mind of an influence exerted by the *Lancelot*, the *Navigatio Sancti Brendani*, and one of the Perceval romances.

Mr. Clement's study is painstaking and well based; his analogies are carefully chosen; and altogether he has made a valuable contribution to the literature of a much-vexed theme. His sixth chapter, to be sure, may be laying overmuch stress on the marvelous in Rabelais as a link between the last two books and the romances; for in general the marvelous in the romances seems in essence to have more effect upon the fortunes of the questers than does Rabelais' series of wonders on his ship's company—and as Mr. Clement himself points out, Rabelais has here turned for his sources from the material in the romances to the marvels ready to hand in classical and contemporary literature. Still, Mr. Clement has restrained himself from claiming too much for his thesis, and has thereby added to the confidence to be placed on his judgment.

Two suggestions seem opportune: Mr. Clement might add to his list of marvelous herbs (p. 236) the garlic-like plant *scordeon*, whose magic property is to nullify the power of the lodestone (Vxxxvi in the Marty-Laveaux edition). Further, he should have pointed out that following the reference in Vx to the *flasque de Sang greal*, Maître Alcofribas states that when the party saw this holy object, "ce qui nous fut monstré estoit le visage d'un connin rosti." This looks strikingly like a parody of a Grail-romance scene in a version which represents an example of the miracle of St. Gregory (here doubtless the *Perlesvaus*); the nutritive property of the Grail would then be given comic prominence in a style characteristic of Rabelais' irreverence and gastrolatrous humor.

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Étude Littéraire et Linguistique de "Li Hystore de Julius Cesar" de Jehan de Tuim. By V. L. DEDECEK. "Publications of the University of Pennsylvania: Series in Romanic Languages and Literatures," No. 13. Philadelphia, 1925. Pp. 132.

Dr. Dedecek's dissertation, as its title indicates, is in two parts. The *partie littéraire* offers a detailed comparison between Jehan's *Hystore* and its sources, chiefly Lucan's *Pharsalia*, with some sound observations on his work as a translator, and on what little is to be gleaned as to his identity from the work itself—there appears to be no other information to be had about him elsewhere.

The *partie linguistique* discusses the dialectic peculiarities of the *Hystore* which, as might be expected from the situation of the town that gives Jehan his name (Thouin, not far from Mons and Namur in Hainaut), turn out to be partly Wallon and partly Picard. The dissertation concludes with etymological notes in extension and correction of the material in Settegast's edition of the text (Halle, 1881). A complete glossary is reserved for later publication.

It is instructive and delightful to observe how Jehan clasps a classic author to his medieval bosom—much must be done to make it fit to inhabit there, and it is done thoroughly and with gusto. It is Lucan; Jehan says so: "Ci coumenche li hystore de Julius Cesar, ke Jehans de Tuim translata de latin en roumans selonc les .x. livres de Lucan,"[1] and again, "Ci coumence li prumiers livres de Lucan." But it is Lucan with a difference.

Nearly everything suggestive of the "Payens corsed olde rytes" disappears; the difficult allusions are got rid of; Lucan's concern with *patria* and *libertas* is rooted out; Caesar, the object of Lucan's deep scorn, becomes the ideal knight, not a little given to celebrating his own merits (pp. 27), and Pompey, whom Lucan exalts, is adjudged rightly to have come to a miserable end for having profaned the Lord's temple at Jerusalem; finally the meeting of Caesar and Cleopatra offers a complete exhibit in *amour courtois* in practice and in theory.

Thus did the Middle Ages make themselves marvelously at ease in Rome, and Rome came close to the bosoms of men in the thirteenth century—and

[1] Chaucer appears to have been content to take him at his word. The Man of Lawe's reference to the triumph of Julius,

"Of which that Lucan maketh swich a bost" (B 400 f).

and the Monk's

"To Rome agayn repaireth Julius
With his triumphe, laureat ful hye" (B 3909 f.)

may have been suggested by several passages in the *Pharsalia* (Edgar F. Shannon, *Mod. Phil.*, XVI, 12, 113 ff.). But since Jehan's Lucan does make great "bost" of the Roman triumph, describing it with much circumstance in his Prologue (Settegast, pp. 8–10), and describes it again at the very end of the work (pp. 244–45) as having been bestowed upon Caesar, I think it safe to conclude that Chaucer was not speaking at random and unluckily, as Skeat said, but strictly by the book. Even Chaucer's "laureat ful hye" is in Jehan: "dont s'i faisoit courouner d'un vert chapiel de lorier en senefiance de victore" (p. 9).

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since. Dr. Dedecek is to be congratulated on having made the demonstration so fully and vividly.

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The English Language in America. By GEORGE PHILIP KRAPP, PH.D. 2 vols. Published for the Modern Language Association of America. New York: Century Co., 1925.

Within recent years several notable contributions have been made toward tracing the development, and establishing the present condition, of the English tongue as spoken and written in the United States. Among these works Professor Krapp's two volumes will for some time hold a prominent place, both on account of their scope, dealing as they do with so many aspects of the subject, and by reason of the careful treatment of a number of interesting and important questions.

The first volume treats of matters which concern both the form and the content of the language. It deals with history and vocabulary, with proper names, with style and literary dialects, with spelling and dictionaries. There is some lack of cohesion and sequence here, and the section on "Proper Names" sometimes reaches the very fringes of the subject, but under each of these heads Professor Krapp has collected a large mass of interesting information. The second volume, except for a very short chapter on "Inflection and Syntax," is devoted to a study of pronunciation, so full of detail that it is as much a manual for reference as a general survey of the distinctive sounds of the language.

In his Preface Professor Krapp lays special emphasis on the historical aspect of his study, and this undoubtedly is one of the most valuable features of his work. The long opening section on "The Mother Tongue" puts the relationship between the English of this country and that of Great Britain in the proper perspective, and deals judiciously with various questions which have frequently been debated with more zeal than knowledge. What is treated on general lines in this section is partly exemplified in detail in that on "Vocabulary" which immediately follows it. In this Professor Krapp discusses and illustrates some notable features of the American vocabulary, drawing a great deal of his material from a study of the local records of the seventeenth century. From these he produces a number of interesting or curious usages, some of which will undoubtedly yet receive fuller elucidation than is now possible. Some may never be solved, but remain in the same obscurity as many similar entries in English records of the same period, of which it is impossible to say whether they are genuine words or mere errors of careless and half-literate writers. A few of those cited by Professor Krapp can however be explained even now, and some corrections or additions made, in the light of present knowledge. *Haver* (p. 79) regularly means "oats" not "hay."

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Earebred (p. 87) has clearly no connection with plowing, but is the same as the English dialect *earbreed*, "the cross-bar or projecting beam at each end of a cart on which the body of the cart rests." As this word is current in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, its appearance in New England is not remarkable. *Hoaward* (p. 94) is noteworthy, as the form has a very limited range in England compared with the usual *Hayward*. It seems unnecessary to call *chirie birds* "an unexplained bird-name" (p. 87), and then give the obvious explanation, "cherry-birds," a name still in use. A similar criticism may be made on the "unrecorded word" *alfogeos* (p. 145), which after all proves to be "recorded in the *New English Dictionary*." Various other words mentioned in this section, or elsewhere in the volume, invite stray comment. If *foolk* (p. 102) was a reduction of *firelock*, it would not require to pass through the stage *f'lock;* a strong stress on the first syllable would account for everything, and the *l* would naturally be sounded. So far as *haet, hate* (p. 128) is Scottish, there is no doubt about its etymology, and there seems no good reason for associating it at all with *hooter*. The question whether *line* was "first used of ships or of railways" (p. 137) is not very material, since before either of them was known it had been used of stage-coaches; "a line of stages" is mentioned in 1786. On page 235 *bimeby* is classed as "General Low Colloquial," and on page 250 as "Negro Dialect"; whatever its precise standing may be, it is interesting to note that the antecedent stage to this form is indicated by the spelling *by'nd by*, in a text otherwise quite normal, as early as 1709. On page 12 a passage quoted from Webster, of date 1783, contains the expression, "at the Eastward"; this use of *at* with points of the compass, of which examples can be found from the seventeenth century onward, has apparently been overlooked by the dictionaries.

These are instances, of which many more might be given, of what yet remains to be done before a real history of American English can be written, as Professor Krapp himself points out on pages 167–68. The Index of Words appended to his work is indeed in itself evidence that this aspect of the subject still awaits adequate treatment. Its five thousand entries, many of which are proper names, cover only a limited proportion of the vocabulary, and only in a few instances is the account of a word sufficiently full to be completely historical. In his citations and references, however, Professor Krapp has contributed valuable material toward tracing the history of numerous words, especially from the earlier period. The next step forward will be made when he or some other competent scholar undertakes a work which will deal as fully with the history of the words and their meanings as this treats of their form and sounds both now and in the past. In the meantime, these two volumes will be indispensable both for their contents and as a basis for further studies in the subject.

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Historische französische Syntax. By EUGEN LERCH. Vol. I. Pp. xxvi+327. Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1925.

This, the first of four volumes to appear, contains discussion of (1) the author's method; (2) the relations of syntax to the other branches of linguistic science; (3) syntactical methods, with a plea for the historical method as understood by the "idealistic" school; (4) the growth of the French conjunctional apparatus; (5) co-ordination and subordination. All of this is preliminary to the detailed description and discussion of co-ordinate clauses in French *que*-clauses and clauses with *si*, *quand*, and *comme*.

In view of the shift from the racial to the national interpretation of civilization, the frequent identity of the social with the linguistic group, together with much evidence of national individuality stamped upon language, some philologians have regarded the language as the embodiment of the nation, and have turned more and more to the conscious factors that enter into the composition of language. Not only is the language often the strongest bond of the group and its most definite form of self-assertion, it is also an unparalleled expression of the inner and outer life of the group, if also the greatest mechanistic means of establishing and maintaining the norm of that life.

Thus far most philologians will go. But others, notably the German "idealistic" school, would also seek to establish a consistent agreement between conscious linguistic development and the larger cultural, social, and political movements of the nation, to interpret language by history, and even vice versa; this is their view of the scope and aim of linguistic history. Dissenters from this view are Ferdinand de Saussure,[1] who concluded that there is no logical connection between a linguistic type and the mentality of the social group, and Bally,[2] who concludes from some striking examples that linguistic perfection does not necessarily follow the curve of culture.

Professor Lerch, however, as an "idealist," is of another opinion. In his Preface, which is an apology for his method, are urged, on the whole with moderation, the views of the "idealistic" syntactical school, especially those of Vossler and Hans Naumann. The task the author sets himself is the historical interpretation of a syntactical choice that accompanies conscious development, and corresponds to growing cultural needs. Syntactical achievements and refinements, and stylistic mechanism, whether the results of creation, analogy, or contamination, are imposed upon the community by the criterion of a culturally superior minority (Naumann's view), and their selection should be referable to historic causes. Sound and form change is never automatic and independent of conscious human selections. (Not even the gradual modification of sounds?) The possibility that the community may see some advantage (e.g., affective) in an "erroneous" form will account for its adoption. (Nothing, apparently, is allowed for lack of discrimination and uncritical acceptance.) The "positivist" clings to grammar as a system of

[1] *Linguistique générale*, p. 318. [2] *Le Langage et la Vie*. p. 106

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language; the "idealist" prefers the history of language as a unit in which sounds, forms, sentence-structure, and vocabulary are all referable to the thought and feeling of living people.

Lerch considers other methods as preparatory and complementary to the historical method; they may show conditions, if not causes. The conscious attitude of the speaker who differentiates between *Quand arrivera ton père?* and *Quand ton père arrivera-t-il?* matters less than the knowledge that such a nuance became perceptible in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and that the substitution of differentiation in structure for vocal stress and gesture is coincident with an advance in culture. The "logical" method alone, seeking the character of the language in discrepancies between thought and speech, is inadequate, as the reason for such must be discovered in the mind of the speaker. The effects of contamination passed into organized speech probably because they suited the tastes of the linguistic community. (The other possibility, that such discrepancies may have been originally popular, and came to be used by an illiterate upper society until they were admitted by writers, whose works, after all, are the only evidence, does not seem to be considered.) The "comparative" method, as Lerch understands it, is not to compare French with other Romance languages, but rather to bring out what is specifically French. The reason for the penetration of a given expression into various countries may be different in each; different also the reason for the adoption of a construction in the same country at different periods. The "genetic" method is of value, not to explain developed speech by comparison with primitive speech, but to understand primitive speech (e.g., Old French) through comparison with other primitive speech (e.g., that of children). Such primitive speech stresses co-ordinate expression, but, the psychic intuition of speakers growing in complexity beyond the available means of expression, subordinating conjunctions were adopted. Lerch quotes Debrunner to the effect that conjunctions have been more important factors in human development than steel and electricity. (The Greek and Chinese particles are equally marks of intellectual power and perception of relations. But instead of marking conceptual growth, do they not all rather express in many cases in the written language the relations implied in the spoken language by accent, intonation, gesture? The writer, indeed, perforce adopted these means of attaining precision, but does anyone seriously imagine that the city population of post-Roman Gaul was ever incapable of marking in some way perception of the commoner thought-relations?)

Of the "psycho-physical" theory the author disposes by noting that members of a linguistic unit do not all follow set expressions because of similar cerebral mechanism; indeed, they are free to adopt variations; nor is it explained why other units do not adopt similar forms of expression, or why these forms vary with time in the same unit. The correspondence of a variable expression with a constant mental experience is not consistent with such theory, but is to be explained only by the historical method. In particular,

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experiments in sentence-structure based on the calling of evocative words, or research in nerves leading from the sensory organs to the speech centers, cannot show how sentences are spontaneously formed in correspondence with active mental life. Inner mental activity—intuition—is the essence of speech, whether it result in sound or not. Nor can research in pathological linguistic defects shed light on normal expression. Further, psychology can only point to possibilities, and cannot explain why a particular possibility was realized at a particular period; e.g., contamination and analogy are ever in operation, but only historical method can explain the voluntary adoption of certain of their effects at particular periods. Complementary to the historical is the "aesthetic" method which ascribes linguistic phenomena to individual mental creation, and regards language as art, the embodiment of the soul's intuition. We should go back to a period when an expression was new and competing with other expressions to discover the affective nuance that led to its adoption.

According to Lerch, speech is rigidly determined by definite (but verifiable?) historic causes, and there is close correspondence between the character of a much-used expression and the character of the age in which it is used. Thus, from the predominance of co-ordinate clauses in the *Chanson de Roland* he would infer rudimentary speech habits with slight mental development. First, it may be noted that Meillet[1] thinks it unlikely that primitive speech was almost wholly paratactic. Then, too, the earliest narrative verse, sung or recited, may very well have been intentionally paratactic in expression like much modern stage dialogue and poetry. The absence in the oldest extant French MSS of all but two or three conjunctions is no proof that no others were used in writing and speech, and certainly no argument for a mental development so slight as to be incapable of the expression, much less of the perception of, say, causal and final relations. The fundamental concepts of medieval Christianity and feudalism involved clear conceptions of these very relations, e.g., "because we are sinful [weak]," "in order that we may be saved [protected]," and it is wholly unlikely that the vernacular had no corresponding subordinating conjunctions. But even if it had not, the relations were apprehended, and the attempt to gauge the intellectual plane of the period from the conjunctional equipment of narrative verse breaks down. The author does not tell how frequency of use in Old French is to be determined from extant MSS, nor if verifiable historical causes are the only elements affecting linguistic choice. Apparently no allowance is made for the possible chance survival of certain improvised expressions that may have gained currency in popular speech (at the fairs, for instance). Such must have been many *idiotismes* and proverbial sayings embodying homely wisdom; but these Lerch does not mention. He insists that description for its own sake is wellnigh worthless, and that a scientific method must seek to learn the causes. But considerable caution is needed in assigning causes. Besides the innovations that arose in response to the intellectual and affective need of greater

[1] *Linguistique historique*, pp. 162 ff.

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expressiveness, there are many due to mere affectation. Thus, some variations supplied by the legal jargon did not invariably result in a gain in expressiveness. Extreme caution is needed also in differentiating the original nuances,[1] often *il faut savoir ignorer;* nor do the conjunctions in present usage necessarily correspond to these supposed original nuances (cf. *quoique, bien que,* below).

Lerch's critics have held that his theories were at times based upon too scant a material. The author, however, has assembled here from various collections and arranged in a masterly manner copious material illustrating chronologically the growth of the conjunctional apparatus as well as the discarding of obsolescent forms. He attempts not so much a rationalization of the development of usage as an intuitive perception of the causes. The suggestions as to differentiation and analogous formation are often illuminating. More obvious are the "historical" innovating influences: Latin of jurists and clerics, Latin through translation, Italian, the mercantile class, the models of Renascence writers, grammarians, the academy, the *philosophes*, those of a social nature (e.g., the influence of culture in substituting inverted structure for accent), analogy, contamination, compromise, the identification of conjunctions with false etymons (e.g., *quoique* with *quamquam*), the natural linguistic and literary needs of the particular periods. These for the most part external influences are exercised mainly upon literary language, and indirectly upon language modeled upon literature, and their correspondence is with external culture. But there is a deeper civilizing force working through the collective consciousness of the whole group to express itself, and whose effect is increased intuitive delicacy. This force may often have little to do with historical accidents, or the criterion and prestige of cultivated minorities; a subtle and secret agent in the creation and molding of language, it can hardly be gauged by reference to external influences.

While some of the author's attempted explanations are ingenious and plausible, several points must remain debatable. Among these are:

1. *entre ... et.* Lerch thinks the psychological explanation of contamination of *inter* with *et ... et* unsatisfactory; for why, he asks, is not a similar contamination found outside the Romance languages? But in English, "Between them John and Mary wrote the play," are crossed or united the ideas of participation or alternation, and plurality, rendered also in *Et si dïent ambure et saveir et folage,* "And they say both wise and foolish things," where *ambure,* "both," are out of logical order, affectively displaced. Lerch, however, suggests that in *iudicet dominus inter me et te, iudicare* (like Old French *jugier*) was regarded as transitive, and that from this well-known formula the Romance construction may have originated.

But could the Scripture formula be so familiar as to offer a type of construction applicable to other verbs? Would *iudicare* be likely to have the

[1] R. L. G. Ritchie, *Syntaxe de la conjonction* que *dans l'ancien français* (Paris, 1907), p. viii.

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transitive interpretation in Italy and Southern France where the equivalent verb had also intransitive force (Appel 79, 15, Monaci 14, 64)? The English constructions above argue for a common "psychological" explanation.

Further, Lerch thinks that the type *irons tornoiier entre moi et vos* had much to do with the substitution of the accusatives *moi, toi* for *je, tu*. Yet it might well be a popular simplification (as with nouns in Vulgar Latin), the tonic forms being naturally selected; but such would hardly be consistent with the theory that the standard is set by a cultured minority. Is not a distinction between "learned "and "popular" necessary with syntactical forms as with words?

2. With reference to the "missing" relative, the doubtful analysis of some subjunctive types, e.g., in *ne poet muer n'en plurt* (*Rol.* 725), the subjunctive is probably "prescriptive" rather than "polemical"; "he should not weep—he cannot help it"; cf. *il ne vienent a eve, n'en partissent li guet.* Lerch admits the interpretation "without the fords' parting," or "in which the fords do not part." In either the negative consecutive principle is clear, and unreality is connoted, although the double negative of the whole effects the statement of a fact. The polemic idea is no more present than in *elle ne regarde jamais la bague qu'elle ne songe à lui.* It is evident that Lerch still clings to the single volitive principle for the subjunctive, for elsewhere[1] he quotes F. Sommer,[2] who analyzes *nemo est qui id sciat: quis id sciat?* "wer soll das wissen?—Es gibt niemanden." Now, "wer soll das wissen" here = "who should [is likely to] know that," and the mood is natural likelihood which is not volitive. Apparently Lerch has not seen Delbrück's admission of Hale's distinction between the volitive and the anticipatory forces of the subjunctive.[3]

3. Lerch, unable like many others to believe that *que* after comparatives of inequality may come from *quam*, thinks that *elle est plus belle qu'une rose* was shortened from *elle est plus belle que n'est une rose.* But the comparative *quam* was actually the accusative singular feminine relative pronoun.[4] For the relative *quam* was substituted in Vulgar Latin the masculine *quem* which > *che, que.* Why could not the conjunction *quam*, identified in sound with the relative *quam*, pass to *quem* and > *che, que?*

4. A tendency to draw overfine distinctions based on the supposed original connotation of the conjunction, and the belief that such distinctions are parallel in French, German, and English, e.g., between *comme*, "as," and *puisque*, "since," *sintemal* (used when the knowledge is more stressed). Or where the author dissents from Littré's view that *encore que* = *quoique, bienque*, reasoning thus: *encore que* = "wenn auch" (adversative); *quoique, bien que* = "obgleich" (concessive); *quoique* (concessive) denotes a more complete con-

[1] *Literaturblatt für germ. u. rom. Phil.* (1925), pp. 7–8.

[2] *Vgl. Syntax d. Schulsprachen* (Leipzig, 1921), p. 120.

[3] *Vgl. Grammatik d. indogermanischen Sprachen, IV, Syntax II* (Strassburg, 1897), p. 368.

[4] Lindsay, *Lat. Lang.*, p. 607.

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tradiction than the adversative *encore que*, since *quoique* had originally generalizing force; so *ja soi-il bleciez, il est forz* is adversative and *quoiqu 'il soit bleciez, il est forz* is concessive. It might be objected that even though *quoique* once had this force—as did probably "*al*though," "*al*beit," "quam*quam*"—yet our terminology must be founded on the semantic force that these conjunctions have in the age of grammatical nomenclature, and Littré is speaking of that. The following distinctions, based on Latin grammar, are usually well understood today: (*a*) (optative-potential) concessive of indifference (*soit-il vrai ou non*, etc.) and all generalizing concessive conditions (*qui que vous soyez*, etc.), in which the imagined action or state is assumed through indifference, or for the sake of argument, or through lack of definite knowledge to the contrary, merely because the speaker does not believe it invalidates the main statement; (*b*) (concessive of fact) *Bien qu'il pleuve, il neige aussi*, in which the fact is conceived by the speaker as able logically to impair the main statement, but which in fact is recognized as not doing so; (*c*) (adversative) *Quoiqu'il ne soit pas en faute, son père le punira; quoiqu'il pleuve, je sortirai*, in which the adversative fact is conceived as conflicting with the main statement and normally invalidating it more or less.

There are, however, clauses that combine (*a*) and (*b*), or assume the force of either at the will of the speaker: *bien qu'il soit honnête, il n'est pas intelligent* may = *je veux bien qu'il soit h.* (*a*), or = *admettons qu'il soit h.* (*comme on le sait, mais*) (*b*).

Yet there is an adversative element in many concessive clauses, e.g., *encore que J. fût bien fort, il ne pouvait pas le lever* (*c'était trop lourd*). *Bien qu'il pleuve, il neige aussi*, where "though it be true, yet" expresses the relation rather than "in spite of the fact, yet." Again, certain other clauses may have concessive force or show the adversative relation as the point of view of the speaker shifts: *quoiqu'il pleuve, je sortirai* may show (1) fact conceded, but regarded as immaterial; (2) fact regarded as logically invalidating the main statement.

Lerch's distinction, then, is based on the supposed original generalizing force of *quoique*. Actually, however, it is not the conjunction but the speaker's attitude and the general sense that decides the relation. Further, of his examples of *encore que* (called by him adversative): *Où veulent-elles en venir, ces puissances qui désirent notre perte comme si elles étaient indépendantes, et ne périssaient pas avec nous, encore qu'elles ne vivent qu'en nous?* ("in spite of the fact that") and *Encore que je voie bien comme vous une différence entre nous deux, cette différence, je la vois toute autre* ("although I admit that"), the first is adversative, the second concessive, in the sense defined above. To judge from *Bien que les temps soient mauvais, et encore qu'une bouche de plus à nourrir grève sensiblement notre budget*[1] it would appear that Littré still has some following.

[1] A. Theuriet, *Mons. Lulu*, p. 249.

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All students of French syntax will be grateful to Professor Lerch for an invaluable summary of syntactical theory and controversy. The very full up-to-date Bibliography, given mostly *passim*, would be still more serviceable if listed with the abbreviations of authors and works.

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Jahrbuch für historische Volkskunde. Edited by WILHELM FRAENGER. Vol. I. Berlin, Herbert Stubenrauch, 1925. Pp. 348, pls. 26.

The firm of Herbert Stubenrauch, which has already contributed so notably to folklore studies—Wesselski's *Märchen des Mittelalters* and Bolte's monumental edition of Pauli's *Schimpf und Ernst* come at once to mind—now undertakes the publication of an annual of the first importance. The *Jahrbuch* will be devoted to the history of folklore, the presentation of systematic surveys of source material, the appreciation of those personalities who find full explanation only before the background of the folk, e.g., Fischart, Breughel, or Abraham à Santa Clara, and lastly the closer study of three special fields: the literature, the architecture, and the plastic art of the folk. The first volume contains rather more discussion of fundamental principles than later volumes may be expected to contain. It is not clear whether the bibliographical surveys of certain fields which conclude the present volume are to be continued. Articles in the present volume discuss the relation of folklore to prehistory, the history of religions, of law, of literature, and of art. Over the whole rests the spirit of Hans Naumann's *Primitive Gemeinschaftskultur*, which drew attention so emphatically to the nature of "primitive" thinking and its persistence primarily in the objects of particular interest in folklore study.

Naumann's essay, *Über vergleichende Volkskunde und Religionsgeschichte*, contains many parallels to his book. The corpse-eating monsters (p. 24) are, it may be noted, monsters and not giants. Schoning's ingenious hypothesis of the giant (*eoten*:*etan*) as originally a devourer of corpses has been completely demolished by von Sydow (*Folkminnen och Folktankar*, VI [1919], 52–96; VII [1920], 136–49), and a reference would have been in place. Naumann's hastily drawn picture of Ragnarök (p. 25) is a synthesis to set beside Olrik's brilliant dissection of the myth. He raises (pp. 28, 35) the fundamental question of the relations of the cults of the dead and of agriculture (see Kaarle Krohn, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* [1912], p. 209). He suggests (p. 34) how we may employ folklore to lay bare the nature of the Germanic gods. The task has been attempted only once, by von der Leyen in the case of Odin.

Freiherr von Künssberg's essay on folklore and legal history is welcome because of its suggestiveness and its novelty, for folklore periodicals have rarely had thoroughly competent articles on legal subjects. The suggestion (p. 69) that the changes and compromises regarding legal matters in *Märchen* will reward pursuit is worth remembering. The comment on legal antiquities

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in proverbs is stimulating and awakens the question why the subject, which has been so often studied in Germany, has not found similar treatment in other countries, for example in Spain, where two opposing cultures stood so long in conflict.[1] To the remarks (p. 91) on a charm against a thief add a reference to my article ("Ein Diebszauber," *Hessische Blätter f. Volkskunde*, XXII [1924], 59 ff.) and another in the *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft* for the same year.[2] The suggested examination (p. 92) of the folklore of thieves and thievery would lead into very strange places and would be very informative; perhaps one might wait for the appearance of the articles "Dieb," "Diebstahl," and "stehlen" in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* before attempting it. The refuge beneath a harrow, of which a fugitive from justice may take advantage, is mentioned also as a protection in the traditions of the Wild Hunt.[3] For the story of the *Schattenbusse* (a girl demands punishment for a youth who has kissed her reflection in a mirror; his shadow is scourged) reference should be made to Pauli, *Schimpf und Ernst* (ed. Bolte), Nos. 48, 298, 741, 810, and add Wesselski, *Nasreddin*, I, No. 97, 234; Chauvin, VIII, No. 163, 158; R. Foerster, *Noel du Faill*, page 39.

Petsch's *Volkskunde und Literaturwissenschaft* is more general and philosophical and, at least for me, raises fewer problems. Particularly instructive was the discussion (pp. 148 ff.) of the "primitive" poem which is lyric, dramatic, and epic at the same time. Bolte's essay, *Zur Geschichte der Punktier- und Losbücher*, displays his usual erudition. The portions dealing with art are informative and stimulating, but I cannot express a competent opinion. All in all, the *Jahrbuch für historische Volkskunde* raises high hopes for the future.

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Altgermanische Dichtung (Fascicles 11, 12, 16, 17, 21, 24 of *Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft*). By ANDREAS HEUSLER. Wildpark-Potsdam: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, 1925–26. Pp. 200.

Professor Heusler reconstructs the history and character of Germanic literature before the influence of the church and of classical antiquity had in large measure determined the course of future development. No one is as competent as he to perform such a task, and his success in handling refractory materials makes a notable contribution to the *Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft*. *Altgermanische Dichtung* defines and characterizes an art which is almost entirely lost. The remains are scanty and are often known only by allusion. Further difficulties appear in the facts that the monuments, such as

[1] At least I find no mention of any significant studies in Bernstein or Duplessis.

[2] Feilberg, *Sjæletro*, p. 167.

[3] See also Neubaur, *Zs. d. Ver. f. Volksk.*, XXII (1912), 46, n. 1.

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they are, exist in different Germanic languages and in the writings of classical historians, that no one country or language preserves an even approximately complete series of representative pieces, and that all the longer documents which contain characteristic elements or traits belong to a later age. The eclectic and comparative procedure which is followed is forced upon the author by the sources themselves. We must go to work in similar fashion in studying Germanic myth and heroic lore. The danger to which all such work is particularly subject, viz., the temptation to indulge in fanciful reconstructions, is avoided by Professor Heusler in the main; the scanty facts are not used as a substructure of a huge imaginative edifice.

Some details are noteworthy for one reason or another, and to them I devote a word or two. Inscriptions, at least those which antedate Christian influence or the flood tide of alliterative poetry, provide very little metrical alliterative material, less indeed than might be suggested by Professor Heusler's remarks (p. 21, § 17; cf. pp. 81–82, § 73). A critical examination of the runic inscriptions is likely to prove disappointing in its results. To be sure, the subject is not yet entirely closed; see the pregnant remarks of Dr. Jan de Vries, *Traditie en persoonlijkheid in de oude germaansche epische poezie* (Arnhem, 1926), page 11. Heusler regards the much disputed second Merseburg charm as heathen. I cannot feel sure that the arguments of Kaarle Krohn (*Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* (1912), pp. 213 ff.) and R. T. Christiansen (*FF Communications*, XVIII) for a Christian origin are to be set aside without remark.[1] Professor Heusler notes the lack of examples of primitive Germanic proverbs, although traces seem to be visible in later tradition. To his remarks on the *Sagwort* (i.e., a proverbial form of the type: "Every one to his taste," said the farmer and kissed the cow) add Fr. Seiler, "Das deutsche Sagwort" (*Deutsche Kultur im Spiegel des deutschen Lehnworts*, IV). Both this and the usual type of proverb offer unsolved and largely untouched problems; cf. pages 67–69. Noteworthy is Professor Heusler's denial of choric poetry among the ancient Germans (p. 108), a denial which leaves an airy castle of fancy in ruins. The concluding chapters (pp. 109–96) give a brilliant characterization of the more elevated forms of Germanic verse, the *Preislied* and the narrative lays. Here may be found an excellent presentation of the influence of Gothic culture on the northern literatures. The publisher is to be congratulated on the attractive form of the book.

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[1] But cf. J. Schwietering, *Zs. f. d. Alt.*, LV, 148 ff., and *Zs. f. d. Phil.*, XLIX, 253 ff.

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BRIEFER MENTION

In *The Philosophy of Speech* (New York: Macmillan Co., no date) Mr. George Willis writes readably, and at times entertainingly, on such subjects as the birth and growth of speech, metaphor, grammar, spelling, purism, etc. He is interested in philology, but the illustrations he adduces will frequently startle the ordinary student of that subject. A very mild sample is the suggestion that "if it is correct to make a substantive form *mine* from *my*, it cannot be inherently incorrect to make a substantive form *hissen* from *his*." Mr. Willis is at his best when he trusts to his instinct and writes on matters of present-day concern, as in the chapters on "The Reform of Spelling," "Purism," and "Speech and Education." His remarks on the teaching of Latin are particularly suggestive: "What the student of English most urgently needs is a knowledge not of the syntax, but the vocabulary of Latin. The Latin syntax is dead, but Latin language is living. The mortar of the structure has been disintegrated by time, but the bricks have been taken to build up our own and many other European tongues." This is well said, and the practical suggestions which Mr. Willis makes on this foundation are worth considering.—W. A. C.

The private library of the late Albert Stimming, who died in June, 1922, professor of Romance languages at Göttingen since 1892 (where he succeeded Karl Vollmöller), has been acquired in its entirety by Swarthmore College. Stimming's doctoral dissertation was a now-forgotten essay on the life and works of Villon, but his next publications, editions of Jaufre Rudel and of Bertran de Born, especially the latter, have retained their importance. He was intrusted with the chapter "Provençal literature" in Gröber's *Grundriss* (II, 1897); later, he devoted many years of labor to the Anglo-Norman *Boeve de Haumtone* and the three continental redactions of the same legend, the latter requiring five substantial volumes in the series of the "Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur." An indefatigable worker and conscientious teacher, Stimming's was a fruitful career, and it is fortunate that his library of some three thousand items has not suffered dispersion.—T. A. J.

It will surely be a surprise to many American scholars to learn of the rich collection in the field of Provençal language and literature possessed by the New York Public Library. The reference list compiled by Daniel C. Haskell (New York, 1925) forms a substantial volume of 885 pages, of which some 550 are occupied by titles on the local history of Southern France. Nearly a hundred pages are given to modern Provençal language and literature, the body

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of this collection being the gift of Mrs. Thomas A. Janvier. "The material listed here," says the compiler, "represents a fairly good collection of books for the student of either the old Provençal or the modern revival." This is a modest statement indeed; we may add that for convenience of arrangement and accuracy in presentation and printing, the work has been admirably done.

Students of this subject will be particularly grateful for the listing of widely scattered journal articles. Not only are *Romania*, the *Annales du Midi* and the *Revue des Langues romanes* covered up to date, but also the German periodicals and even such unpromising repertories (for Provençal studies) as the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America!* The chapters in the monumental De Vic-Vaissette *Histoire générale de Languedoc* (16 vols.) are separately entered; with this degree of thoroughness we regret not to find mention of Hermann Suchier's "Die Literatur der Provenzalen" (40 pp., in his *Geschichte der französischen Literatur*, Leipzig, 1900; 2d ed., 1912)—a brief treatment, to be sure, but one full of ripe knowledge and original views. The list of Americans mentioned here is short: it includes Grandgent, Adams, Dawson, Deister, Shepard (whose *Jausbert de Puycibot* came too late for entry), Carnahan, and E. H. Wilkins, the last for his study on the origin of the Italian *canzone* (*Mod. Phil.*, XII).—T. A. J.

Students of the medieval lyric will be rewarded by reading M. Delbouille's *Les origines de la Pastourelle*, Brussels, 1926 ("Acad. roy. Mém.," XX, fasc. 2). After a clear and succinct account of the various theories proposed, the author attacks the recent view of Edmond Faral (*Romania*, XLIX, 204–59) that the pastourelle owes its growth to the imitation of the *Bucolics* of Vergil as interpreted stylistically by Servius and Conrad of Hirschau (*Dialogus super auctores*). While the genre has at times an aristocratic flavor, it can hardly be rated as *courtois* in the sense in which we now understand that word, and except for its use of the "shepherdess" it differs in theme and in content but little from the *chanson dramatique* or *de mal-mariée*. Cercamon's "a la usanza antiga" is not necessarily a reference, as Faral thought it was, to classical antiquity, and the *Carmina Burana* and the MS of Saint-Omer show that the pastourelle is merely a variant of a larger genre "qui aurait pour thème le récit de la rencontre d'une belle à la campagne."

Its origin is therefore to be found in the Medieval Latin erotic lyric, according to Delbouille. And he then traces its theme back, through the twelfth-century collection discovered in 1923 by Nicolau d'Olwer (the Catalan scholar) and the *Versus Eporediensis* of the eleventh century, to the amorous dialogues and the famous *Invitatio amice* of the Cambridge MS published by Breul in 1915. Since the author whom D'Olwer calls the *Anônim enamorat* refers directly to the nuns of Remiremont and the well-known Concilium Amoris, it would seem possible to trace these lyric forms to the northeast and to regard ancient Lotharingia as the birthplace of the erotic lyric—especially since the authors of the Cambridge lyrics apparently lived in the same region.

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This, at least, is Delbouille's conclusion (p. 41), which accords with the view of his teacher, Maurice Wilmotte, that the Latin prototypes of French narrative literature—the *Waltarius*, the *Ecbasis Captivi*, the *Ysengrimus*, and the *Ruodlieb*—were produced in the same territory.

On the face of it the new theory is enticing. It certainly deserves careful consideration. One of its weak points is that the particular stanza which Delbouille adduces (p. 39) from MS P of Breul's collection was probably written in Limoges. The MS came from St. Martial's at Limoges, and, as F. M. Warren has shown (*PMLA*, XXIV, lxvi), the lyric enthusiasm of St. Martial's monks is a factor to be reckoned with in any attempt to explain the origins of troubadour and trouvère poetry. Finally, it is always possible, as P. S. Allen (*Mod. Phil.*, VI, 180) wisely said, that "long previous to the documented poetry of troubadour, trouvère, and minnesinger there existed a body of popular *vernacular* love-songs which influenced and refreshed Latin lyrics of love and spring and wine, and which in turn these latter fed." In this regard, the studies of Gaston Paris and Jeanroy are still important and may some day prove to be essentially correct. Meantime, the Latin side of the question has been advanced considerably by the interesting study of Delbouille. His views and those of Voretzsch (*Einführung* [3d ed.], pp. 147–49) overlap in several noteworthy respects.—W. A. N.

In Kurt Glaser's *Altfranzösisches Lesebuch des späteren Mittelalters*, Halle, 1926 (already announced in these columns), we have the companion volume to that of Voretzsch on the Old French period proper. While the work is intended primarily for students in German universities, it serves also to remind us of the lack of this kind of book in other countries besides Germany. Differ as one inevitably will in regard to "selections," Glaser's choice is representative and appears to be carefully edited. On the whole, it is preferable to Klemperer's *Einführung in das Mittelfranzösische* (Leipzig, 1921), which extends to the threshold of the seventeenth century, whereas Glaser wisely does not go beyond Mellin de Saint-Gelays.

On the other hand, one may question Glaser's inclusion of Calvin under the heading of *Religiöse Theorie* and the exclusion of such a representative *rhétoriqueur* as Jean Lemaire de Belges. Certainly Calvin, especially as regards theory, belongs to the Renaissance and not the Middle Ages, and Lemaire is both distinguished as a writer and thoroughly representative of the flamboyant Gothic period. It is to be regretted that Glaser does not use Guiffrey for his selections from Marot, P. Champion for those from Charles d'Orléans, Foulet for those from Villon, and Calmette (*Classiques de l'histoire de France*) for those from Commynes. And certainly *Le nouveau Pathelin* (p. 142) can only be intended as an anticlimax to its famous predecessor, the extract from which is based on the excellent edition of Holbrook.

As regards *Pathelin*, the authorship of this famous farce is the subject of a detailed and interesting study (*Elliott Monograph* [Princeton, 1926], 17), by

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Louis Cons, who has recently been called to the chair of French literature at the University of Illinois. Cons attributes the work to Guillaume Alecis (not Alexis, as in Gröber's *Grundriss*, II, 1168), the Benedictine friar, popularly known in his day as "le bon moyne de Lyre" (Normandy). While the case rests on internal evidence and can therefore not be carried beyond the realm of "plausibility," the arguments of Cons are solidly supported by linguistic and literary-historical evidence.

The plan of the study might easily serve as a model of others of a similar type. Cons first gives a chronological account of previous attempts to solve this knotty problem. He then discusses ably the *Pathelin* itself: its date, which he narrows down to about 1464; its dialect, which contains distinct traces of Norman; the milieu which produced it: its relation to the drapers of Rouen; its attitude toward the world of sham and deceit; its "clerical" background, etc. This is followed by three chapters dealing respectively with Alecis the man, Alecis the writer, and Alecis the cleric, in each case pointing out the intimate—and indeed striking—appurtenance of Alecis' acknowledged works to the *Pathelin*. Finally, Cons seeks to clinch his argument by a reference to Alecis' *Faintes du Monde*, in which occur the well-known lines:

> **Tel a largement de blason**
> **Qui ne sçait pas son pathelin—**

lines which Cons skilfully interprets as meaning "si l'on ne sait pas son Pathelin," rather than in the more generally accepted signification of "qui n'est pas très malin." In the former case, Alecis would undoubtedly be referring, in a somewhat veiled manner, to a work of which obviously he was in no position to admit the authorship.

While, then, the authorship of Alecis is not proved, it is rendered extremely plausible, and this together with the many valuable side-lights which Cons has thrown on the *Pathelin* places his monograph in the front rank of the many studies on this fascinating play. Not the least of Cons's real achievements is his sensitiveness as a critic to the subtlety and humor of the *Pathelin* itself.—W. A. N.

Walther von Wartburg's *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch: eine Darstellung des galloromanischen Sprachschatzes*, which began to appear in September, 1922, but was suspended after six fascicles had been distributed to subscribers, has now fortunately resumed publication, the seventh fascicle bringing the work down to the article *braca*. The author has been obliged to assume the financial responsibility of the enterprise, and sends out an appeal for substantial support (subscriptions at Fr. 6 [Swiss] per fascicle may be sent to H. R. Sauerlander & Cie, Aarau, Switzerland). This is an etymological dictionary of the French language conceived on a vaster scale than anything hitherto thought possible. The impetus given to the study of the "parlers de

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France" by Gaston Paris, in 1888, resulted not only in the monumental *Atlas linguistique de la France*, but in the collection of a vast amount of other material which the makers of official dictionaries have never thought it necessary to make use of. In no country is the distinction more sharply drawn than in France between what is acceptable in literature and what is not; folk-lore as a study languishes, and only independent minds like Montaigne and Molière have ventured to exhibit a real interest in the humble poetry of the populace. The wealth of lexical material utilized by Wartburg is surprising even to those familiar with French lexicography; thus the article *barba* occupies eight closely packed columns, while Celtic *barga* requires no less than twelve. It is to be hoped that many subscribers will be found to share with the author the burden of this meritorious undertaking.

A work of slightly different character but also of importance to all students of the French language is E. Gamillscheg's *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, the first six fascicles of which (down to *essai*) are at hand at this writing. The French word is entered in its modern form and defined; then follow the date of appearance (the *Dictionnaire général* is much in need of revision under this head) and the etymology, the latter often with brief discussion and references. The author exhibits a high grade of critical acumen, and one has only to compare this work with Scheler's to see what great advances have been made in this field in the last forty years. The publisher is Carl Winter, Heidelberg (subscriptions at the rate of M. 2 per fascicle of 64 pp.; the price to be increased after the completion of the work).—T. A. J.

Although in their full biographies and extensive translations the two studies which make up Professor Mario Praz's *Secentismo e Marinismo in Inghilterra—John Donne, Richard Crashaw* (Florence: La Voce, 1925) are addressed especially to an Italian audience, they nevertheless constitute an important addition to the scholarship and criticism of English literature of the seventeenth century. They are not concerned primarily with the narrower problem of Italian influence on Donne and Crashaw; erudition is subordinated to the purpose of balanced criticism and interpretation. The section on Donne is perhaps not so much an original contribution as a digest of the literature on the subject, with, I believe, too much emphasis on the supposed "spiritual aridity" of Donne; but a study of this poet from an Italian point of view offers cross-lights which are both novel and valuable; for instance, the discussion of the Renaissance on pages 113 and following. The section on Crashaw contains more new material. It is, indeed, the best study of the poet now available. It explores Crashaw's relations to the Latin elegiac and epigrammatic poetry of the Jesuits, to Marino, and in general to the movement in religion and taste which found expression in the art of El Greco and Bernini. Such aspects of the period are usually neglected by English and American scholars, and this volume should prove of great value in enriching the study of the religious feeling and literary art of the century.—LOUIS I. BREDVOLD.

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From the graduate school in English at Yale have recently issued two interesting and important volumes concerning Tobias Smollett. Howard Swazey Buck, in his *Study in Smollett, chiefly "Peregrine Pickle"* (New Haven, 1925), starts with the apparently simple fact that the second edition of *Peregrine Pickle* appeared in 1758 and not (as people have unaccountably assumed) a few months after the first edition in 1751. This lapse of years Dr. Buck uses with great skill in deducing observations on the early popularity of the novel and the bearing of the revisions of 1758 on the author's quarrels with Garrick and others. Dr. Buck gives us shrewdly argued points as to the authorship of the "Memoirs of a Lady of Quality," with the concluding strong probability that Lady Vane herself wrote them (with some aid from Dr. Shebbeare) and that Smollett assisted her in revising them for the 1758 edition. The history of the *Regicide* also falls into the period of Smollett's life studied by Dr. Buck, and on it is expended more very incisive reasoning. Of course Smollett's accounts of his tragedy in *Roderick Random* and in the Preface to the *Regicide* agree neither in chronology nor in the persons involved. In spite of this lack of agreement Dr. Buck's conclusions—based mainly on the evidently more trustworthy Preface—seem incontrovertible though fine spun. Incidentally, the rôle of Lord Rattle seems to contain a strong admixture of Colley Cibber; and some details far from Chesterfieldian in the rôle of Earl Sheerwit make it seem likewise synthetic. Dr. Buck's conclusions regarding Lyttleton, Fielding, and Garrick are of first importance and make his volume highly significant.

The second piece of work to be mentioned is *The Letters of Tobias Smollett, M.D.* collected and edited by Edward S. Noyes, Ph.D. (Harvard University Press, 1926). Obviously this likewise is a book now fundamental in study of the novelist. The volume should stimulate further search for manuscript letters by Smollett; for the correspondence is most valuable to one who wishes to form a just view of a personality the thorny aspects of which have been too often stressed. It is easy to criticize any annotation, but one wonders why a reader of Smollett's letters (which are for the historian mainly) should have to be told the meaning of *invita Minerva* or the location of Jermyn Street. Some of the really difficult annotation, on the other hand, is admirably done. Dr. Noyes's habit of referring to chapters as well as to pages in Smollett's novels is excellent in view of the increasing number of editions, but it is trying when he refers (p. 156) to chapters xlii and xliii but should refer to lxii and lxiii. The volume is most attractive in printing. These two books, both achievements in themselves, will do much to further interest in a man of letters who has hardly got his deserts at the hands of the historians or critics of literature.—G. S.

The fourth report of the Folksong Committee of the League of German Folklore Societies (Freiburg, i. B., 1926) chronicles the events of the years 1918–26. Since the organization and its very notable achievements are little

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known in this country, it is not out of place to describe them briefly. The Committee has striven to create a center for the study of German folksong, and under the competent management of Professor John Meier has attained its aim. All research in German folksong must have resort to the Deutsches Volksliedarchiv in Freiburg i. B. The archives fall into several subdivisions. The section devoted to songs excerpted from the MSS of Ludwig Erk includes almost 19,000 items. The work of selection and copying has been completed and therefore no additions are being made to this section. It was this portion of the archives which was on the point of being published in 1914. Another section contains MS texts of folksongs, either in originals or in copies, to the extent of more than 75,000 items. Here are included the transcripts of the materials in all the important public and private collections as well as material collected by or for the Volksliedarchiv itself. Printed folksongs from the various books of folksong are arranged on cards in a third section and number 15,000. The soldiers' songs taken down from 1914 on number 3,500 and form a last division. For all these subdivisions indexes exist or are in course of preparation. The musical material is in Berlin under the direction of Max Friedländer.

The aim of the committee is the preparation and publication of a definitive edition of German folksong to replace Erk and Böhme's *Deutscher Liederhort*, and, in general, the stimulation of interest in the folksong. The completion of such an edition is naturally a thing of the distant future and until then all significant research must draw upon the treasures of the Deutsches Volksliedarchiv. The activities which have been carried on in furtherance of the second aim, the stimulation of interest in folksong, are already bearing fruit. More than a dozen provinces have been awakened to the need of collecting folksongs. One book—*Alte und neue Lieder*—has sold in its first edition 300,000 copies, and a second edition, which is much enlarged and improved, is just off the press. Such success, to which few organizations in Germany can report anything comparable in the same period, is due in large measure to the genius and tact of Professor Meier.

We may also notice here Professor Meier's study of one of the most beautiful German folksongs, *Das Guggisberger Lied* (52 pp.; Basel: Helbing and Lichtenhain, 1926). By comparing ten German texts (some with melody) and a Lettish melody he shows in convincing fashion that the text is composite in origin (*zusammengesungen*), that the words of the refrain are a later addition, that the melody belongs to another song, and that the melodies of the echo-refrain and of the two-line refrain are drawn from still other sources. A more motley combination can scarcely be imagined, and yet the result is homogeneous and moving in the extreme. He has done a similarly fine piece of work in "Ein Schifflein sah ich fahren, Kapitän und Leutnant," *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde*, XX (1916), 206–29 (add G. Schünemann, *Das Lied der deutschen Kolonisten in Russland* [Munich, 1923], Part I, p. 16 at bottom; *ibid.*, Part II, p. 362, No. 394, p. 416 n.; Lucke, *Zeits. des Vereins für*

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Volkskunde, XXVIII [1918], 79–88). Such studies as these are models for the investigation of folksong. American ballad scholarship might hang its head in shame had it not G. L. Kittredge's "The Ballad of Lovewell's Fight," *Bibliographical Essays: A Tribute to Wilberforce Eames* (1925), to put beside them. —A. T.

The death in 1924 of P.-J. Rousselot, the famous founder of experimental phonetics, was the signal for many articles by his colleagues and students. The data to be found in these articles have been embodied, with argumentations, in a chapter "L'œuvre de l'abbé Rousselot, la Science expérimentale du language," by the Abbé A. Millet in his *Précis d'expérimentation phonétique* (Paris: Didier, 1926). The chapter in question traces the career of the master together with the history and evolution of the science; mention is made of the chief scholars trained by him, their work, and the laboratories established by them. Emphasis is given to the fundamental teachings of Rousselot, such as his insistence that the physiological aspect of language is of primary importance, that all other approaches must be based on this; that for such studies recourse to instruments is the only acceptable method since experience shows that the ear is not to be trusted. The subtitle of Millet's book is *La physiologie des articulations. I. Enregistrement.—II. Interprétations.* Drawing largely on the *Principes* modified by six years of collaboration with the author, it is intended as a laboratory manual. The material is extremely well organized; it should serve excellently both as a guide to the worker in the laboratory and to those who wish to be able to read intelligently the results of research in experimental phonetics. Sections on the prerequisites for work in the field and on the choice and treatment of persons to serve as subjects are followed by the description and use of the necessary instruments. About half the book is devoted to the interpretation of tracings which appear in fifty-two figures. This sort of training is of great value, for to become expert in the matter requires much experience. Practice in performing the experiments in the text and comparing the two tracings will be found illuminating. The only other practical laboratory manual now available is the *Praktikum* of Panconcelli-Calzia; this attacks too many types of investigation without carrying any of them far enough, and does not handle the matter primarily from the linguistic point of view. No laboratory can afford to be without Rousselot's *Principes*, but the work must serve as a reference book rather than as a guide. Millet's Appendix of *Renseignements divers* deals briefly but clearly with the methods of investigating quantity, pitch, intensity, and quality.—C. E. PARMENTER.

Edwin B. Place's tiny *Manual elemental de novelistica española* (Madrid: Victoriano Suárez, 1926) modestly professes to serve no other end than to introduce students of Spanish literature to the short-story genre, and for this purpose it may be commended. The author is sound in stating that this form

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is by no means so detached as its Italian counterpart. The native *cuento* of folklore origin persists after the Italian *novella* had provided a more artistic model, and *cuento* and Italianized short-story are often mingled in the same collection. Mr. Place finds that the Italian tale exerted a very indirect influence until the second half of the seventeenth century; but surely Timoneda and Cervantes were directly influenced, and the great vogue of Boccaccio in medieval Spain cannot have been without result. Brief as is the book one is surprised at certain omissions. Such a famous story as the "Abencerraje y la hermosa Jarifa" deserves adequate treatment but is not mentioned. In the bibliography to the chapter on Cervantes' *Novelas ejemplares* no mention is made of Icaza's treatise, the most important study devoted to these stories to date; it also gives information about Cervantes' imitators in the genre. Each of Mr. Place's seven chapters is equipped with a bibliography; at the end is a General Bibliography and a chronological table of the Spanish novel in general.—G. T. N.

The German translation of Fitzmaurice-Kelly's classic manual, *Geschichte der spanischen Literatur* (Heidelberg, 1925), long deferred by the war and by post-war conditions, will be welcomed everywhere. The content differs little from that of late French and Spanish translations. The translator, Elisabeth Vischer (a pseudonym), has succeeded well in her task, aided by the competent editing of Adalbert Hämel. Both of these have treated the text in a spirit of respect, making few if any alterations. Hämel's *Bemerkungen und Berichtigungen* elucidate and complete, rather than correct, the text. Those of us who corresponded with the late Fitzmaurice-Kelly during the war know how he looked forward to this German edition. Intensely patriotic, with all the ardor of one who came of a family with a military tradition, and mourning the death in battle of a gallant brother, he sang no hymn of hate. It is a pity that one does not feel free to publish his interesting views on German scholarship, expressed under the most trying circumstances.—G. T. N.

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HÁVAMÁL, STANZA 75

Stanza 75 of the *Hávamál* has been the subject of much conjecture. The following is the text arranged in short lines, with the contractions resolved, but otherwise in the spelling of Codex Regius, the sole manuscript.[1]

Veita hinn
er vętki veit;
margr verðr aflauðrom ápi:
maðr er auðigr,
annar oauðigr,
skylit þann vítca vár.

The *cruces* are in lines 3 and 6. "He knows not who knows nothing, that many a one becomes an ape *af lauðrom:* one man is rich, another poor, him should one not *vítca vár.*"

I wish to offer a new conjecture for line 3 and defend an old reading for line 6.

First, what is *lauðrom?* Now it is our first duty to read any passage as the scribe wrote it if we can. We shall try to do this here. The digraph for *au* used in Codex Regius may represent the sound of *au* or ǫ, either *lauðrom* or *lǫðrom.* The editors who have not inserted substitutes for this word print the latter form. Detter-Heinzel[2] take it to mean "*Lump*, rascal," and obtain this signification from the meaning of the compounds *lǫðrmanni* and *lǫðrmannligr*, "worthless fellow, sudsman, *Waschlappen.*" But the word *lauðr*, with a well-

[1] Ludv. F. A. Wimmer og Finnur Jónsson, *Håndskriftet Nr. 2365 gl. kgl. Samling* (København, 1891), p. 9, l. 10.

[2] F. Detter and R. Heinzel, *Sæmundar Edda mit einem Anhang* (Leipzig, 1903), II, 110.

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authenticated diphthong, exists, of which the dative plural is *lauðrom*. It means "foam, foam of the sea, soapsuds," and is the same word as Old English *leaðor*, modern English "lather."

There is abundant evidence[1] from the days of Pliny to the nineteenth century of the use in Germanic countries of a wash made of the lye of ashes and fat to clean the hair and bleach it to a golden yellow. It has passed into proverbs. The Danes say: *Der hører skarp lud til skurvet hoved*,[2] i.e., "Sharp suds are needed for a scurvy head." Is the German phrase for a sound scolding, *einem den Kopf waschen*, connected with this custom? Modern Icelandic *lǫðrunga*, "to box one's ears," is connected with this word and custom. We also "give him a good lathering" when we thrash him soundly. It is then possible to read this as it stands: "Many a one becomes an ape by latherings," but the meaning is not clear, and it has no connection with anything else in the poem, nor does it afford the expected alliteration. It cannot well be the word that was in the original, and we shall have to give up the attempt to explain the passage as it is written.

What word stood here originally? The emendations all provide a word to alliterate with *api*.[3] They are: *auði af*, and the passage then reads: "Many a one is made an ape of by wealth"; *af ǫðrom:* "Many a man is made an ape of by others"; *af aurom:* "Many a man is made an ape of by money," not to mention the violent emendations of *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*. Detter-Heinzel[4] complain justly that none of these emendations explain how the scribe could have made just such a blunder.

I think the scribe misplaced one letter, that he wrote *lauðrom* in place of *aulðrom* of the original manuscript from which he was copying. Here *au* would represent an *ǫ* in *ǫlðrom*. The line would mean: "Many a man is made an ape of by ale-bouts." The scribe had already had trouble with this same word. In *Hávamál*, stanza 14, line 4, he first wrote *auðr* and then inserted *l* above the word, between *u* and *ð*.[5]

The errors and corrections of the scribe of Codex Regius are explainable only on the assumption that he did not re-read and cor-

[1] Johan Fritzner, *Ordbog over det gamle norske sprog* (2d ed., Kristiania, 1886–98), II, 428.

[2] H. S. Falk and Alf Torp, *Norwegisch-Dänisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1910), *Sub.* v *lud*.

[3] The significant ones are to be found in Hugo Gering, *Die Lieder der älteren Edda* (3d ed.; Paderborn, 1912), under *Hávamál* 75.

[4] *Op. cit.*, II, 111.

[5] *Håndskriftet Nr. 2365*, p. 5, l. 30.

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rect what he had written.[1] Had he re-read it he would never have let certain errors stand, and the corrections he made affect only errors which he happened to notice in process of writing. He noticed his error in stanza 14, but the error in stanza 75 was one of the many he failed to see.

The evils of drunkenness is a favorite subject with this portion of the *Hávamál*, and the word *ǫlðr* occurs in stanzas 13 and 14 in passages which warn against intoxication. In all it occurs in the *Elder Edda* five times aside from the passage which we are discussing.

The scribe's change from *aulðrom* to *lauðrom* is a very natural error. The reading *ǫlðrom* involves less change than any other proposed reading; it gives correct alliteration, good sense, agrees with the general tenor and subject matter of this part of the *Hávamál*, and explains the origin of the error.

And now as to line 6. There are three sorts of readings offered. One of these either alters the word *vítka* to *vætkis*, a genitive of the word for nothing, or assumes that *vítka* is such a genitive, and alters the last word, *vár*, to *vá*, an infinitive meaning "to find fault with." It is a bold conjecture and contains few of the merits of a good suggestion. A second reading writes *vitka*—with a short vowel, and either *vár* or *var*. This assumes that *vitka* is an infinitive meaning either "to find fault with" or "to perform magic." There is no manuscript evidence that a verb with the first meaning ever existed. It might, of course, have been created for this passage, but it is unlikely; so why go out of the way to alter the reading of the manuscript? Those who accept the second meaning make it the simplex of the compound *finnvitka*, "to perform Lapp magic." The simplex must, to be sure, have existed, though it is not recorded until modern times. It is a word with a large family of congeners. Its meaning, however, does not fit the syntax of the passage, for words meaning "to enchant" take an object in the accusative, but *vár* is a genitive singular. It cannot therefore mean "to enchant."

We shall stop a moment with the noun. It has caused considerable confusion. It has been printed as *vár* but interpreted as *verr*, "worse," and to mean "severe" here, or as *var*, equivalent to *ver*, meaning *virum*, "man." Both of these assumptions have no linguistic justification. *Vár* is also interpreted as the genitive singular of *vá*, "woe, misfortune,"

[1] *Ibid.*, p. lxv.

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which it undoubtedly is. So far as the form is concerned it could be the accusative plural, but that is unlikely, since *vá* is an abstract term and no instance of its use in the plural is recorded in the dictionaries.

The third reading writes *vítka vár*, as in the manuscript, and interprets it "to blame for woe." While the reading is old, it is Finnur Jónsson among modern editors who sponsors it, and who gives it this interpretation.[1] Yet the two latest editors, Neckel and Boer, do not even cite it in their list of variant readings, let alone give it a place in the text. Professor Jónsson says that *vítka* is an iterative of *víta*, "to find fault with," so its meaning would approach "to nag." But Torp makes it a denominative from *víti*, "fault," and gives a considerable list of similar formations.[2]

Words of the meaning "to find fault with" have regularly two objects: the person in the accusative and the thing in the genitive, which we have here. It is true that this word occurs nowhere else, but it is clearly written in the manuscript, and anyway the list of ἅπαξ λεγόμενα in the *Elder Edda* runs into the hundreds; also a goodly number of other words are formed in the same way. The line will then mean: "One should not blame him [the poor man] for his misfortune [that he is poor]." This reading interprets the manuscript exactly as it stands, it gives clear meaning with correct syntax and verse, and it agrees with the medieval conception of fortune.

Hávamál, stanza 75, will then read, following the orthography of the manuscript as closely as possible:

Veita hinn
er vætki veit;
margr verðr af ǫlðrom api:
maðr er auðigr,
annar óauðigr,
skylit þann vítka vár.

We can translate it: "He who knows nothing does not know that many a one becomes an ape by ale-bouts. One man is rich, another poor; one should not blame him for his woe."

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[1] *Eddalieder* (Halle a. S., 1888), I, 116.

[2] Hægstad og Torp, *Gamalnorsk Ordbok med Nynorsk Tydning* (Kristiania, 1909), par. 72, p. lxx.

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ON THE TRANSCRIPTION BY PETRARCH IN V.L. 3195[1]

IV

We come now to the definition of the several periods in which Petrarch transcribed poems in Part I.

Nos. 121 and 179 will be considered below, No. 121 in paragraph O and No. 179 in paragraph B.

A. Nos. 191–93, 195. These poems are all written in ink identical with or similar to that used by the scribe, and in standard script. No. 194, which differs in ink and script, stands over an erasure. This combination of ink and script stops with No. 195. Nos. 191–93 and 195, therefore, are the poems transcribed in the first period of Petrarch's work.

B. Nos. 194, 196–98, 179. Nos. 194 and 196–98 are written in a distinctive ink, called reddish by Quarta and yellowish by Vattasso, and in a script somewhat thicker and more closely set than usual; and all begin *L' aura* ... . The slight variation in ink noted by Vattasso for No. 198 is not sufficient, in view of the other likenesses, to indicate a change in period of transcription. This combination of ink and script stops with No. 198. No. 198 is the last poem in Part I with a colored initial done by the illuminator. No. 179 is written in the same distinctive ink and in a script which, though slightly smaller than the script of Nos. 194 and 196–98, is very similar to it. These are, therefore, the poems of the second period.

No. 199, which is absolutely different in script from any other poem in this part of the MS, is clearly, like No. 179, an inset—that is, a poem entered at a later time in a space temporarily left blank. It will be considered below, in paragraph O.

C. Nos. 200–207. Modigliani notes no difference in the ink of these poems; Quarta calls it *nero sbiadito* or *meno sbiadito* or *verdino* (which means practically, for him, *nero più sbiadito*); Vattasso applies the term *bruno-grigio* to Nos. 200 and 202–5, and the qualifications

[1] Concluded from *Modern Philology*, XXIV, 261–68.

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he applies to Nos. 201, 206, and 207—*pallido, in parte evanido*, and *carico*—are not such as imply necessarily the use of a new ink. The script of Nos. 200–205 is standard—that of No. 201 being very slightly larger than that of Nos. 200 and 202—and that of Nos. 206 and 207, though slightly smaller and slightly more closely set, does not differ in quality from that of Nos. 200–205. The abrasion of the ink in No. 206 may be due to purely external causes; and the refinement of script in Nos. 206 and 207 and the fuller inking of No. 207 are perhaps due simply to Petrarch's tendency to write *canzoni* with special care. I do not see, therefore, that one can with any assurance postulate any considerable interruption in the writing of this series of poems. A marked difference in ink and script appears in No. 208. I class Nos. 200–207, therefore, as the poems of the third period. I think it probable that a minor pause occurred between the transcription of No. 200 and that of No. 201, since a minor change in ink at that point is noted by Quarta and Vattasso, and the script of No. 201 is very slightly larger; that a minor pause occurred between the transcription of No. 201 and that of No. 202, since a minor change in ink at that point is noted by Quarta and Vattasso and the script of No. 201 is very slightly smaller; and that a minor pause occurred between the transcription of No. 205 and that of No. 206.

From this point on the statement indicating the basis of differentiation of two successive groups will be made only in the paragraph devoted to the second of the groups.

D. Nos. 208–9. These poems are written in an ink which is characterized by Quarta as *rossastro* and differently by Modigliani and Vattasso, in terms not involving color; and No. 208 shows a script markedly larger than that of No. 207. The slight further increase in the size of the script in No. 209 may well be due simply to the general tendency toward such increase as work progresses.

E. Nos. 210–18. No. 210 differs markedly in script from the preceding poems; but it does not differ from them in ink. I infer that the interval separating its transcription from that of No. 209 was relatively short. Nos. 211–18 follow without change in script. Nos. 212–18 have the same ink as No. 210; but No. 211 has an ink so different that Quarta, Modigliani, and Vattasso all note the fact. One might be led to think No. 211 an inset; but the script is so exactly like that of

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Nos. 210 and 212 that such an idea would not be tenable. It is really beyond belief that if No. 211 had been entered as an inset some time after the transcription of Nos. 210 and 212 the correspondence in script would have been in every respect so perfect. Nor does a script identical with that of Nos. 210–12 appear later in the MS. The answer to the puzzle is, I think, to be found in the marginal memorandum which accompanies the draft of this poem in V.L. 3196. That memorandum reads as follows:

Mirum, hoc cancellatum et damnatum post multos annos, casu relegens, absolvi et transcripsi in ordine statim, non obstante . . .[1] 1369, Junii 22, hora 23, Veneris; pauca postea, die 27, in vesperis, mutavi fine; et de hoc f(inis) erit al(ius?).[2]

The clue seems to me to lie in the word *statim*. I reconstruct the situation as follows: In June, 1369, Petrarch was engaged in transcription, and on or before the 22d had transcribed Nos. 208–10, using a peculiar pale reddish ink. On the 22d he came across No. 211 in the sheet now included in V.L. 3196, liked it, made an impulsive decision to include it in the approved collection, and transcribed it *statim*, taking the first ink that came to hand, which for some reason chanced to be a black ink quite different from that which he was using in the regular process of transcription. When he resumed that regular process, he returned to the pale reddish ink. I infer, therefore, that the transcription of No. 211 was separated by minor pauses from the transcriptions of Nos. 210 and 212.

F. Nos. 219–22. The script of No. 219 differs markedly from that of No. 218, and the script of Nos. 220–22, though slightly larger than that of No. 219, does not differ so much as to indicate a notable change in the period of transcription. Quarta applies the term *rossastro* to the ink of the whole series Nos. 212–22 and notes no variation through No. 221. Modigliani and Vattasso both note that the ink is heavier in Nos. 219–21. All three critics note a paling of the ink in No. 222. The total difference between Nos. 218 and 219, though marked, is still slight enough to make it probable that the interval between their transcriptions was relatively short. It would seem probable that a minor pause occurred between the transcription of No. 219 and that of

[1] Here follows an arbitrary sign which appears to be one used by Petrarch in distinguishing poems which were *not* to be included in the approved collection.

[2] Vattasso, p. xiii.

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No. 220; and that a minor pause occurred also between the transcription of No. 221 and that of No. 222.

From this point on the formula "short interval" will be used to indicate that for reasons suggested in the course of the paragraph in question the interval between the transcription of the poems concerned and that of the poems of the previous period would appear to have been relatively short.

G. Nos. 223–24. The ink changes with No. 223, becoming *nero* instead of *rossastro*, according to Quarta. Vattasso characterizes the ink of No. 223 as *leggermente pallido*, that of No. 224 as *carico*. There is no change in script. Short interval. Minor pause probable between the two poems.

H. Nos. 225–27. The script of Nos. 225–27 is so markedly smaller than that of the preceding poems (both groups are tabulated as having standard script, but No. 224 has perhaps the largest, and No. 225 the smallest, script of those so classed) as to indicate that they fall in a new period of transcription. The ink is, however, similar to that of the preceding poems. Vattasso alone reports a difference, and that a minor difference. Short interval.

No. 228 is so very different in script from any earlier poem and from the immediately following poems as to be in all probability an inset. It seems particularly unlikely that if No. 228, with the curious drooping lines of its second block, had stood in the MS when Petrarch wrote No. 229, he would have given to the lines of the second block of No. 229 their marked rise to the right. No. 228 will be considered below, in paragraph Q.

I. Nos. 229–31. These poems, in ink not notably different from that of Nos. 225–27, are in script of the standard type. Short interval.

J. Nos. 232–33. These poems show a darker ink, a closer setting of the standard script, and a marked loss of levelness in the lines. They are also the first poems in which the block effect is impaired.

K. Nos. 234–36 show a new ink, characterized by Quarta as *rossastro sbiadito*. The script becomes standard in spacing as well as size. The irregularity with regard to the right block continues. The variation in ink for No. 236 noted by Vattasso and the fact that in that poem the spacing is slightly more open indicate a minor pause after No. 235.

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L. Nos. 237–38 are written in the same ink, but show a very marked refinement in script and a return to the clear definition of the right block. The script of No. 238 is even smaller and finer than that of No. 237, a fact which is the more notable since No. 237 is a *sestina* and No. 238 is a sonnet. Short interval. Minor pause probable between the two poems.

Up to this point, at least two poems have been included in each group. The next three poems appear, however, to have been entered singly, as ink or script or both change markedly in each of these and in the fourth poem. No one of the three poems appears to be an inset, as the two poems preceding and following each do not agree in any case in both ink and script, and no later poems correspond to these in both ink and script. I see no reason to doubt that they were entered singly, in the order in which they stand.

M. No. 239 differs in ink from the preceding poem and shows a markedly larger script. The enlargement of the script is the more notable since the poem is a *sestina*.

N. No. 240 differs in ink and script from No. 239.

O. Nos. 241, 199, 121. No. 241 is very distinctive in script, the letters being thinner than usual and the spacing being more open. It shows also a double irregularity in form—the lines are far from level, and the left line of the right block is very imperfect. No. 241 has, like No. 240, an ink which Quarta calls *verdino*, Modigliani *pallido*, and Vattasso *pallido con tendenza al giallastro*. Short interval. Comparison of the script of No. 121, which was written over an erasure, and of the script of No. 199, an inset, with the script of No. 241 shows a virtual identity. In all three cases the script is thinner and more open than the standard script, and in all three cases the lines are irregular as to levelness. In No. 121, as in No. 241, the left line of the right block is broken. This is but the formal and inadequate statement of a common character which *saute aux yeux* on inspection.[1] Quarta[2] says that No. 121 is transcribed *proprio con lo stesso inchiostro* as Nos. 242 and 243, the ink of which he describes as *rossastro tendente al nero*. Vattasso

[1] I attach no weight to Modigliani's statement, *loc. cit.*, that No. 121 "è similissimo per la scrittura" to No. 129, and that Nos. 236 and 239 are "della scrittura identica a" No. 199, for he really has in mind only the classification of these poems as belonging to one or the other of the only two types of script which he actually distinguishes.

[2] P. 100.

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says of No. 121 that its ink is *bruno come nel son.* No. 236, the ink of which he later calls *identico a quello dei sonn.* Nos. 225–27, which he had characterized as *bruno, un po'meno carico* than that of No. 224, which he had characterized as *bruno carico.* With regard to No. 199, Quarta reports the ink as *nero sbiadito,* and Vattasso as *bruno-grigio.* Quarta, as has been said, calls the ink of Nos. 240 and 241 *verdino,* while Vattasso calls the ink of Nos. 239–41 *pallido con tendenza al giallastro.* Professor Ullman writes me that Nos. 121 and 199 are darker in ink than No. 241 but not so dark as No. 242, and that No. 121 is apparently slightly darker than No. 199. Worthy of note in this connection is the fact that in certain MSS of the *Canzoniere* No. 121 stands between Nos. 242 and 243. This is the case in four Vatican MSS—V.L. 3198, 4783, 5154, and Ottob. Lat. 1219[1]—in MS Laur. XLI, 17,[2] in MSS Z11 and Z12 of the Petrarch Collection of the Cornell University Library, which I examined in September, 1925, and doubtless in many other MSS. We may surely infer that in the preliminary sheets (similar to those of V.L. 3196), now lost, which contained drafts of Nos. 242 and 243 and presumably other poems of this region of the *Canzoniere,* No. 121 did stand close to, and probably between, Nos. 242 and 243; and that while Petrarch had these preliminary sheets in hand for the purpose of transcription into V.L. 3195, he decided to substitute No. 121 for the *ballata Donna mi vene spesso nella mente,* which had stood between Nos. 120 and 122 in the earlier forms of the *Canzoniere* and had been entered in that position by the scribe who wrote the first portion of V.L. 3195.[3] In view of this varied evidence, it is clear that the substitution of No. 121 for *Donna mi vene spesso nella mente* took place during the period in which Petrarch transcribed Nos. 241–43, and that within the same period he entered No. 199 in the space thitherto left blank. In view of the fact that No. 121, while closer in script to No. 241 than to No. 242, appears to be closer in ink to No. 242 and to have followed No. 242 in the preliminary sheets, I infer that the transcription of No. 121 followed that of Nos. 241 and 199 with a minor pause intervening; and

[1] Vattasso, *I codici petrarcheschi della Biblioteca Vaticana* (Rome, 1908), pp. 17, 44, 55, 110.

[2] Quarta, p. 98.

[3] This is essentially the inference of Quarta, p. 100. Quarta is, however, not justified in asserting that the idea of the substitution came to Petrarch only after he had transcribed No. 242.

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that the interval between the transcription of Nos. 121 and 242 was relatively short. The colored initials of Nos. 121 and 199 are discussed above, in section III of this paper.

P. Nos. 242–43 differ in ink and script from No. 241. Their relation to No. 121 has been discussed in the preceding paragraph. Short interval.

Q. Nos. 244–45 and 228(?). These poems differ in ink and script from Nos. 242–43. The ink in No. 245 is somewhat paler, and the lines are notably irregular. Minor pause probable between the two poems. No. 228, referred to above as an inset, is more probably of this period than of any other. It is, on the whole, closer in script to No. 245 than to any other of the poems which follow it in Part I, and the ink appears to be at least not dissimilar, to judge from the statements by Quarta and Modigliani. If it is of this period, the chances are that it followed No. 245 after a minor pause. If it is not of this period, it was transcribed by itself and presumably not long before, or not long after, the poems of this period.

No. 246, which is written over an erasure, will be considered below, in paragraph U.

R. Nos. 247–54. The ink of No. 247 differs from that of No. 245 sufficiently to lead Vattasso to give it a special characterization. The script is distinctly smaller than that of No. 245. The lines are more even, and the space between blocks is wider. Nos. 247–54 show no variation in ink. The minor variations in script noted in the table indicate that minor pauses occurred after Nos. 247, 248, and 252.

S. No. 255 differs in ink and in script from No. 254, and from No. 256. I see no reason, however, to think that it was not written in order.

T. No. 256 differs from No. 255 in ink and in respect to the right block, and is further shown to belong to a later period by the fact that with this poem the ink of the initial, instead of being the dark ink used consistently for Nos. 200–255, is written in the same ink as the poem itself (see above, sec. III). No. 256 differs markedly in script from No. 257, and therefore stands alone; but I see no reason to think that it was not written in order.

U. Nos. 257–58, 246. Nos. 257 and 258 differ markedly in script from No. 256, and differ from it in ink sufficiently to lead Quarta

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to call their ink *più forte*, though Modigliani and Vattasso note no difference. These two poems form a group in subject. No. 246, referred to above as written over an erasure, is closer in script to Nos. 257–58 than to any other of the poems which follow it in Part I, and the ink appears to be at least not dissimilar, to judge from the statements by Quarta and Modigliani.

V. No. 259 differs in ink from the preceding poems, and its script is distinctly more regular. Interesting evidence of a curious type affords additional proof that a considerable lapse of time intervened between the transcription of No. 258 and that of No. 259. There are in V.L. 3195 six marginal entries in the hand of Petrarch, each opposite the last line of a sonnet, which as a series constitute a progressive count, in general by fifties, of the number of sonnets contained in the MS at the time the count was made.[1] The number C stands against No. 130, which is the 100th sonnet; the number CL against No. 183, which is the 150th sonnet; the number CC against No. 236, which is the 200th sonnet; the number CCL against No. 296, which, in the actual final order of the *Canzoniere*, is not the 250th but the 255th sonnet; the number CCC against No. 349, which, in the actual final order of the *Canzoniere*, is not the 300th but the 305th sonnet; and the number CCCXII against No. 353, which, in the actual final order of the *Canzoniere*, is the last sonnet and is not the 312th but the 317th. It is evident that these last three numbers were entered at a time when the portion of the MS preceding No. 296 contained five less sonnets than it does now. Obviously the five sonnets in question must be the last five sonnets of Part I, Nos. 259–63, which represent, therefore, a final addendum to Part I.

W. Nos. 260–63. The four remaining poems of Part I stand on f. 49r, the first page of a *duernione*. It seems probable that this *duernione*, which breaks the series of *quaderni*, is an inset, as is certainly the case with the *duernione* inserted near the end of Part II. In Part II the *duernione* could not be set in after the final *quaderno*, for it was evidently Petrarch's will that the *Canzoniere* should close with the *canzone* to the Virgin. But in the case of Part I, which had no terminal poem, nothing prevented the insertion of the *duernione*

[1] Modigliani, p. xxiv; Vattasso, *L' originale del Canzoniere*, p. x, n. 5.

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after the last *quaderno*. No. 260 differs in script from No. 259, and differs from it sufficiently to lead Quarta to characterize the ink as *un po' diverso*, though Modigliani and Vattasso note no difference. The script of Nos. 262–63 is slightly smaller and more closely set than that of Nos. 260–61. Short interval. Minor pause probable between Nos. 261 and 262.

V

We come next to the definition of the several periods in which Petrarch transcribed poems in Part II.

AA. Nos. 319–20. The ink used by the scribe and standard script.

BB. No. 321. A different ink and markedly smaller script. No. 321 is the last poem in Part II having a colored initial.

CC. No. 322. Quite different in ink and script from No. 321.

DD. Nos. 323–26. This group, consisting of a *canzone*, a *ballata*, a *canzone*, and a sonnet, is in a script smaller than that of No. 322, and Quarta's characterization indicates at least a minor change in ink. The refinement in script may be due to the fact that the first poem of the new group is a *canzone*. Short interval.

No. 327, which is written over an erasure, will be considered below, in paragraph MM.

EE. Nos. 328–30. The script is markedly larger and somewhat less regular. The ink, according to Quarta, is *rossastro particolare*, instead of *nero sbiadito*.

FF. No. 331. The ink, according to Quarta, is *nero sbiadito, quasi verdino*. The script is slightly smaller. Short interval.

GG. Nos. 332–34. The same ink, but standard script of excellent quality. Short interval.

HH. The four sonnets on f. 66v: Nos. 335, 336, 350, 355. Different ink and larger script. The script of No. 355 is sufficiently peculiar to indicate a minor pause between Nos. 350 and 355.

II. The first three sonnets on f. 71r (which originally followed f. 66v): Nos. 351, 352, 354. The ink is apparently the same, though not abraded as on f. 66v. The script is slightly different. Short interval. The spacing between blocks is so notably smaller in No. 354 as to indicate a minor pause between Nos. 352 and 354.

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JJ. The last sonnet on f. 71r: No. 353. All three critics note a change in ink, and the script is perceptibly smaller.

KK. The final *canzone:* No. 366. A difference in ink and a slightly more refined script. Short interval.

LL. The inserted *duernione*, ff. 67r–70v, except the sonnet on f. 70r: Nos. 337–49, 356–60, 362–65. The writing of these 22 poems was the longest continuous task performed by Petrarch in the course of his transcription. They show no variation in ink, and the only variations in script are of so minor a nature as to indicate merely minor pauses. On f. 67r, the script grows gradually somewhat smaller, so that the last sonnet, No. 340, is no larger than standard. The script grows larger again with the first sonnet on f. 67v, No. 341, and a second increase takes place in the middle of the page with No. 343. The last three sonnets of the *duernione*, Nos. 363–65, are slightly smaller and finer in script. Minor pauses probable after Nos. 340, 342, and 362.

MM. Nos. 361, 327. No. 361, a sonnet which occupies the small portion of f. 70r left free below the end of the *canzone*, No. 360, which occupies all of f. 69v and most of f. 70r, is absolutely different in script from all the other poems of the *duernione*, being distinctly smaller than standard and set more closely than standard, whereas the script of the other poems is in general larger than standard. Its ink is also *più forte*, according to Quarta. Clearly it is an inset transcribed some time after the other poems of the *duernione*. No. 327, referred to above as written over an erasure, is indistinguishable in script from No. 361, and like it is written in a strong ink. It seems clearly to be of the same period.

Professor Ullman writes me that the lower part of the initial L of No. 327 stands over the edge of the erasure by which the poem which originally stood in this position was removed; the remainder of the initial L is not over the erasure. This means that the entry of this initial must have been subsequent to the entry of the present No. 327; and that no other initial stood in this place prior to the entry of the present No. 327. This means in turn that the entry of the entire series of initials for Nos. 200–255, 322–34, and 366 must have been subsequent to the transcription of No. 327.

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VI

The next and last major problem is that of the mutual relations of the periods of transcription in Parts I and II.

The evidence of the initials, discussed above in section III of this paper, serves at once to indicate that an interval followed the transcription of groups B in Part I and BB in Part II, and that an interval followed the transcription of groups S in Part I and KK in Part II.

These main lines of division established, we may study the correspondences of particular groups.

A–AA. The statement of Modigliani would indicate no difference in ink between these groups; that of Vattasso a slight difference; that of Quarta somewhat more of a difference, the ink of AA having the same color as that of BB. The script of A and AA is similar, but that of AA is slightly larger. I infer that the transcription of AA followed that of A after a short interval.

B–BB. These groups are clearly identical in ink and script. They are the last having initials done by the illuminator.

C–CC and DD. These groups show a return to ink of the general type, as against the reddish type of B and BB. No. 322 corresponds closely in script to No. 201. The fourth subgroup of C, consisting of the two *canzoni*, Nos. 206 and 207, and the group DD, consisting of a *canzone*, a *ballata*, a *canzone*, and a sonnet, correspond very closely in script. The contemporaneity of Nos. 206–7 and DD is attested by the date entries in V.L. 3196, which show that No. 207 was transcribed on October 23, 1368, and No. 324 on October 31. They show also that No. 323 was copied from V.L. 3196 *in alia papiro* on October 13, 1368. This copying was clearly in order to provide a fair draft as a basis for the transcription into V.L. 3195, which obviously took place before that of No. 324.

D–EE. These groups show a return to the ink which Quarta calls *rossastro particolare*, and correspond in their enlargement of script.

E and F, which succeed with short intervals, have no corresponding poems in Part II.

G–FF. These groups show a return to the ink which Quarta calls *nero sbiadito*, and correspond closely in script. As the ink of No. 223 is *pallido* and that of No. 331 is *quasi verdino*, I infer that No. 331 is

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contemporary rather with No. 223 than with No. 224, the ink of which is *carico*.

H–GG. These groups, having the same ink as G–FF, correspond in having a smaller script.

I and J. I, which follows after a short interval, and J have no corresponding poems in Part II.

K–HH. These groups correspond in ink and in script. They are further alike in their breaking of the left line of the right block. The first of the four sonnets of HH shows more irregularity than those of K, but the next two sonnets of HH, while clearly of the same subgroup, show a restored regularity in respect to the right block; and the fourth sonnet of HH, constituting a subgroup, shows a variation in script unlike anything in K. I infer that the transcription of HH followed that of K, but without any considerable interval.

II, which follows HH after a short interval, has no corresponding poems in Part I.

L–JJ. These poems, having still a reddish ink, have a script markedly finer than that of the preceding group. There appears to be no difference in ink between Nos. 237 and 238; the ink of No. 353 appears to be somewhat fainter. I infer that the transcription of JJ followed that of L, but without any considerable interval.

KK, which follows JJ after a short interval, has no corresponding poem in Part I.

There follow in Part I groups M–S, written in varying ink and in a script which is in general larger than standard. To these there correspond no poems in Part II; but the reason is obvious. Petrarch had come to the end of the MS in Part II, and as he went on now in the review and selection of his lyrics, while he could and did enter in Part I those which he decided to admit to that part of the collection, he made a separate reserved group of those appropriate for Part II, and did not enter them in V.L. 3195 until they were sufficient in number to fill a *duernione*, which could therefore be inserted without leaving a break in the series of poems. He proceeded then to the transcription into the *duernione* of the poems he had thus reserved—this transcription being, as has been said, the largest continuous task in all his work on the MS.

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LL, which consists of the poems of the *duernione* (except No. 361), and T are the first groups written after Petrarch gave up the idea of having colored initials.

T is similar in ink to the *duernione*, and is in general similar in script. Its script is, however, slightly coarser than that of the last poem of the *duernione*, and in its breach of the left line of the right block it is unlike the poems of the *duernione* (except No. 349, in which the breach seems to be fortuitous). It seems unlikely that the transcription of the *duernione* should have been interrupted by that of a single poem in Part I. I infer that the transcription of T followed that of LL after a short interval.

U–MM. These groups correspond unmistakably in ink and in script. The identity in these respects of Nos. 246 and 327, both written over erasures, the close similarity of Nos. 361 and 327, and the obvious correspondence of Nos. 361 and 257–58 serve to confirm the assignment of No. 246 to group U.

V and W. The fact that these groups are subsequent to all poems of Part II has already been indicated by the argument derived from the marginal numeration of certain sonnets presented in the discussion of group V in section IV of this paper.[1]

The results of the foregoing discussion are summarized in Table III. The braces indicate short intervals between the groups concerned. A vertical division of poems of the same group indicates a minor pause. Numbers in italic type represent insets; numbers in bold-face type represent poems transcribed over erasures. In the case of groups presented on the same line without annotation, there is, so far as I can see, no basis for deciding the relative order of the two groups.

[1] The foregoing results differ very considerably from those of Quarta, pp. 93–97. Quarta's groupings are based solely on his own study of the ink. He did not have the benefit of the studies of the ink by Modigliani and Vattasso; he made no study of the variations in script; and he did not recognize the existence of insets or deal thoroughly with the question of poems written over erasures.

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TABLE III

Groups in Part I	Groups in Part II	Notes
A 191–93, 195		
	AA 319–20	Short interval between A and AA
B **194**, 196–98, *179*	BB 321	
C 200		
201	CC 322	
202–5		
206–7	DD 323–26	207 transcribed Oct. 23, 1368; 324 transcribed Oct. 31, 1368
D 208–9	EE 328–30	
E 210		
211		211 transcribed June 22, 1369
212–18		
F 219		
220–21		
222		
G 223	FF 331	
224		
H 225–27	GG 332–34	
I 229–31		
J 232–33		
K 234–35		
236	HH 335–36, 350	HH subsequent to K, without interval
	355	
	II 351–52	
	354	
L 237		
238	JJ 353	JJ subsequent to L, without interval
	KK 366	
M 239		
N 240		
O 241, *199*		
121		
P 242–43		
Q 244		
245, *228* (?)		
R 247		
248		
249–52		
253–54		
S 255		
	LL 337–40	
	341–42	
	343–49, 356–60, 362	
	363–65	
T 256		Short interval between LL and T
U 257–58, **246**	MM *361*, **327**	
V 259		
W 260–61		
262–63		

VII

The foregoing analysis serves incidentally as a basis for criticism of the validity of certain groupings indicated by Cochin. Cochin groups Nos. 246–48 as being in praise of Laura; but No. 246 was written over erasure long after Nos. 247 and 248. Cochin groups Nos. 255 and 256 as plaints, but a major interval, during which Petrarch changed his mind as to the illumination of the initials, separated these two poems in transcription. Cochin groups Nos. 320–21 as celebrating the return to Vaucluse; but a major interval separates these poems in transcription. Cochin groups Nos. 326 and 327 as poems of grief; but No. 327 was written over erasure long after No. 326. In none of these cases do the poems concerned appear to be inevitably related in content.

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VIII

The foregoing analysis distinguishes 27 periods in Petrarch's transcription, including a total of 48 working times, if we count separately the portions of single groups set off by minor pauses. The total number of poems concerned is 123. We know that the transcription had begun by October, 1368, and may fairly assume that it was still in progress in January, 1373, when Petrarch wrote to Pandolfo Malatesta the letter quoted in part at the beginning of this article.

In view of these facts and of the statement by Petrarch in the letter just referred to, it would seem a sound inference that during the last few years of Petrarch's life he turned on the average once in every two or three months to the task of actual transcription, doing at a time usually two or three poems, but sometimes only one and sometimes several. For two poems which stand close together in Part I, Nos. 207 and 211, we have the exact dates of transcription: No. 207 was transcribed on October 23, 1368, and No. 211 on June 22, 1369. Between the periods of actual transcription Petrarch of course spent time, and evidently found interest and pleasure, in selecting poems for transcription, retouching them, and making them ready for the actual copying. In four cases—Nos. 121, 194, 246, and 327—he erased poems already standing in the MS and substituted others for them.

In two cases—Nos. 199 and 228—he left room for a sonnet as he progressed and filled it in at a later time, just as he had earlier had his scribe leave space for a sonnet between Nos. 178 and 180—the space which he himself filled, soon after the beginning of his own part of the work, with No. 179. No. 361 is also, in effect, such an inset, though it is possible that Petrarch did not originally intend to put anything in the space occupied by this poem, and that its insertion is merely an afterthought.

The most likely explanation of Petrarch's leaving the spaces which he later filled with Nos. 179, 199, and 228 would seem to be that when these points in the transcription were reached Petrarch wanted to put in next a particular poem, but did not have that poem ready for transcription—presumably because he wished to revise it before transcribing it.

At various times during these same years Petrarch made revisions or marginal entries in the MS. The many erasures and substitutions of single words or phrases date presumably from different periods.

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In the case of No. 211, which, as we have seen, was transcribed on impulse, we know from the memorandum quoted above[1] that the changes visible in the poem as it stands in V.L. 3195 were made on June 27, 1369, just five days after it was transcribed. The marginal numbers indicating a revised order for the last thirty-one poems are in the same ink as the *duernione* which contains most of them, and were therefore evidently entered soon after the insertion of that *duernione*. The marginal entries CCL, CCC, and CCCXII, referred to above, were evidently entered when the sonnets thus numbered were in fact the 250th, the 300th, and the 312th of the collection—that is, just before the transcription of the last five sonnets in Part I.

The picture thus drawn of Petrarch's work on the *Canzoniere* during the last years of his life serves to confirm the conclusions of Miss Phelps and my own as to the difference in character between the earlier portions and the later portions of the two parts of the *Canzoniere*.[2]

The first portion of Part I, ending with No. 142 or thereabouts, is very carefully planned as a whole with reference to a generally chronological sequence, to variety in form, and to variety in content. So also the first portion of Part II, ending with No. 292 or thereabouts.[3] The latter portion of Part I and the latter portion of Part II, on the contrary, consist of addenda, larger or smaller, made at many different times. These portions are not unified in themselves and are not integrated with the preceding portions of the work. In the case of the last thirty-one poems of Part II, but in this case only, there is shown a continued interest in the ordering of a considerable group of poems.

Petrarch's concern for the perfection of the individual poem and his constant retouching for the sake of the attainment of a still more exquisite beauty never ceased.

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[1] P. 391.

[2] Miss Phelps, pp. 217–20; my article, "The Pre-Chigi Form of the *Canzoniere* of Petrarch," in *Modern Philology*, XXIII (1926), 257. (Misprints occur in that article as follows: p. 262, next to last line, for "three" read "two"; p. 263, first col., delete "Fifth"; p. 268, first line, for 255 read 263; second line, for 63 read 66; p. 272, near end, for 63 read 66. Nos. 172, 173, and 171 on pp. 259 and 260 refer to the order of the Chigi MS. The corresponding numbers for V.L. 3195 are respectively 176, 177, and 178.) Quarta's sense of the gradual building up of the *Canzoniere* was so clear as to lead him to see the invalidity of theories of arrangement which assumed that the *Canzoniere* was an ordered whole; but he failed to make the essential distinction between the earlier and the later portions of the two parts of the *Canzoniere*.

[3] For the suggestion that the carefully planned portions of the *Canzoniere* ended at the points here indicated, see my article just cited.

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A *VILLANCICO* IN GIL VICENTE

The first "triumph" of Gil Vicente's *Triumpho do Inverno*[1] ends with the exit of the shepherds, singing the following *cabeza de villancico* in Spanish:

Quien ma ora ca mi sayó,
Cuitado!
Quien ma ora ca mi sayo.

The recopilation of lyrical elements from the plays at the end of the third volume repeats this with slight variation:

Quien me ahora ca mi sayo ... , etc.[2]

but the glossary and notes do not refer to it. Neither in an earlier edition[3] (the sixteenth-century editions are not accessible to me) nor in the reprint of the song in Barbieri's *Cancionero musical*[4] could any clue be found to this sufficiently mystifying lyric. A study on chain-songs in Vicente reprinted it once more and brought a change, but no illumination, nor any protest. This time it read:

Quien me aora cá mi sayo. ...[5]

Neither *ahora* nor *camisa* can turn these lines into sense, but reading the third and fourth words as one will solve the riddle:

¿Quién me *a(h)oraca* mi sayo?

That is, "Who is piercing, or tearing, my coat?" More likely even would be a preterite: *ahoracó*, "Who tore my coat?" The explanation of this misfortune to the coat is not difficult to imagine. Consider a rustic, such as speak the *introitos* of Torres Naharro, meeting the wench, who is keeping the birds off the crops with her trusty sling, like the *serranas* of Santillana:

Echole mano del brazo,
Y ella a mi del cabezón ...
—*Himenea*, Introito

[1] Ed. Mendes dos Remedios (Coimbra, 1907–14), II, 213.

[2] III, 282.

[3] By J. da S. Mendes Leal, Jr., and F. I. Pinheiro (Lisboa, 1852), II, 447 f.

[4] Madrid, 1890, No. 402.

[5] J. J. Nunes, "As cantigas parallelísticas em Gil Vicente," *Revista lusitana*, XII (1909), 262 f.

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In the subsequent turbulency (*¡Juegos de manos, juegos de villanos!*) a *cabezón* was likely to suffer. Sometimes, in such a situation, the lout had the better of it:

> Qué tal os paré á Teresa
> El dia de la bellota:
> Dejéla la saya rota ... ;
> —*Serafina*, Introito

but not always, and then the gallant might sing:

> ¿Quién me ahoracó mi sayo?
> ¡Cuitado!
> ¿Quién me ahoracó mi sayo?

Horacar seems to be a Western Spanish form. Covarrubias (1611) under *vracan* says: "*vraco* es termino sayagues, y vale agujero, y de alli *vracar;* agujerar," and also mentions "*horacar*, perforar."[1] Under *horado* he adds: "Los Sayagueses llaman *buraco* al agugero por donde entra luz." Gil Vicente, who wrote the so-called *sayagués* as freely as any Spaniard, may have used *horacar* all the more easily because Portuguese had the old form *furaco* (modern *buraca, buraco, buraquinho, buracar, esburacar*—Michaelis). The region of Salamanca, which materially contributed to the formation of *sayagués*, has *buraco* ("mouse-hole"), *buracar* and *aburacar* (Lamano), and Segovia has *buraco* with the specific meaning of "roto o agujero que se hace en las telas" (Vergara Martín, *Materiales*, 19). In Leonese territory *buraco* is attested for Maragatería and the region of Astorga (Garrote) and farther north it spread from the Montaña to Galicia. Pereda's country uses *buraco, joraca* ("peephole in a door") and, with a curious epenthetic *i: joriaco, juriaco, juriacar* (Huidobro, García Lomas). Asturias has *furacu, afuracar, buracu, aburacar*, along with *furar, furado* (Rato), and Galicia has *buraco* (Munthe, *Anteckningar*, 75) together with *furado* (Gde Diego, *Cruces de sinónimos*, 16). Exiled Spanish Jews have preserved *buraco, buraquito* (Gil, *Romancero*, 94; Wagner, *Beiträge*, 149; Gaspar Remiro, *BRAE*, IV, 110–13). Cuba still has *horaco* (Pichardo).

[1] The alternation of protonic *o* and *u* made Baist (*ZRPh*, XXX, 466) postulate an original *furare* along with *forare*. For this, add the form *hurera* ("tus hureras y escondrijos"), Alcardo, *Palabras*, 141.

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The word seems to have had, at least for a time, an all-Spanish standing, since we find it used in the fifteenth century by the Cordovan Pedro Tafur (*Andanças e viajes*, 605 *aforocado*), in the *Celestina*,[1] and in the seventeenth century by the Toledan Quiñones de Benavente.[2]

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[1] Foulché-Delbosc (Burgos, 1499), 102 *vna continua gotera horaca vna piedra;* Sevilla, 1501 (107), changed to *horada*. Cejador, in his edition (II, 14), notes that *horaco, huraco, foraco* are all in Rosal (1601).

[2] Cejador quotes one example (given as two) from Benavente's *Jocoseria* (1645) and one from Jil Armesto y Castro (*Los muertos vivos*, in his *Verdores del Parnaso*, 1697), but this last example is the same one finds in Benavente's *Los muertos vivos*, *ap.* Cotarelo, *Entremeses*, II, 587.

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SOME EARLY MASKS AND MORRIS DANCES

Several accounts of *momeries, morisques, farces, mimes*, etc., which throw considerable light upon the character of these early dramatic forms in France are found in Ménabréa's *Chroniques de Yolande de France*,[1] Duchess of Savoy and sister of Louis XI. This volume includes extracts from the accounts of Yolande's treasurers for the years 1469–82 and miscellaneous documents from the court archives. These references may be listed[2] as follows:

Momerie, at Thonon, January 3, 1469,[3] at a banquet in honor of the ambassador from Venice, page 67.

Momerie, at Genève, February 11, 1469,[3] for pre-Lenten celebrations, pages 67–68.

Momerie, at Chambéry, January 6, 1471,[3] in celebration of the wedding of Catherine de Genève, page 73.

Moralite de Sainte Suzanne,[4] at Chambéry, June 30, 1470, page 77.

Momerie, at Chambéry, May, 1471, page 78.

Momeries, at Verceil, June, 1473,[3] for pre-Lenten celebrations, page 89.

Morisque, at Ivrée, February 6, 1474, in honor of the arrival of the brother of the Duke of Milan, page 96.

Morisque, momerie, at Turin, January 15–February 8, 1475,[3] at the arrival of Frederic of Aragon, and at a banquet given in his honor, pages 119–23, 129–30.

Morisque, at Turin, September 16, 1474, at a banquet in honor of the arrival of the Marchioness of Montferrat, pages 124, 126–27.

Morisque, at Montcallier, December 11, 1474, at a banquet in honor of ambassadors from Sicily, Bourgoyne, and Milan, pages 124–25.

Morisque, at Montcallier, January 8–9, 1475, in celebration of the wedding of M. Alleran Provana, page 125.

Two *mimes*, for the journey to Milan, January 15, 1474,[3] page 132.

Morisques, momeries, at Chambéry, December 15, 1476, at a banquet in honor of the Count and Countess of Genève and ambassadors from France, Milan, and Montferrat, pages 165–66.

[1] *Académie des Sciences, belles-lettres, et arts de Savoie* (Chambéry, 1859), Vol. I.

[2] I have given these in the order in which they appear in the text rather than in chronological order because some of the dates evidently refer to the date of payment of expenses instead of to that of the performance. These cases are noted in footnotes.

[3] Date of payment.

[4] A notice of this play, together with a citation from our text, is given in Petit de Julleville's repertoire in his *Les Mystères* (Paris, 1880), III, 33.

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Mimes, for the journey from Lyon, December 28, 1476,[2] page 175.
Momerie, at Rivoli, January 29, 1478, for the ambassador from Milan, page 178.
More factuorum, moresta, February 12 (1478),[2] page 196.
Momerie, at Chambéry, September 28 (1480), in celebration of the wedding of one of the maids-in-waiting, page 213.
Momerie, at St.-Genix, December 2, 1480, in celebration of the wedding of Charlotte de Monteson, page 213.
Morisque, at Chambéry, July 10, 1481, at a banquet in honor of the arrival of the fiancée of the Dauphin, pages 214–16.
Momerie, at Beaurepaire, March, 1481, in honor of the arrival of the Bishop and in celebration of the wedding of M. de la Beaume, page 218.
Momerie, at Chambéry, St. John's Eve, 1480, page 219.
Farses (at Chambéry?), June, 1481, in honor of the arrival of the fiancée of the Dauphin, page 219.
Momerie, at Chambéry, August, 1481, in honor of the wedding of M. Marcossey, page 220.
Momerie, at Turin, December 29, 1481; January 1, 1482;[2] in honor of visitors, page 221.
Momerie, at Turin, January 10 (1482),[2] in honor of visitors, page 222.
Momerie, at Turin, January 17–18 (1482),[1] in honor of visitors, page 222.
MSS of plays belonging to Yolande:
La Passion de Notre Seigneur en personnaiges, page 310.
La destruction de Jherusalem a personnaiges pour jouer, page 310.
Le jeu sainte Marie a personnaiges, page 311.
Ung livre en papier a xxiij personnaiges, page 311.
Lestoire saint Allexis en personnaiges, page 312.
Le livre de Ballaan en istoire pour jouer, page 312.

The *momeries* and *morisques* are of special significance to us because, in setting and characteristic elements, they have much in common with the early court masks of England, especially those that contain features originating in Court of Love literature. In giving the details[2] of these descriptions I shall retain the words *momerie* and *morisque* as found in the text because, where both were given on the same occasion, it is sometimes impossible to determine how they were

[1] Date of payment.

[2] It is very often difficult to tell from the text whether the items listed refer to the masks and dances or to the elaborate "subtleties" brought in for the banquet. The word used here for these devices is *entremes*, which, besides referring to confections and to various contrivances in which the food was carried, may also mean *entrements* or *divertissements* between the courses of the banquet. The materials from which some of the objects were made show that they were not always cakes or confections to be eaten, and their size often forbids their being placed on the table. I have indicated those cases in which I feel any degree of uncertainty whether the items listed refer to "subtleties" or to the *momeries*.

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combined and, in some cases, how they differ, for the *morisques* described are not mere dances in costume, but contain, as we shall see, elements of the *momerie;* and, moreover, the expression *danser une momerie,*[1] found at this epoch, shows that the *momeries* were, in part at least, dances. Where both are given, however, garments were made for two different groups of people.

For the *morisque*[2] presented at Ivrée, February 6, 1474, a Castle of Love was constructed. Garments were made for sixteen people, including a lady, three dancers (men), four goddesses, the god of love, his six companions, and a dwarf. The lady and the three dancers wore spangled garments whose sleeves were noted especially.[3] The three goddesses also had robes with special sleeves but no spangles. The garments of the others are not described. In this performance the combination of elements of dance, the Court of Love motif, and the use of mythological characters are to be noted. The fact that the three dancers (the lady also was probably a dancer) are mentioned separately indicates that the others were not mere dancers, but that they acted also.

The account of the *morisque* and *momerie*[4] given between January 25 and February 8, 1475, at the arrival of Prince Frederic of Aragon, contains many interesting features. A gilded pavilion of cloth was constructed. Three wild beasts—a stag, a leopard (*lion part*), and a unicorn (*irecorne*)[5]—were made, their bodies being covered with gilded hangings. They were mounted by three eunuchs (*ongres*)[6] carrying silver torches and wearing false faces, hair wigs, three ostrich plumes on their heads, and dressed in violet robes trimmed with silver. The references to two pairs of white leggings and to two pairs of white shoes to use with two of the beasts that were mounted *en guise de cheval,* and to three pairs of small white pantaloons filled with hay and placed upon the beasts for the riders' legs, indicate that they were mounted like hobbyhorses. The torch-bearers probably preceded the floats. A Castle of Love was supported by eight gold chairs which

[1] P. 96.

[2] G. Arnaud d' Agnel, *Les comptes du Roi René* (Paris, 1910), Vol. III, No. 3323, p. 44, for Jan. 29, 1478.

[3] Long sleeves trailing to the ground were often worn by the dancers (cf. p. 124).

[4] Ménabréa, *op. cit.*, pp. 119–23, 129–30.

[5] *Licorne*, a "unicorn." [6] *Hongres*, "Hungarians" or "eunuchs."

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were held by eight singers. These singers wore tinsel plumes, but their garments are not described. The Castle of Love had a laurel tree, battlements, and four yellow-and-white cloth towers in which were magic fountains of precious wines and rose-water and a fire of burning spirits and camphor. Four maidens in spangled silk robes embroidered in gold thread at the neck, and with plumes of tinsel on their heads, stood in the castle, probably in the towers, and threw out their capes (*chapple*)[1] as they were carried through the hall, a fact that leads us to believe that the castle was on a float. Special mention is made of the *charriot* on which the Garden of Love,[2] with its laurel tree and fountain, was carried. In the garden were three ladies wearing gold crowns, one as an empress and two as queens. A great dragon, large enough to contain four men hidden inside, was set on wheels and rolled into the room. It was made of white-and-yellow cloth over a frame, was painted green, and was provided with wings and a large head that, by means of wires worked by the men inside, could move (*joyer*), either from side to side or by opening and shutting its mouth. A forest of seven trees was made for the dragon. Two savages dressed in garments of a plain material, over which one wore a garment of hemp and the other a robe of skins, fought the dragon with silvered hunting spears. The carpenters who made the trees, chairs, tables, etc., for the occasion also made a chariot (*lietiere*) on which was carried *la lufon*. This is an unusual word (related to the Italian *la loffione*) signifying a stuffed or puffed-up man, but as I can find no proof that this object was used for the *momerie*, I can explain it only by considering it as one of the *entremes* for the banquet. Three men wearing beards of gilt fringe, coronets of white taffeta with the royal device in gold, and a fool with a false face, danced the *morisque*. Besides being provided with their outfit, these men seem to have been paid for dancing, a fact that indicates that they did not belong to the court. Long red robes, trimmed in silver, and with black borders, each provided with two double loose panels or bands (*guiches*) falling from the shoulders to the ground, were made for six ladies (one a man in disguise, whose robe was of silk) who, apparently, wore headdresses of silk that hung in

[1] *Chappe*, *cappe*, and *caple* are variants for *chape*, a "cape," also a "small cap." *Chaple* is also a variant for *chapelure*, "crumbs of bread or ginger."

[2] Nine gardens of red and white roses for nine sirens, and twelve small castles in which the meat was carried are among the *entremes* made for the banquet.

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folds down to their feet. Three cassocks or undergarments trimmed in silver, over which were worn loose, flowing robes also provided with two double panels falling from the shoulders, were made for three men. These nine people, whose names are given, were ladies-in-waiting, the fool, and other members of the court retinue. There is no indication of the part they played, but, judging from their robes, they were dancers.[1]

The two chief motifs of this performance seem to be the development of the Court of Love theme and the slaying of the dragon. From the items listed, however, I find no indication of the order in which the three beasts, the castle, the garden, and the dragon were brought in, nor does the text show that, aside from the singing and the fight with the dragon, there was any speaking or acting that might be considered as an attempt to play a story. Moreover, the fact that we find no reference to knights for the ladies prevents us from immediately concluding that the castle was assaulted or the garden invaded. After the performance the gilt was removed from the pavilion and from the coverings of the wild beasts, evidently to be used to gild the pelt of a sheep to make the Golden Fleece, which, placed on a chariot surrounded by candles, formed one of the "subtleties" for the banquet[2] given February 7 for the same prince. The Castle of Love was repainted, its door was guarded by a savage, and on its towers were placed four little monkey-like figures (*marmouses*), and four wild beasts—a wild boar, a bear, a serpent (dragon), and a lion finely gilded. No *momerie* is mentioned on this occasion.

In the *morisque*,[3] given at a banquet September 15, 1474, in honor of the Marchioness of Montferrat, parts were taken by a fool wearing a long robe, and a lady and men wearing robes whose sleeves trailed to the ground. The *entremes*, called in the text *lentremes de sainct Moris*, are worthy of special notice. A chariot was made to carry St. Maurice,[4] for whom a long robe, or cassock, and a cap with a plume were provided. Two sirens, five feet long, were made for the *entremes* of some molding material or clay covered with a silver-like metal

[1] Cf. the robes for the dancers of the *morisque*, p. 126.

[2] P. 129.

[3] Pp. 124, 126–27.

[4] Yolande was very fond of this saint, whose ring she cherished as a relic and to whom she dedicated one of her chapels (pp. 124, 189, 282).

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(*estain*).[1] The wording of the text, which reads "pour fere la lietiere de porter sainct Moris et deux serennes et pour fere ... ," is, of course, ambiguous, but seems to indicate that the sirens were on the chariot. Two towers of painted cloth over a frame with a banquet chair below shaped like a castle were made by carpenters for the *entremes*. These towers were guarded by two fools for whom long robes were provided. I have included these details because they show, I believe, that, in some cases, the *entremes*[2] did not differ, so far as construction is concerned, from the pageants of the *momeries*. In the *momeries*, however, we have living actors who either by dumb-show or by acting and song set forth some story, event, or lesson.

In the account of the *morisque*[3] given at the wedding celebrations of January 8–9, 1475, the items include a red gown trimmed in silver for the fool, who wore three silver suns, one on his head, one on his back, and one in front; another red gown trimmed in silver; a hat half red, half white, with an ostrich plume; a lady's robe, trimmed in silver with a border of tinsel from the knees down, and with four loose bands or panels (*guiches*) falling from the shoulders to the ground; robes for four men, likewise trimmed in silver with tinsel borders from the belt to the hem and with four loose panels reaching from the shoulders to the ground; four pairs of red silvered shoes; a gown for a savage man, also having tinsel on it; and, finally, *xiiij jambieres de sonetes*, indicating that the dancers wore bells. Tinsel was provided for the hats of the nobles (*grans*) who were in the company. Among those mentioned as present at the *morisque* were "larpeur de madame ... labbe des chanctres Golleti chanctre le maistre des enfans et les vi nouvices," who probably furnished the music for the entertainment.

The description[4] of the *momeries* and *morisques* given at a banquet, December 15, 1476, contains elements so diverse that it seems impossible to determine how the various participants were grouped. Several items refer to a Garden of Triumph[5] supported by a hundred red batons, and to a Chariot of Triumph[6] set on posts, probably to

[1] *Estain* is a variant both of *étain*, a whitish metal, and of *étaim*, a wool fiber and a cloth paper.

[2] The other *entremes* include fourteen small painted galleys in which the meat was served.

[3] Pp. 125–26. [4] Pp. 165–66.

[5] Called both *jardyn du triumphe* and *vergier du triumphe*.

[6] *Lietiere du triumph*.

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carry the garden. A Captain[1] of Triumph, for whom a robe of crimson taffeta decorated by two painters of Chambéry, tinsel, and gilded plumes were provided; and four Maidens of Triumph, also wearing gilded plumes, are mentioned. As the four maidens, however, are elsewhere mentioned in connection with the need of metal (*estaing*) to cover the *entremes*, *all* these items may refer to the *entremes*[2] for the banquet. A robe of the same material and decoration as the captain's was made for Monseigneur le Prothonotaire. A hermitage made of cloth, a large hairy head of Golias (Goliath), lances and spears to carry the banners and the head, are among the items listed. Four Moors wearing black robes and gilded plumes belong to one of the *momeries* (not *morisques*). *Morisquelz*, with their faces covered with silver, and dancers (men), wearing gilded crests (*huppes*) probably of feathers, took part. The music was provided by minstrels who wore gilt plumes and who sat on seats constructed for the occasion.

Other points of interest are to be found in these records of the court of Savoy. The task of presenting most of the *momeries* and *morisques*, and even the *moralité* mentioned, was given to Lancellot de Lans, Yolande's squire and *Maitre de cousine*,[3] who, besides taking charge of the wardrobes of the actors,[4] often took part himself.[5] The decorations and scenery were generally painted by Nicholas Robert, Yolande's court painter,[6] although another painter, Maistre Galiot, is mentioned,[7] and, on one occasion, two Germans worked nine days making the setting for a *momerie* and *morisque*.[8] These settings were, as we have seen, very elaborate. One account of expenses[9] gives the items required for the construction of a *Loge de la folie*, with a fountain of wines, for some event held in May, 1471. Among those who took part were the notables themselves,[10] illustrious visitors,[11] the ladies-in-waiting, and other members of the court retinue. On one occasion robes were made, at the expense of the court, for "xvj gentils hommes le lostel lesquelx en la compagnie de momseigneur levesque de Geneve

[1] In one case the word is used in the plural.
[2] Among the *entremes* are twenty-seven small lighted towers and nine little armed men.
[3] Pp. 77, 96, 183.
[4] P. 27.
[5] Pp. 120, 125.
[6] Pp. 124, 125, 129.
[7] P. 215.
[8] P. 166.
[9] P. 94.
[10] Pp. 67, 73.
[11] P. 73.

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firent une momerie en laquelle furent madame et ses dames,"[1] and, later, for a "momerie ... en laquelle a este ma dite dame mes damoyselles et ses dames ensemble monseigneur de Romont monseigneur levesque et pluseurs autres gentilz hommes."[2] I have already referred to the musicians and singers present. Two of the references listed are to *mimes*,[3] but these consist merely of players of the harp, tabor, rebeck, lute, cithern, and organ, who accompanied members of the court on journeys. The references to the two *farses*[4] contain no other information than the names of the *farseurs*. There is no proof in the accounts of the *momeries* that the parts were spoken, nor do I find any evidence that the dancers or performers danced with anyone from the audience, but the inference that they did so does not seem unlikely when we recall the fact that some of the actors were nobles.

The details of the *momeries* listed above are very similar to those of the early court masks in England. In Westminster Hall, for example, at the wedding of Catherine of Aragon and Arthur, in 1501, a castle, with eight ladies and with four little boys dressed as maidens singing in its towers, was drawn in attached by gold chains to four wild beasts—a hart, a silvered lion, a gilded lion, and an "ibeke." It was, of course, later assaulted by the knights from the Mount of Love. Wild-men, or "woddose," mermaids, torch-bearers disguised as Moors, noblemen in visors, and the use of the *chateau vert*, the *char du triumph*, etc., are other features of English masks that might be mentioned. Both Reyher[5] and Brotanek[6] believe that the mask was introduced into England from France. Cunliffe[7] believes that it came directly from Italy. It is very probable that early masks in Italy, of which the one in Rome, given in June, 1473, in honor of Leonora of Aragon, daughter of the king of Sicily and sister of the Frederic of Aragon mentioned in our text, is the best known, were introduced directly into France by eyewitnesses and court artists. Evidences of the close relationship between Savoy and Italy are found in Yolande's

[1] P. 67.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Pp. 132, 175.
[4] P. 219.
[5] P. Reyher, *Les masques anglais* (Paris, 1909), pp. 27–28.
[6] R. Brotanek, *Die englischen Maskenspiele* (Leipzig, 1920), pp. 119, 283–302.
[7] J. Cunliffe, "Italian Prototypes of the Masque and Dumb-Show," *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XV (1907), 140–54.

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Chroniques. Visits between the two countries are recorded.[1] In 1476 gifts were made to the musicians of the Duke of Ferrara for playing and to the buffoon of the king of Naples;[2] and, in 1478, one Galéas, a Neapolitan, was rewarded for coming to make a Morris.[3] Prince Frederic himself spent much time in France and Savoy and, in 1479, became Yolande's son-in-law and guardian to Prince Philibert. Evidences of this relationship between Savoy and Italy, together with the fact of the similarity of details noted above between the masks of England and those of Savoy, give additional support to Reyher's theory that the mask came into England from Italy *en passant par la France*.[4]

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[1] Ménabréa, *op. cit.*, pp. 67, 124, 178, 194, 195, 196.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 182.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 196.
[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 26.

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CONVENTIONAL FEATURES OF MEDWALL'S *FULGENS AND LUCRES*

Medwall's *Fulgens and Lucres*, the first purely secular English play extant and an important document in the history of humanism in England, has now been edited by F. S. Boas and A. W. Reed for the Oxford Press from a complete copy that came to light in 1919.[1] The history of the quarto, the source of the serious plot, the career of Medwall, the date and circumstances of the first performance, and the technique of the play are interestingly discussed in the Introduction.[2] Especially important is the argument that *Fulgens and Lucres* was performed in the hall of Cardinal Morton at Lambeth for the entertainment of the Spanish and Flemish ambassadors during the Christmas season of 1497.[3] Certainly the play was prepared for some courtly feast. It seems indeed, with due allowance for Medwall's skill in the organization of the material, to be a typical performance for a winter festival. The editors give the clue to this interpretation in discussing the conditions of the performance and the evidence of an older romantic tradition in drama.

To my mind they err, however, in attempting to trace to Flanders the development of a secular romantic drama that inspired Medwall and in attributing the comic scenes to the invention of the author. It is more probable that romantic drama developed in France, passing to Flanders and England during the dominance of French culture.

[1] Henry Medwall, *Fulgens & Lucres. A Fifteenth-Century Secular Play* (ed. F. S. Boas and A. W. Reed). New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1926. Pp. xxviii +104.

[2] Professor Reed's article on the play in *The Times Literary Supplement* of April 4, 1919, is in some respects better documented. There attention is called to Creizenach's discovery of the source of the play (*Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, XLVII, 200–201), to similar debates, etc. In the Introduction to this edition no reference is made to Reed's article or to Creizenach, and there is only a passing allusion to the debate form of the play. In "Henry Medwalls Fulgens and Lucres. Eine Studie zu Anfängen des weltlichen Dramas in England," *Anglica*, II (Palaestra, 148), 83–117, Professor Hans Hecht gives detailed accounts of the history and contents of Bonaccorso's treatise, Tiptoft's translation, and Medwall's play.

[3] Hecht, *op. cit.*, p. 103, calls attention to the allusions to Kent (I, 1110), York (I, 846), and Calais (I, 1084) as more suggestive of a performance at Canterbury than at London.

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The plays of Adam de la Halle at Arras in the thirteenth century deserve mention, while the miracles of the Virgin in the fourteenth, which are certainly no more moral and didactic than *Fulgens and Lucres*, lay more emphasis on romantic story. At any rate romantic drama began in England long before Medwall and, as I tried to show some years ago, was probably extensive.[1] The *Interludium de clerico et puella* and *Dux Moraud* reveal an early drift toward romantic material, and *Eglemour and Degrebelle* and *A knight cleped ffloreńce*, acted at St. Albans and Bermondsey respectively in 1444, clearly represent drama drawn from romances. The last two may indeed have been strictly secular plays. But these, like the plays of Flanders, were dramatized romances whereas *Fulgens and Lucres* reflects such romantic aspects of medieval literature as the *débat* in the discussion of true nobility, court of love conventions in the serious wooing by rivals of different rank (both features derived from Tiptoft's translation of Bonaccorso's *De vera nobilitate*), and festival pastimes in the setting and the comic wooing. Reference to a few of the many records of lost drama and to certain conventional phases of extant dramatic pieces will make it clear, I believe, that in this form of secular romantic drama Medwall must have been carrying on old conventions both in material and in the technique of his play.[2]

The serious element of the plot as handled by Bonaccorso and adapted by Medwall has distinctly conventional features. With Bonaccorso the two lovers of Lucres—Cornelius, a rich and dissolute lord, and Flaminius, of lower rank and fortune but a virtuous student and patriot—urge their claims before the senate after Lucres, in response to her father's insistence that she make a choice, has agreed to accept the nobler of the two. No decision is rendered. So in Caxton's edition of Tiptoft's translation the reader is asked to decide for himself. In Medwall's play, after Cornelius has appealed to Fulgens and Flaminius has wooed Lucres, she decides that they shall urge their

[1] See "Some Evidence for Early Romantic Plays in England," *Modern Philology*, XIV, 229–51, 467–512, and "An Elizabethan Eglamour Play," *ibid.*, pp. 759–60.

[2] In the title the play is described as "Compyled" by Medwall, and after the plot has been told B says (ll. 150–53):

> I loue to beholde suche myrthes alway
> For y haue sene byfore this day
> Of suche maner thingis in many a gode place
> Both gode examples and right honest solace.

The statements are probably too general, however, to indicate the nature of Medwall's sources.

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claims together. Accordingly each lover tells Lucres in turn of his merits and of the demerits of his rival. It is stated at the beginning (I, 115–23) that the matter has been referred to the senate, but Lucres renders her decision for the audience, choosing Flaminius as the nobler of the two. In her decision, however, and in the debate with B that follows she is careful to declare that though she values virtue more than blood, "ther may be no comparyson" when a man of high rank has "godely maners to his birth according." Before this she has stipulated (II, 428–37) that her decision "may not be notyde for a generall precedent."

The humanistic aspect of this plot may be noticed first because of its obviousness in the didacticism of both Bonaccorso and Medwall. From an early period in the Renaissance the humanists made virtue the basis of true nobility and incidentally, since virtue was the product of knowledge, dignified the student. Not only is this idea emphasized in the play as in the original, but Medwall has re-enforced it by the decision of Lucres, by the statement in the opening of the play that the senate gave "an vtter sentence" in favor of Flaminius, and by the declaration at the end that Medwall's purpose is to move "gentilmen of name"

> By this example for to eschew
> The wey of vyce and fauour vertue.

The theme of true nobility was a medieval one, however, and there are various early discussions of it that anticipate the distinct humanistic attitude or represent stages of progress toward it.[1] Medwall himself doubtless reveals a reactionary medieval or feudal attitude in making Lucres deny that there is a problem where rank is joined with virtue. The theme had first been handled in *demandes d'amour*, and the treatment of both Bonaccorso and Medwall shows very clearly the influence of medieval questions in love literature. In an early Provençal *joc-partit* the question is proposed, "Shall a lady bestow her love upon a lover of high birth but of bad character, or upon a lover of

[1] Nature in Jean de Meun's part of *Le Roman de la Rose* (ll. 18589–896) gives an explanation of true nobility very similar to that found in Bonaccorso and Medwall. Langlois' notes to the earlier part of the passage in the edition for the Société des Anciens Textes Français (IV, 317–19) show how general the conception was in the Middle Ages. In *The Times Literary Supplement* for April 4, 1919, Professor Reed calls attention to a series of debates on nobility in Harl. 4402, a French manuscript which includes Mielot's translation of Bonaccorso. Bonaccorso's *De vera nobilitate* in the original Latin is one of a dozen treatises on government, court life, nobility, etc., to be found in Harl. MS 1883.

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low birth but of noble character?"[1] A triple problem as in Medwall's play appears also. In the *Lai du Conseil* a lady asks advice about three suitors, one "preux, riche, et mal élevé," another "courtois, riche, et mal renommé pour la prouesse," and a third who "a peu de fortune" but who is "preux, discret, et sage."[2] An even more complicated *demande* is found in an early Italian sonnet about two suitors, one "courteous, learned and wise, liberal and pleasing, the other doughty and of great vassalage, fierce and bold, and feared of all people."[3] If we substitute the hedonism of Cornelius for the feudal traits of the second lover here, we have practically the respective traits of the two suitors in *Fulgens and Lucres*. Bonaccorso may have been influenced by some similar *demande*. On the third question of Andreas' *Liber de amore*, concerning love and riches in the case of two suitors of equal rank, the Countess of Champagne gives a decision not unlike that of Lucres—"that noble and seemly poverty is not to be subordinated to rude wealth, nor noble wealth to seemly poverty."[4]

The debate technique used by Bonaccorso and Medwall makes still clearer the traditional aspect of their work. Dialogues dealing with abstract themes were of course popular among the humanists, but purely humanistic types were in reality not argumentative but expository. Interest in a pure debate involving the balancing of arguments would seem to reflect the medieval *débat*. This aspect of the Lucres story is emphasized in the title of Medwall's play, "a godely interlude of Fulgens Cenatoure of Rome. Lucres his doughter. Gayus flaminius. & Publius. Cornelius. of the disputacyon of noblenes," as it had been emphasized in one title of Bonaccorso's treatise, *Controversia de Nobilitate*[5] and in that of Mielot's translation, *Controversie de noblesse*.[6] The *débat* furnishes a natural complement to the question and *demande*, the *demande* being frequently a mere prelude

[1] Quoted from Crane, *Italian Social Customs of the Sixteenth Century*, p. 11. Among the similar *demandes* summarized by Crane are Question III of *Filocolo* (p. 72) and two from tenzons, first whether wealth or learning is preferable, and second whether military prowess, learning, or liberality is preferable (p. 23), the last being like the question from *Filocolo*.

[2] Summarized by Manly, "What is the Parlement of Foules?" *Morsbach Studien*, p. 284.

[3] Crane, *op. cit.*, p. 21. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 31. [5] See Harl. MS 1883.

[6] See Harl. MS 4402 and Colard Mansion's edition of about 1475. Caxton's heading reads, "Argument of the declamacyon which laboureth to shewe wherin honoure sholde reste."

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to the debate. The earliest popular debate in medieval love poetry is that of birds or women concerning the relative merits of clerks and knights as lovers,[1] a theme that will be found running through the various love contests cited later. The fact that Flaminius is a student and Cornelius a knight apparently reflects the dominance of the motive in court of love literature, especially in the strict debates. In failing to have a decision rendered by the senate Bonaccorso follows the precedent of a number of the tenzons in which the problem is merely debated. Most of the *demandes*, however, are accompanied by decisions, usually given by some woman presiding at the court of love, as in the case of the Countess of Champagne. In the judgment passed by Lucres, Medwall would seem to have been influenced by this custom as well as by the authority of a lady in medieval love poetry to make her own choice among her suitors.[2] Bonaccorso's substitution of the senate for the court of love is a part of the pseudo-classicism of his treatment. Medwall follows the court of love convention without quite eliminating the senate.

A final traditional element of medieval love poetry represented in *Fulgens and Lucres* is the wooing contest. In having the suitors plead before Lucres, Medwall turns the whole play into a wooing contest, with the serious wooing supplemented by a comic contest of A and B for the favor of Lucres's maid Joan. This feature, found for instance in *The Parlement of Foules* and Question I of *Filocolo*,[3] is as important an element of medieval love poetry as any other of the conventions discussed, and easily the most important in Medwall's play. The love contest probably came to Medwall, however, through forms of drama in which the conventional features traceable in *Fulgens and Lucres* were already to be found in varied combinations.

Evidently similar elements drawn from medieval love poetry rather than from chivalric romance were used constantly in Tudor disguisings and interludes. The popularity of court of love conventions is noticeable in fact in Lydgate's masques. The amount of extant drama is small but the interest in debate is indicated in the early

[1] See Crane, *op. cit.*, pp. 39–40, where the literature of the subject is excellently summarized.

[2] Reed in *The Times Literary Supplement*, April 4, 1919, speaks of Lucres's choice as "a privileged decision, reminiscent of the Courts of Love."

[3] For the literature of the subject see Crane, *op. cit.*, pp. 67–70, and Manly, *op. cit.*, pp. 279–87.

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sixteenth century by *Gentleness and Nobility* with its representation of three classes and various qualities and by the importance of the debate in burlesque form in Heywood's farces. The *Play of Love* is of course based on popular *demandes d'amour*. Records of lost pieces furnish the chief evidence however.[1] The debate on Love and Riches in May, 1527, apparently dealt with a typical love problem. The love motivation of many of the court disguisings is obscured by the stress laid on the elaborate pageant machines in Hall's descriptions and in contemporary expense accounts. In most cases an attempt was made to present the characteristic idealized nature settings of love allegory, with a castle, a bower, or a cave tenanted by a group of ladies. Apparently each setting was designed for knights to woo ladies as a preparation for the formal dance of the disguising. The clearest example is found in an entertainment at the marriage of Prince Arthur in 1501. Wooing messages were sent by Knights of the Mount of Love to the ladies in a castle and subsequently the castle was besieged as a preparation for the dance. This device of the siege, which had been used in courtly May games in Italy as early as the thirteenth century and is often represented in medieval art,[2] was repeated in 1512 and in a more elaborate form in 1522. The names used in these and some other disguisings were all drawn from the abstractions of love allegory.

Though the importance of court of love material in early sixteenth-century drama is best illustrated in the Tudor court entertainments, the conventionality of Medwall's wooing scenes is more clearly shown by reference to similar features in other plays. The contest of two or more rivals is depicted in Adam de la Halle's *Robin et Marion*, in some early Italian farces, and in German *fastnachtspiele*.[3] The fact that in one of Raber's *fastnachtspiele* each of a group of girls is wooed separately by individual men as a prelude to a group dance,[4] and the universality of such children's games as "Here Come Three Dukes," in which a group of boys woos a group of girls, seem to me significant for the obvious love motivation of disguisings of Henry VIII's court which initiated dances. In these various forms of the love game, forerunners

[1] See *Modern Philology*, XIV, 249–51, 467–77, for my detailed discussion of these pieces including the few cited here.

[2] See Brotanek, *Die englischen Maskenspiele*, pp. 26–28, 325–26.

[3] See Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, I, 412–24; II, 173–79, 184; III, 143.

[4] See Zingerle, *Sterzinger Spiele*, No. XIV.

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of Medwall's contrast of serious and comic wooing contests are not known, but there is evidence that his contrast in the types of wooers and in their wooing speeches was conventional in plays where rivals representing different social classes woo the same lady. The scene in the Proclamation of Lyndsay's *Satire of the Three Estates*, obviously traditional,[1] in which a Courtier, a Merchant, a Clerk, and a Fool woo in contest, involves some contrasts. A play giving evidence of the full development of the type in Europe by the opening of the sixteenth century is Raber's *Rex Viole cum filia sua*, acted at Sterzing in the Tirol in 1511, apparently before *Fulgens and Lucres* was published.[2] In this play the first wooer of the king's daughter is a peasant, who after being mocked by the princess is claimed and railed at by an uncouth mistress. A burgher's son and a knight are next rejected. The more gallant wooing of a count and of a student, son of a lord of England, follows, with the success of the student after he has conquered the knight in a sword fight. The jousting of the clowns for the maid in Medwall's play furnishes a comic parallel to this knightly duel.[3] In the German piece as in *Fulgens and Lucres*, the servants of the various characters play a conspicuous part as agents and interlocutors. There is similar stress on the father's leaving to the daughter the choice of a husband, and while the debate on nobility is lacking, the girl in Raber's play like Lucres emphasizes the value of nobility in both blood and deeds.

The triumph of the Fool in Lyndsay's farce, the wooing of a festival queen in Raber's play as the prelude to a group dance, and the connection of various medieval wooing songs with dances[4] point to the wooing contest as a popular festival pastime. That games in a more or less dramatic form were numerous in medieval England is probably generally believed, but the nature of most of them is obscure to say the least. The general resemblance of *Fulgens and Lucres*, performed in a winter feast, to these other festival plays of the same period suggests that it represents a type of elaborate wooing drama which had

[1] For its traditional features see *Modern Philology*, XXI, 231–32.

[2] See Zingerle, *Sterzinger Spiele*, No. XI.

[3] In Mescolino's *Targone* and Berni's *Catrina*, two Italian wooing farces of the early sixteenth century, there are battles of clownish rivals, in one case a burlesque sword fight and in the other a cudgel contest. For accounts of these farces see Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, II, 175–76, 178.

[4] See *Modern Philology*, XIV, 237–39.

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been popular in festival pastimes before Medwall's day. There are further indications in later drama that the contest of rivals was an old formula of popular romantic drama in England which Medwall could hardly have inaugurated. These indications are found first in a group of Elizabethan popular plays that seem to have utilized traditional material, and second in the traditional mummers' plays surviving among the English folk.

The adaptation of old festival motives in popular Elizabethan drama was possibly not inconsiderable. It is easy to see that the Elizabethan entertainment and masque represent a gradual sophistication of medieval festival dance. The constant introduction of the "morris" in the disguisings at the court of Henry VII and Henry VIII is one indication.[1] The use of Robin Hood disguises in the pastimes of Henry VIII furnishes another.[2] What must have been a mummers' play was carried in a procession of the sheriff of London and a lord of misrule on March 17, 1553, when Jack of Lent's wife offered a thousand pounds to the doctor to save him, after his execution apparently.[3] Redford seems to have adapted folk Christmas plays in some scenes of *Wyt and Science*, perhaps because such material would please boys who were familiar with it. Thus the scene in which Wit is slain by Tediousness and restored to life is like the *renouveau* of St. George or his opponent in mummers' plays. The wooing element of this play also was probably influenced by folk games. The dialogue song of Wit and Honest Recreation (ll. 289–332) with its plea for a kiss recalls the similar incident in the comic wooing of *Fulgens and Lucres*. The next dialogue song (ll. 935–68) in which Wit woos Science, each being accompanied in the singing by three companions, has a general resemblance in content and technique to the children's wooing game "Here Come Three Dukes," already compared with the disguisings of the English court.[4] A similar combination of elements is found in *Ralph Roister Doister* in the mock death and revival of Ralph, appropriately accompanied by a mock requiem (III, iii), and in the burlesque wooing and kissing scenes where Madge is a willing deputy. Combinations of the wooing and *renouveau* occur in mummers' wooing plays.

[1] See Reyher, *Les Masques Anglais*, pp. 11, 17, 171–72, 455–58.

[2] Brotanek, *Die englischen Maskenspiele*, pp. 32, 33; *Modern Philology*, XIV, 477.

[3] Machyn, *Diary*, p. 33.

[4] The plays adapted from *Wyt and Science* keep most of its popular elements.

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Beyond this more or less incidental use of festival motives, folk drama seems to have been adapted for the London stage in the later Elizabethan period. The point is illustrated in the series of Robin Hood plays, though there may be some debate as to the extent to which incidents of the folk plays proper were used. There is also a group of obviously popular plays that have a framework of wooing scenes resembling those of Medwall and Raber, and give other evidence of the use of folk material. These wooing plays probably represent a series similar to the Robin Hood plays. The group wooing survives in *The Three Lords and Three Ladies of London* along with the customs of tourneys that had appeared in connection with disguisings at the court of Henry VIII. Here the ladies and the rival wooers, including representatives of various regions, are found in groups of three regarded as units. In *Der Jud von Venedig* (II, i), an English play[1] related to *The Merchant of Venice*, Ancilletta refuses to decide between two lovers until a year has passed in spite of the urging of her father, who is present at the debate as Fulgens is in Medwall's play. References to *Fastnacht* indicate that the play was designed for a festival performance and the delay for a year suggests the Valentine custom found probably in *The Parlement of Foules*.[2] With the later successful wooing of the Prince is contrasted the comic wooing of the lady's maid by the Prince's servant Pickleherring. Another popular wooing play similar in some respects to *Fulgens and Lucres* is *Wily Beguiled*. It may indeed be a revised form of the *Wylie Beguylie* acted at Merton College, Oxford, during the Christmas season of 1566–67.[3] In the extant play there is rivalry between a wealthy farmer's son, a

[1] Printed in Meissner, *Die engl. Comoedianten in Oesterreich*, pp. 131–89.

[2] See Manly, *op. cit.*, pp. 286–87. Compare the delay for a year at the end of the group wooing in *Love's Labour's Lost*. Possibly the casket story used in *The Merchant of Venice* attained its popularity in the Middle Ages as a result of the interest in love problems, while the use of the scrolls in Shakespeare's version may show the influence of some old Valentine game of drawing mates which resembled the ragman's roll (see *Studies in Philology*, XVII, 38). Old court of love ideas may have been replaced in Shakespeare's play by the obvious Platonic material that I discussed in the *Manly Anniversary Studies*, pp. 90–103. In the similar unsettled suit in *Filocolo*, Question I, which is said to have been submitted at a festival, the mother of the girl is her attendant. This material is dramatized in a German *singspiel* of the early seventeenth century possibly based on an English jig. The *singspiel* is published by Bolte, with a discussion of numerous variants, in *Vierteljahrschrift für Litteraturgeschichte*, I, 111–16; II, 575–79. See *Wiltshire Arch. Mag.*, XV, 199, for what seems to be a suggestion to the Earl of Hertford about 1582 for the use of this question in an entertainment.

[3] See Maxwell in *Studies in Philology*, XIX, 220–37. For Robin and other Christmas goblins see p. 232.

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crafty lawyer, and a student, with the success of the student.[1] Here the father attempts to dictate his daughter's choice. Will Cricket's wooing of Pegge offers a contrast to the serious wooing.[2] The type of play is illustrated again in *Grim the Collier of Croyden*, which in the presence of St. Dunstan is reminiscent of the miracle play. *Grim* has a double set of wooing intrigues by rivals which in its present form could hardly be dated earlier than about 1580. The comic wooing, however, may be old. This pictures the wooing of the maid Joan by Parson Shorthose, Clack the Miller, and Grim the Collier, their meeting in the wood at a nutting festival on Holyrood Day, the battle of the Miller and the Collier for the girl, and the severe beating administered by the invisible Robin Goodfellow to the Miller and the intriguing Parson so that Grim wins. The new element here is the beating, which recalls that administered by the maid to her two suitors in the contest of *Fulgens and Lucres.*[3] *A Tale of a Tub* with its elaborate rivalry of a Squire, a Parson, and a Clown is declared by Jonson to have been taken from old records "drawn from Whitson-lords"

> at Wakes and Ales,
> With country precedents, and old wives' tales

to show "the cotes of clowns." It is scarcely necessary to discuss the many other contests of suitors in popular Elizabethan plays like *Faire Em, John a Kent and John a Cumber*, and *Mucedorus*, where the rivalry is blended with romance of adventure.

These plays suggest a formula for one type of romantic drama which may have been followed very early in the plot of *Fulgens and Lucres*. The wooing plays of the English folk that have survived in tradition with similar conventions suggest a variant form, perhaps simpler and stereotyped by much use among the folk, which may also have influenced Medwall's play, especially in the comic wooing contest. In the first place Medwall's scene as a whole (I, 785–1286) shows a certain similarity in the nature and order of the incidents to the mummers' wooing plays, especially to those like the Revesby and

[1] The farmer's son and the lawyer appear also in folk wooing plays. See *Modern Philology*, XXI, 241–72; *Taming of the Shrew*, Induction, i, 84–85; *Women Pleased*, IV, i; etc.

[2] In Rollenhagen's *Amantes amentes* (1609) a clown, rejected by a lady, woos the maid, and a wealthy old man and a student contend for the lady's hand. The latter of course wins. For the adaptation of this play in *Comoedia von Sidonia und Theagene* published in *Engelische Comedien und Tragedien* (1620) see Gaedertz, *Gabriel Rollenhagen: Sein Leben und seine Werke*, pp. 77–81; Köhler in *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, I, 408–15.

[3] In *Wily Beguiled* Robin is beaten in the intrigue or contest for the girl.

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the Broughton Play that seem to preserve the oldest and best texts. Though there are decided differences, the following elements of the scene are found in the folk plays in combinations resembling Medwall's: boasting by one wooer of his conquest of various women, love pleas of two or more rivals, discussion either of a dowry by the girl and a wooer or of their possessions, a charge of insincerity brought by one suitor against another and the latter's defense, bawdy innuendo, jeering and mockery on the part of the girl and the wooers, a contest for the girl, and her scornful rejection of at least one suitor. But the resemblance of the incidents in Medwall's scene to the decadent folk plays is too general to furnish proof in itself of the relation that has just been suggested.

The conventionality of both incidents and phraseology in the comic wooing contest of *Fulgens and Lucres* may be illustrated, however, from the various popular fields already discussed here in connection with it and from early wooing songs. I give first the incident or passage from the play and then a few indications of its conventionality. The vaguely parallel passages from the mummers' plays are interesting chiefly as showing an expression of the same idea rather than the use of the same words in the corresponding situation.[1]

1. A tells B of the several women that he has won and of his interest in Lucres's maid (ll. 785–833). In some mummers' plays St. George says in connection with his account of winning Sabra, "Seven have I won but married none." See *Journal of British Archaeological Association*, VII, 207, and Ormerod, *History of Cheshire*, I, lxxix. At the beginning of the Ampleforth Play the clown merely tells of his visits to two ladies. In an unpublished fragment of a Gothland and Egton play collected by Sharp from the same region a speech of the conventionally intriguing miller which opens the play tells of his success with three women.

2. In the speeches of B which begin the wooing scene proper (ll. 834–63) the following lines are most interesting:

> I trust that within a lytyll space
> That wenche shall be myne.

[1] The Revesby Play is published in Manly, *Specimens of the Pre-Shaksperean Drama*, I, 296–311; the Ampleforth Play in Sharp, *Sword Dances of Northern England*, III, 50–76; and the others cited, in *Modern Philology*, XXI, 241–72. In the discussion of these plays in *Modern Philology* (pp. 225–41) I gave evidence that passages of various wooing plays go back at least to the sixteenth century and that there is an interrelation of folk plays and medieval drama in the use of stock passages.

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I tell you it is a trull of trust
All to quenche a mannes thrust
Bettyr then ony wyne.
It is a lytyll praty moucet,
And her voyce is as doucett
And as swete as resty porke;
Her face is somewhat browne and yelow,
But for all that she hath no felow
In syngynge hens to yorke.
. . . . . .
Now wellcome by heuyn blys,
The last that was in my thought!
An. Tusshe I pray you let me go, [also in l. 973]
I haue somewhat els to do.

The first two lines suggest a common formula of mummers' wooing plays and children's singing games, as in the Revesby Play (ll. 336-37):

Here stands a fair lady,
I wish she was my wife.

Compare, for example, Broughton Play, lines 102–3, and also lines 68–69, which read,

before I go hence from this place,
I will obtain your comely face.

The next lines are close akin to the Friar's in "Robin Hood and the Friar" after Robin Hood has furnished him a lady,

She is a trul of trust,
To serue a frier at his lust.

Compare also the passage in *The Nature of the Four Elements* (Farmer, *Six Anonymous Plays*, p. 40),

For to satisfy your wanton lust,
I shall appoint you a trull of trust.

Endearing epithets were commonly put in the clown's mouth in the Renaissance, and they are usually distinctive. The "lytyll praty moucet" of line 6 is paralleled by the diminutive "muskyne" in Bale's *Three Laws*, line 475, and by "My little pretty Mouse" in the ballad dialogue "The Merry Wooing of Robin and Joan" (*Roxburghe Ballads*, VII, 309). The clown's description of his lady with its burlesque

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note is equally common, as in the following mocking passage from the Ampleforth Play:

> Thy cheeks are cakes of tallow,
> Thy lips are blue all o'er;
> Thou's tawny black and yellow.

Compare also various nut-brown maids in ballad literature; Will's rehearsal of his proposed wooing of Pegge in *Wily Beguiled* (ll. 443–44),

> Whose eyes do shine like bacon rine,
> Whose lips are blew of azure hew;

and the bride of "colour brounbay" and "three prety puzels az bright az a breast of bacon" in Laneham's account of the folk play or bridal at Kenilworth (*Letter* [ed. Furnivall], pp. 23–24). For some sixteenth-century examples of the use of "Welcome" in lovers' greetings, see the wooing scene in Lyndsay's Proclamation for *A Satire of the Three Estates*, the jig in Marlowe's *Works* (ed. Cunningham), page 275, and the wooing songs in *Wyt and Science*, lines 935–68, and *Nice Wanton*, lines 141–45. In connection with the final couplet of the maid see the Broughton Play, line 70, "Away, away from me begone" and line 128, "So I pray you be gone and give me your room" (also found in the related or source song in Ramsay's *Tea-Table Miscellany*, II [1871], 16–18).

3. The maid Joan's demand of a jointure from B and the mocking discussion of financial arrangements that follows, while entirely different in details, suggest the clownish inventories of wealth in early burlesque wooings, as in "The Wowing of Jok and Jynny" (Laing, *Early Popular Poetry of Scotland* [ed. Hazlitt], II, 24–27), "The Country-man's Delight" ("I cannot come every day to woo") and variants (*Roxburghe Ballads*, III, 590–96), and *Rex Viole*, lines 141–248. See the Broughton Play, lines 118–20, for a brief inventory of the type by the clown, and the Swinderby Play, lines 143–66, for a discussion of their comparative wealth by the Clown and the Lady—the latter more suggestive of Medwall's play.

4. The plea for a kiss is the theme of a number of dialogue songs which in varying degrees illustrate the burlesque tone of B's request and struggle for a kiss. Examples are a song included in the English lyrics of Charles d'Orleans (Ritson, *Ancient Songs and Ballads* [ed. Hazlitt], pp. lviii–lix) and one preserved in a Canterbury manuscript in which Mopsie distrusts her wooer (*Bagford Ballads*, I, 519; *Hist.*

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MSS Com., V, 458)—both of the fifteenth century; songs in *Wyt and Science*, lines 289–98, and *Promos and Cassandra*, Part I, IV, vii; and the jig "The pleasant wooing betwixt Kit and Pegge" (*Roxburghe Ballads*, II, 100–104). The girl's blunt yielding to a man whom she still scorns occurs in the last as in Medwall's scene.

5. Jeering, mockery, and coarseness are found in the speeches of the three characters throughout the comic wooing in *Fulgens and Lucres* and in the speeches of many characters including the Lady in the mummers' wooing plays. With the beginning of the contest proper, on the entry of A just at the moment when the maid kisses B, the mockery increases, and A declares that B will prove false. The following lines and parallels are perhaps worth attention (ll. 913–16, 944–45, 1077–88):

An. A straw for your mockynge,
Haue ye none to mocke but me?
B Mocke? nay, so mote I the,
I mene euyne gode ernest.
. . . . . .
B ye god sende vs mery wether!
I may not wed and thryue all together,
. . . . . .
A Thow maist well be hys weddyd wyf
But he wyll neuer loue the in his lyf.
. . . . . .
B I wys Ione he spekythe but of males;
There ys no man hens to cales,
whosoeuer be the tother,
That can hymselfe better applye
To please a woman better then I.
An. ye so I harde you say. [also used by B in l. 880]

With the first passage compare the Broughton Play, lines 65–69:

Lady. you come to me but in a jeer.
*1 Rib*r. A jeer dear love it is not so.
. . . . . .
I will obtain your comely face.

With the third passage compare the Sergeant's warning to the Lady in the Swinderby Play, lines 47–52:

he never means to marry you
. . . . . .
he will list for a soldier
and from you run away.

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With the other passages compare the clownish Jaquenetta's mocking of Armado's wooing in *Love's Labour's Lost*, I, ii, 144–49:

Arm. I will tell thee wonders.
Jaq. With that face?
Arm. I love thee.
Jaq. So I heard you say.
Arm. And so, farewell.
Jaq. Fair weather after you.

The Shakespearean commentators point out the frequent occurrence of Jaquenetta's stock phrases in the mouths of clowns in the Elizabethan drama. The many promises to please the Lady in the mummers' plays are more clearly sensual than that which closes the passage from *Fulgens and Lucres*.

6. The contest of A and B for the maid has been compared with several in wooing plays. The three contests—in song, at wrestling, and at the "Iust at farte pryke in cule" (ll. 1109–1213)—may be compared with those of Robin Hood and Guy at shooting, casting, and wrestling in the Robin Hood play preserved in the Fenn papers. Wooing contests had a place in games and probably were equally varied. Heywood in his *Proverbs* (Spenser Society, p. 7) refers to wooers' dancing for a rush ring, and the wooers in the Revesby Play apparently start a dance contest for the girl. A song of one entering such a contest is possibly preserved in the lyric opening,

Who shall have my fair lady? (*bis*)
Who but I, who but I, who but I?
Under the leaves green,

found in several early sixteenth-century texts (Chambers and Sidgwick, *Early English Lyrics*, pp. 75, 343). The late sixteenth-century jig already referred to as published in Marlowe's works—obviously related to the wooing scenes in Lyndsay's Proclamation—has a contest in dancing and an accompanying dialogue in song with wooing speeches.[1] Though the combat in the extant mummers' wooing plays is not for the lady, it may have once been so used. In a Scottish version of a Christmas mummers' play the battle is apparently fought for a girl.[2] It is barely possible that the lying, obscenity, and nonsense[3]

[1] See Boehme, *Geschichte des Tanzes*, I, 52–54, 63–64, for the medieval contest in song and dance in Germany.

[2] See MacTaggart, *Scottish Gallovidian Encyclopedia*, pp. 502–3.

[3] Boas and Reed point out the similarity between Falstaff's boasting and A's enlargement of his prowess in battle and his account of the men slain by B.

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of A when Flaminius unties the arms of the clowns after the contest and the beating by the maid are related to the same type of fooling by grotesques connected with the *renouveau* in the mummers' plays. The phrase "dedely wounde" of line 1259 in *Fulgens and Lucres* is common, while line 1275, "His arme was strykyne of by the harde kne," possibly logical here, may help to explain such perversions as that in one play, "back of the neck underneath her elbow."[1] The boastful lying of Grim after the contest and beatings in *Grim the Collier* may be a traditional feature.

7. The following lines (1213–22) occur in Joan's dismissal of B:

B Now ye are myne lady.
An. Nay, neuer the more!
B No, why so?
An. For I am taken vp before.
B Mary I beshrew your hart therefore,
It shold better content me
That ye had be taken vp behynde.
. . . . . .
An. Mary I am sure to another man
whose wyfe I intende to be.

Compare lines 357–58 and 409–10 of the Revesby Play:

P.H. For I never loved lass before like the[e].
Fool. No, nor behind, neither.
. . . . . .
Cicely. Sir, I am engaged to one I love,
And ever constant I will be.

The use of both A and B in the double rôle of presenter and jester in *Fulgens and Lucres* probably reflects in the same manner the influence of medieval popular drama on Medwall. In the framework of both parts B is usually the spokesman or leader and A the foil.[2] Their relations are reversed, however, in the induction of the second part where A is presenter and surveys what his "company" of "players" has already offered. In the body of the play the functions of the two are interchanged even more readily. B calls attention in II, 881, to A's rôle as jester when he says ironically, "ye thou art a maister mery

[1] In a wooing play from Bulby (Tiddy, *The Mummers' Play*, p. 239). The plays in Tiddy's collection illustrate excellently the topsyturvy nonsense and lying of the grotesques in mummers' plays.

[2] In I, 369–85, where the two are preparing to enter the service of the two suitors, B interestingly speaks twice of A's proposed action as his "pageant."

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man."[1] Unless it be during the debate of the chief characters in the second part, where the stage directions do not make it clear whether A is with his master or not,[2] either one or both of the presenters are present in every scene to prepare for entries, comment on the action, and jest on occasion. Through much of the play one passes out close on the entry of the other. In the first two hundred lines of Part I—a type of induction—they enter as visitors to the hall on a festival occasion, talk of the coming play, summarize it, discuss the probable reception of the theme, and introduce the first of the serious characters. In the slightly shorter induction of the second part they explain what has gone before and introduce the main action. There are similar dialogues of the two to close each part. In the play proper they take service with the suitors, act as messengers, discuss the theme or serious characters, and at intervals introduce some merriment. Frequently the last consists of mockery of each other or of their masters in the fashion of vices and fools of drama and folk game. The distinct comic scene of the first part is the clownish wooing as the characters meet on their various errands. That of the second part presents two jests with the otherwise dignified Lucres acting as foil—one in which B in the clown's conventional "mistaking terms" perverts with the utmost obscenity the message of Cornelius to Lucres; the other immediately following in which A pretends to have lost the letter of Flaminius to Lucres and to have forgot his own name and his master's. The whole scene closes with a disguised dance prepared for Lucres by Cornelius and presented by B.

The rôles of A and B correspond on the whole to those of the ordinary leaders of seasonal games as they can be traced in medieval and modern customs, amply illustrated in Chambers' *Mediaeval Stage*. Two leaders probably appeared most frequently in games. The lord

[1] The editors comment on the use of the term for a jester and point out the fact that the *NED* records the term only for outlaws before the eighteenth century. In the Robin Hood plays it is doubtless applied to the group as revelers. One Middle English lyric contains an allusion to "Holly with his mery men" (Chambers and Sidgwick, *Early English Lyrics*, p. 239, from Balliol MS 354), and another has a refrain beginning "Wolcum, Yole, thou mery man" (*ibid.*, p. 232, from Sloane MS 2593).

[2] There are no stage directions at II, 356, for the entrance of Cornelius and B, at II, 405, for that of Flaminius, at II, 768, for the entrance or advance of B, or at II, 830, for that of A, though the text makes all of these entries clear. A may have entered with Flaminius at II, 405, and departed with him at II, 751. Since neither A nor B speaks during the serious debate, both may have been off the stage. Their exits and entrances seem at times to consist merely of standing aside and stepping forward.

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of misrule or boy bishop in Christmas games designed for men alone had usually his jester or grotesque though such characters could be multiplied in any game. The king or lord of the May, summer, or Christmas game of villages had in addition a queen or lady. Ordinarily the lord or leader of the folk game merely presented the serious characters and action as A and B do. But the functions of the leader of the game and of his fun-maker or foil readily became fused. In Shropshire, for instance, there were in 1652 a "leader or lord of misrule" and a "vice," the "lord's son."[1] In many mummers' plays a fun-maker introduces the group and Father Christmas calls in the combatants and the doctor, while in most plays a grotesque closes the performance. Sometimes the fun-maker mocks the leader or plays the zany to the doctor. Sometimes distinct comic incidents are introduced for such leaders as Father Christmas and his wife. In a Dorsetshire play there is a burlesque of the *renouveau* in the quarrel of Father Christmas and his wife, his beating her to death, and the revival of the slain woman.[2] Not infrequently the formal leader disappears and the woman or the fun-maker becomes the presenter. In the wooing plays of mummers, the leaders and fun-makers coalesce more completely. The fool as presenter of the Revesby Play is executed by his sons, of whom Pickle Herring is the spokesman. Both are comic mocking figures, rival wooers, and alternate leaders. In the Ampleforth Play the younger one of the pair is called King and his father Clown. Here as in other wooing plays the functions of these two figures, while often confused in the decadent texts, seem to be alternately—and jointly at times—those of leader and fun-maker.

This pair of fun-makers who become leaders and even actors in the chief incidents of the play had probably developed long before Medwall wrote, particularly in the hands of strolling entertainers. Robert le Foll, who played before Edward II, had his *garcio*.[3] The corresponding zany of Italian farce emerges from the obscurity of the Middle Ages as a stock figure. Cain in the cycle plays, the shipman and the priest in *Mary Magdalene*, and the mountebank in *The Play of the Sacrament* are droll figures who have their mocking boys. In some early moralities kindred pairs, with one figure dominantly an intriguer

[1] Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, I, 197, n. 4.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, 218. [3] *Ibid.*, I, 386, n. 6.

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and the other dominantly the fun-maker, suggest presenters and jesters. Such are Mischief and Tityvillus in *Mankind*, Fancy and Folly in *Magnificence*, Sensual Appetite and Ignorance in *The Nature of the Four Elements*, and Idleness and Ignorance in *Wyt and Science*, though in most cases the blending of these characters in the morality plot obscures pretty completely their functions as presenters.

The principle of burlesquing the serious characters and plot seems fundamental in the technique of early drama as well as in folk plays wherever the comic presenter or intriguer appears. In winter games and plays where the leader or presenter was usually a figure symbolizing misrule, as in monastic, academic, and royal households, the tendency to emphasize the burlesque element would inevitably be strongest. That Medwall, the chaplain of a cardinal, could put the gross obscenities of *Fulgens and Lucres* into a serious moral play performed before great lords was doubtless due to the Christmas tradition of misrule, a tradition that continued long in spite of the efforts of the early humanists to improve the tone of jesting. Its influence is probably reflected in B's statement (I, 157–60),

> I can not think or suppose
> That they wyll ony worde therin disclose
> But suche as shall stond with treuth and reason
> In godely maner according to the season,

and in A's remarks (II, 21–31) about

> Dyuers toyes mengled yn the same
> To styre folke to myrthe and game
> And to do them solace:
> . . . . . .
> For some there be that lokis & gapys
> Only for suche tryfles and Iapys.

This spirit of misrule is excellently illustrated in *Mankind*, which appears to be a winter play performed in halls by strollers. The proposed beheading and restoration as a charm (ll. 424–40) seems to burlesque a Christmas trick preserved in another form in the sword dance and in the Revesby Play.[1] The disards' mockery of Mercy and Mankind,

[1] The beheading in *Gawayne and the Grene Knight* is compared to a Christmas game (l. 683); Byrd, *A Friendlie Dialogue betweene Paul and Demas* (1580), fol. 15, mentions "to be stockt or pumpt, which they call beheadding" among the punishments of the "Christmas Lord"; Kittredge, *A Study of Gawain and the Green Knight*, pp. 200–217, accumulates a mass of material on beheading as a form of unspelling.

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their parody of ritual and legal forms, their singing, dancing, lying, and japing are characteristic features of misrule as well as of the art of the mimus. They furnish comic relief overshadowing the serious element of *Mankind* and their own intrigues. These sharp contrasts between the serious and comic characters are of course general in later moralities. The burlesque of the main incident is also known before Medwall employed the device. In the Second Shepherds' Play of the Towneley cycle the sheep in Mak's cradle offers the drollest possible contrast to Christ in the cradle. In court pageants also, contrasting groups seem to have been used as in later masque and antimasque.[1]

There is another aspect of Medwall's play that seems to represent the traditional technique of plays performed at feasts. In early drama and in mummers' plays the presenters and jesters formed a link between the audience and the more formal dramatized action. At an early period they sometimes ran through the audience, and later vices still addressed the audience or selected some individual to mock. The plays of strollers thus preserved a trace of the game in which audience and performers blended. In festival plays the sense of the unity of the whole assemblage was doubtless more significant, so that the occasion and the audience were frequently dramatized. In *Fulgens and Lucres* there are allusions to the occasion, the hall, and the lord and his guests; the play is organized to form two interludes during the feasting and to introduce the conventional masked dance; and for a time A and B keep up a pretense of being visitors to the hall to witness the pastimes, entering the formal action upon the appeal of Cornelius to the audience for a helper. Traces of the development of this technique appear in festival games before Medwall, and inductions and intermeans in plays of a distinctly popular type so commonly represent presenters, audiences, and occasions during the later Elizabethan period that they may be taken as indicating an older and dominating technique which the age only slowly outgrew.

The evidence of a technique for medieval Christmas games is slight in amount but significant for features of *Fulgens and Lucres.*

[1] See for example Hall, *Henry VIII* (1548), fol. lxxxxii, for an occasion in 1523 when the castle of love was held by eight noble ladies dressed in Milan gowns representing ideal womanly traits, and eight hags dressed as "women of Inde" representing antithetical traits were "Undernethe the basse fortresse of the castle"; *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, IV, 1605, for provision for six "black maskelers" and six in the great masque in revels at Greenwich in 1527.

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Father Christmas, who is the presenter in many St. George mummers' plays, was the presiding officer in fifteenth-century Christmas feasts under such names as Sire Christmas, Yule, and King Holly. One early lyric opens as a dialogue of Sire Christmas and the festival group:

I am here, syre Chrystesmasse.
Wellcome my lord syre Chrystesmasse,
Welcome to us bothe mor and lasse,
Com ner, Nowell.[1]

Another begins, "Good day, sire Cristemas our kinge," and has a refrain in which he is addressed as "My lord sire Cristemasse."[2] A "Lorde of Crystmasse" is recorded at Ryngstede in 1519–20.[3] The refrain of a third early song opens, "Wolcum, Yole, thou mery man."[4] In 1443 Gladman went in a procession at Norwich as "King of Kristmesse" with the twelve months and Lenten in his train.[5] Lent in "white with redde herrings skinnes" was no doubt his chief grotesque, and, like Jack of Lent in the train of the London lord of misrule in 1553, was possibly executed. The contest of seasonal groups is probably represented in the contemporary "Debate and stryfe betwene Somer and wynter" and in the various holly and ivy debates.[6] In some of these songs there are definite allusions to customs of the celebration, especially in feasts, as in the lines,

Holly with his mery men
They can daunce in hall.

In one song Holly comes "to pleasse all men," refers to the "lord and lady of this hall," and threatens,

Who so ever ageinst holly do crie,
In a lepe shall he hang full hie.

[1] Ritson, *Ancient Songs and Ballads* (ed. Hazlitt), p. 161.

[2] Chambers and Sidgwick, *Early English Lyrics*, p. 233, from MS Selden B. 26.

[3] *Archaeologia*, XXV, 422.

[4] Chambers and Sidgwick, *Early English Lyrics*, p. 232. For Yule, his wife, and his children in a procession at York in the seventeenth century see *Hist. MSS Com.*, VI, 451, and Add. MS 24546, fols. 55–56.

[5] Hudson and Tingey, *Records of the City of Norwich*, I, 345–46. For record of a "Christmasse play" at Tintinhull in 1451–52 see Hobhouse, *Church-Wardens' Accounts*, p. 184. For other dramatic games representing seasons see *Modern Philology*, XIV, 248–51.

[6] Hazlitt, *Early Popular Poetry of England*, III, 29–41; Chambers and Sidgwick, *op. cit.*, pp. 236–40; *Modern Language Review*, VIII, 84; etc.

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Another lyric is the festival proclamation:

> Lett no man cum into this hall,
> Grome, page, nor yet marshall,
> But that sum sport he bring with all;
> For now is the time of Cristemas,

and the one who does not sing or bring some "sport" is threatened with the stocks.[1] The reciter of the "Ragman Roll" speaks of its preparation at the command of King Ragman, and the envoy in Wynkyn de Worde's edition declares that "Kynge Ragman holly" made it "many yeres ago."[2] Such satire in feasts directed at members of the audience or guests by "some iesting feloe" is called by Udall "ragmans rewe."[3] The feast itself was doubtless often burlesqued.[4]

A series of inductions in popular plays, usually romantic, apparently continues many of the aspects of medieval art that have just been discussed, presenting groups with gods, lords, or clowns at gatherings for feasting, debating, or frolicking, who become presenters or controlling agencies, choruses or mockers, sometimes entering the action and sometimes revealing characteristic attitudes and opinions of audiences. Cornish with a group in 1515 and with two children in 1518 explained two pageants or disguisings, the presenters apparently forming one dramatic group and the disguising another, whether in dumb show or not.[5] In *The Downfall of Robert Earl of Huntington* Skelton and others represent actors of the past, a part of the action being set forth in dumb show and explained by Skelton before the action proper starts. Players, auditors, and stage attendants furnish

[1] See Chambers and Sidgwick, *op. cit.*, pp. 239, 238, 234, for these songs, and p. 373 for a note on the stocks of the lord of misrule. For the singing, especially of the clown, at the command of festival lords, see Drayton, *Poemes Lyrick and pastorall*, Eclogue ix; *Entertainment at Sudeley* (Bond, *Works of Lyly*, I, 477–84); and the Ampleforth Play.

[2] Hazlitt, *Early Popular Poetry of England*, I, 69; *PMLA*, XXIII (1908), 486.

[3] Erasmus, *Apophthegmes* (trans. Udall), fols. 34, 245. See *NED* under "Ragman's roll," "Ragman's rewe," and "Rigmarole." For an example of satire on three typical characters see Balliol MS 354, in *Anglia*, XXVI, 280–81.

[4] The comic details of the shepherds' feasts in the First Towneley Shepherds' Play and the Chester Shepherds' Play (with a wrestling match) were probably often acted at Christmas. See Taylor in *Modern Philology*, V, 14, 34, 35, for the similarity of these passages to "grotesque receipts" in medieval song, and Hartshorne, *Ancient Metrical Tales*, pp. 145–50, for the song "Now of this feest telle I can," giving a burlesque account of a feast. One interesting bit of kindred technique found in *The Play of the Sacrament* (ll. 445–92)—Colle's satire on his master while he talks to the audience about his delayed appearance—is used by Medwall in the opening of the second part of his play in A's talk to the audience and quarrel with B about the delay of the players.

[5] See *Modern Philology*, XIV, 476.

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inductions for *Antonio and Mellida*, *The Malcontent*, and *Bartholomew Fair*. The stories of the second part of Tarlton's *Seven Deadly Sins* are presented apparently by Lydgate before Henry VI. The Proclamation, or banns, of Lyndsay's *Satire of the Three Estates* portrays members of the town audience in farcical situations. In *The Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune* a debate at an assembly of the gods, and in *Grim the Collier* one at a council in hell, motivate the illustrative stories dramatized. Discussions by Love, Fortune, and Death in *Solimon and Perseda*, by Oberon and Bohan in *James IV*, by Destiny and Desire in *Tom Tyler*, and by Envy and Comedy in *Mucedorus* furnish similar motivation. In *The Cobbler's Prophecy* the gods enter the action which they initiate in the same way. Ate in *The Arraignment of Paris* and *Locrine*, and Discord in *Caesar's Revenge* are symbolic prologue speakers. In *The Old Wives Tale* Fantastic, Frolic, and the old gossip form an audience for the play to which "Gammer's" tale leads. Characteristic auditors are the mocking Will Summer in *Summer's Last Will and Testament*, Sly of *The Taming of the Shrew*, the Citizen and Wife of *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, the "public persons" of *The Magnetic Lady*, and the critics of *Every Man out of his Humour*. A presenter who might have appeared in fairs is found in the juggler of *Wily Beguiled*.[1]

In the various ways that I have indicated, Medwall's *Fulgens and Lucres* probably followed the formula of lost secular plays or entertainments as his *Nature* followed that of the morality plays. In neither case was he a slavish imitator. He handled the direct source for the main plot of *Fulgens and Lucres* freely, making modifications that fitted better into the scheme of a wooing play and organizing this borrowed material, the comic parts, and the devices of presentation into a fairly consistent whole. It is in the close linking together of the conventional incidents, jests, and themes that the clearest evidence of his skill and even originality appears. For most of the conversation of the six characters outside of the maid is designed to bring out with exceptional clearness the traits of character in Lucres which show that her choice is that of a virtuous and rational maid, the traits of the suitors which justify her choice, and those of the clownish A and B which re-

[1] For comment on other inductions see my *English Elements in Jonson's Early Comedy*, pp. 146–48.

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veal unthinking prejudice in favor of the rank and the vulgar display of the wealthy Cornelius. One weakness of the play lies in the fact that this elaboration of the theme tends to monotonousness, and another in the fact that in the framework A and B have to depart somewhat from their rôle as disards to support the moral of the play. Medwall, however, realized the last and took pains to re-enforce the moral by showing the reluctance of A and B to be convinced. *Fulgens and Lucres* consequently seems to me to have a double value to the student of English drama, first as illustrating very fully conventional features in themes, plot, and technique of an early romantic drama, and second as showing how far the skill of at least one dramatic writer had advanced in this type of work independently of classical models.

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AMPHITRYON AND MONTESPAN

This is not an attempt to prove a connection between Molière's play of *Amphitryon* and *l'affaire Montespan.* That is not capable of proof. But in view of some new evidence not hitherto assembled and weighed along with the old, it has seemed worth while to review the question from a point of view which is in some respects new.

The idea that in the play of *Amphitryon,* Molière was making some allusion to the King's recently established relationship with Mme de Montespan was first suggested by P. L. Roederer.[1] The first performance of the play, on January 13, 1668, followed by only a few months, according to Roederer's statement, the ascension of Mme de Montespan into doubtful glory, and her husband's violent outburst at court upon learning of it; and on this coincidence Roederer based his argument, which was thereafter unreservedly accepted by Michelet.[2] The following citation from Roederer is taken from the Despois-Mesnard edition of Molière:

> Les *Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier* nous apprennent ... que, dans le commencement de la campagne de Flandre, au mois de mai, 1667 ... on s'arrêta ... dans une ville dont le nom est resté en blanc, et que là s'établit la liaison intime du Roi et de Mme de Montespan. ...
>
> Ce serait vers le milieu de l'année 1667 que Montespan se serait ... laissé aller à la fougue de sa jalousie et aux plus violents outrages envers la duchesse de Montausier, comme complice de la séduction exercée par le Roi sur sa femme.
>
> Il est fâcheux, ce me semble, que l'ordre chronologique amène, à la suite du premier éclat que fit l'intrigue du Roi avec Mme de Montespan et de la colère du mari, la première représentation de la comédie *d'Amphitryon.* ... Que l'auteur, après avoir dit qu'il n'avait plus besoin d'étudier son art ailleurs que dans la société, et après avoir produit plusieurs chefs-d'œuvre de cet art ainsi étudié, ait néanmoins eu la fantaisie d'imiter une comédie fort immorale de Plaute, je le veux croire. Mais qu'il n'y ait pas trouvé quelque rapport avec ce qui se passait à la cour; qu'il n'ait pas vu, pas soupçonné que la situation du Marquis de Montespan eût quelque rapport avec celle d'Amphitryon, celle

[1] *Mémoire pour servir à l'histoire polie en France* (Paris, 1834), chap. xxii, pp. 225–31.

[2] *Histoire de France,* XIII (Paris), 111–13.

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de Louis XIV avec celle de Jupiter, qu'il n'ait eu aucune intention en disant dans sa pièce:

Un partage avec Jupiter
N'a rien du tout qui déshonore,

c'est ce qu'il est difficile de croire d'un homme qui était au courant de toutes les aventures galantes de la cour, et ne négligeait, que dis-je? ne laissait passer sans un éclatant tribut de zon zèle et de son talent, aucune occasion de divertir et de flatter le Roi, et qui enfin avait cela de particulier que, amant malheureux, mari trompé, il était poète sans pitié pour les victimes d'un désordre qui faisait son tourment.[1]

Mesnard[2] attacks Roederer's argument at its foundation by proving that he juggled the dates. He shows by the *Gazette* that the "ville dont le nom est resté en blanc," and which falls between Vervins and Notre-Dame-en-Liesse in the Grande Mademoiselle's journal, must have been Compiègne, and that the court rested at Compiègne not in May, of 1667, but from the ninth to the nineteenth of July. And he shows furthermore, by the very work Roederer was quoting, that M. de Montespan's outburst against his wife and against Mme de Montausier—when he hung his *hôtel* with black, and dressed his children in mourning, and came to recite his grievances to Mlle de Montpensier, who was his kinswoman—so far from falling "vers le milieu de l'année 1667" (as Roederer had stated), took place not until shortly before the Duc de Montausier was named tutor to the Dauphin, which was on September 18, 1668, or nine months after the initial performance of *Amphitryon*.

Mesnard concludes, accordingly, that between the actual dates, so much nearer together than Roederer made out, there was simply not time for Molière to have learned of the affair, to have assured himself that an allusion to it would not be disagreeable to the King, and to have written the play. As he puts it:

Tout bien examiné, nous ne pouvons reconnaître pour vraisemblable qu'en 1667, même à la cour, et fût-ce au mois d'août, on parlât autrement qu'en très-grand secret d'un attachement qui ne s'avouait pas encore. On voit la difficulté qu'il y a à supposer Molière autorisé, à cette époque, à en réjouir le public, et combien même on aurait peine à l'en croire si tôt informé. S'imaginerait-on que ses camarades, ses ambassadeurs dans l'affaire du *Tartuffe*, La Thorillière et La Grange, lorsque, pendant le siège de Lille [Aug.

[1] *Op. cit.*, VI. 316–17. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 318–20.

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8], ils arrivèrent porteurs de son placet, eussent été mis au courant des secrets tout nouveaux de la cour, et fussent venus en régaler notre poète, à leur retour près de lui vers la fin de Septembre? (Il faut bien expliquer cependant comment des nouvelles encore si peu ébruitées purent lui arriver de Flandre, et l'on est forcé de ne pas trop reculer l'époque où il les aurait connues.) Par suite, on voit assez pourquoi Roederer a fait remonter un peu plus haut que les Mémoires de Mlle de Montpensier ne l'y autorisaient les premiers indices de la passion du Roi. Une pièce jouée le 13 janvier, 1668, avait nécessairement été achevée avant la fin de l'année précédente, et il avait bien fallu quelque temps pour l'écrire. Quel sera donc le moment de la campagne de 1667 où Molière aura pu être en mesure de préparer ce singulier à-propos? A fixer ce moment d'aussi bonne heure que les *Mémoires de Mlle de Montpensier* le permettent, on exagère vraiment encore la facilité de travail[1] de l'auteur d'*Amphitryon*, et quelle indiscrétion, quelle témérité n'eût-ce pas été à lui, lorsque l'on fait réflexion qu'il n'avait pu pressentir comment de telles allusions seraient prises par le Roi, alors trop éloigné pour que personne puisse le soupçonner de les avoir indiquées lui-même!

Mesnard does admit, however, that the coincidences are many and striking.

To recapitulate thus far, then: Roederer suggests that the *liaison*, established in May, 1667, between the King and Mme de Montespan, and the anger of M. de Montespan following hard upon it, present such an exact analogue to the situation of Jupiter, Alcmène, and Amphitryon in Molière's play that it must have been intentional, and that Molière must have written the play, with its sympathetic presentment of the King as Jupiter, and Amphitryon's ultimate acceptance of the situation, as a piece of sycophantic pleading and flattery in excuse of Louis. But Mesnard has shown (1) that the relationship began two months later than Roederer stated, leaving Molière (as he thinks) hardly enough time to have written the play after he could have learned of it and felt justified in hinting at it; and (2) that M. de Montespan's outbreak occurred not until long after the play had been presented, and could therefore have had no connection with it at all.

These arguments have seemed sufficient to all subsequent critics and biographers of Molière, who, considering Roederer's thesis dis-

[1] But how is it possible, after all, to exaggerate *la facilité de travail* of an author who had written *Les Fâcheux* in a fortnight, had produced four plays in the eight months between the first performance of *Le Misanthrope*, June 4, 1666, and the first performance of *Le Sicilien*, February 14, 1667, and had composed twenty-nine plays in prose and verse within fourteen years after the appearance of *Les Précieuses ridicules*? And if the composition of *Les Fâcheux* may have been facilitated by the fact of its having no plot, that is offset by *Amphitryon's* having a borrowed plot, ready-made to his hand.

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proved and made impossible by these redatings, have not gone back of them, but have contented themselves with adding minor supporting arguments.

Abel Lefranc, for example, takes up (1) the question of why Molière suddenly, and after so long, turned back to Latin comedy for inspiration, and says we are not obliged to suppose he did so because in Plautus he could find this plot so applicable to the *vie intime* of the King. The great success of Rotrou's *pièce des machines de la Naissance d'Hercule*, which attended its revival in 1650 at the Marais, might easily account, he says, for Molière's being attracted to the same subject.

And then, (2) *Amphitryon* was given at Versailles only at its third performance, and Louis asked for it only twice more before 1680, whereas it was performed fifty-three times in Paris before 1673.

He thinks also (3) that the *risquées plaisanteries* of Robinet's well-known *Lettre en vers à Madame*[1] would indicate that it was the daring jests in *Amphitryon* which made it popular, rather than its possible allusions.

He admits, however, that in order to win over the King in the matter of *Tartuffe*, he might possibly have yielded to the temptation to play the courtier.

Moland makes the following additional comments:

1. Since the beginnings of the affair, in June and July, in Flanders, were very secret, "Comment supposer Molière autorisé, invité, dès ces premiers moments, à transporter l'aventure sur la scène?"

2. Rotrou makes Amphitryon speak an even more complaisant language than Molière does, and in doing so is but translating Plautus, so Molière was only following his sources after all, and need have intended no allusion. After quoting the appalling sycophantism of Rotrou's Amphitryon, in his closing speech (V, v),[2] Moland continues:

> Que n'aurait-on pas dit si c'était Molière qui eût écrit ces mots? Et Molière, s'il avait voulu faire une immorale flatterie, ne se serait-il pas empressé de se montrer, comme son prédecesseur, un traducteur exact, et aurait-il privé sa pièce de cette conclusion qui s'offrait d'elle-même?

3. The first performance was not at court, but at Paris; then, if there really were any allusions intended, they must have appeared, as offered to the Parisian public, not flattery but satire.

[1] *Gazette*, January 21, 1668.

[2] *Vide ultra.*

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Moland's conclusion is that it is all an odd coincidence.

Trollope[1] dismisses the matter: "M. Mesnard has shown from dates that the lines cannot contain an allusion to the love-makings of Louis XIV and Mme. de Montespan."

Rigal[2] does not in any way allude to it, but makes one important observation: "Le rôle d'Amphitryon ... est modernisé aussi en ce qu'Amphitryon ... au dénouement, au lieu de s'incliner devant Jupiter, ... se tait, et, comme on dit, n'en pense pas moins sans doute."

A. Tilley[3] says: "The suggestion . . . . that Molière intended the play to be a glorification of the loves of Louis XIV and Mme. de Montespan has been shown to be highly improbable, merely as a question of dates. But the whole tone of the play, and in particular Sosie's final comment,[4] put the matter beyond dispute."

As for Michaud, I have not seen his concluding study, but his skepticism in this matter may be deduced from his comment on Bazin's attempt to draw biographical evidence from Sosie's speech in the first scene, about serving the great: "Qu'est-ce d'ailleurs qu'une allusion si obscure qu'elle échappe aux contemporains et soit devinée seulement cent soixante-neuf ans après avoir été risquée?"[5]

But if the Moliéristes have left the question here, as a *chose jugée*, the historians have contented themselves less easily. There were other observers at Louis XIV's court who wrote letters and kept journals besides the Grande Mademoiselle, and students of the lives of M. and Mme de Montespan have found evidence that long before the court paused at Compiègne in July, 1667, there were plenty of straws to show the well-informed which way the wind was blowing. Lemoine and Lichtenberger in their book, *De Vallière à Montespan*,[6] draw on

[1] *Life of Molière* (New York, 1905), p. 448.

[2] *Molière*, II (Paris, 1908), 120.

[3] *Molière* (Cambridge, 1921), pp. 192–93.

[4] III, x, 397, 39 ff. References are to the Oxford text; act, scene, page, and lines are noted.

[5] *La Jeunesse de Molière* (Paris, 1922), p. 19.

[6] This book, which was published by Firmin Didot in Paris, bears no date, but since it was reviewed in the *Revue critique d'Histoire et de Littérature* for December 28, 1902, it must have been new not longer than a year or two, probably, back of that. It has not been used by Trollope, Rigal, Abel Lefranc, Faguet, or Tilley, although their studies were all published after it was in print. Yet it was respectfully reviewed by Félix Brun (*Revue critique* [1902], No. 52, p. 514), who praised in it "un talent d'exposition dont le seul inconvénient est de trop dissimuler sous un vernis très littéraire une abondante et solide documentation."

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three such sources—the letters of the Duc d'Enghien to his friend Marie Gonzaga, queen of Poland; the letters and journals of Mme de Chatrier, a vivid court gossip; and the reports of the English ambassador, all of them to be found among the manuscripts in the archives of Chantilly, or among British state papers.

From these sources it appears[1] that at the beginning of 1664 the King asked the Duc d'Enghien to create six new posts of ladies-in-waiting to the Queen, to be always of her *entourage*, and that the Duc d'Enghien wrote his friend that the choice lay among eight, "mais je crois que la Reine serait bien aise qu'il n'y en eût point dont il pût être amoureux." The Duc de Grammont refused to permit his daughter-in-law (to her great mortification) to accept one of these coveted positions, which would suggest that they were felt to carry a certain possible significance. Mme de Montespan was appointed.

By the middle of 1666, Mme de Montespan was notably of the inner circle, and in its foremost rank; fêtes were given in her honor, and she was one of those with whom the King kept up a versified correspondence.

On November 5 of the same year, fourteen months before the first performance of *Amphitryon*, the Duc d'Enghien wrote to the Queen of Poland:

> On veut dire à la cour que le Roi songe un peu à Madame de Montespan, et, pour dire la vérité, elle le mériterait bien, car on ne peut avoir plus d'esprit ni plus de beauté qu'elle en a.[2]

It was in May, 1667, that the court departed for Flanders, and the fact that Mlle de la Vallière was not of the party was conspicuous, and did not escape comment. On May 14, she was made duchess, with the gift of Vaujours, and her daughter was legitimized, and thereupon, wrote Mme de Chatrier:

> Tout le monde tient à méchant augure pour Madame de la Vallière qu'elle ne suit point la cour, et ce que le roi avait fait faire devant que de partir; il semble que ce soit la récompense de ses services.[3]

Then on July 30, 1667, the matter was so evident that the English ambassador commented upon it in his reports to his chief:

> Madame de Montespan est la beauté du jour en ce voyage de Flandre, et donne de grandes craintes à la dame délaissée en ces quartiers et qui connaîtra

[1] L. and L., *op. cit.*, pp. 153–54.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 167.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 179.

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bientôt les tortures ordinaires de la jalousie ... les rois ne sont pas plus constants que les autres hommes.[1]

So, recurring to the query of Mesnard:

S'imaginerait-on que ... La Thorillière et La Grange, lorsque, pendant le siège de Lille, ils arrivèrent porteurs de son placet, eussent été mis au courant des secrets tout nouveaux de la cour?

I think we may be very certain that they would. And indeed, human nature being what it is, if we remember the peculiar excited curiosity with which average people always watch the development of a personal relationship—even when one of the parties is not a king and the other a great lady, and even when there is no moral impediment—it is fair to conclude that there had been plenty of gossip and conjecture for a long time before Compiègne, and that when these appeared to receive confirmation, as Mlle de Montpensier says they did there, rumor would have been busy and swift and widespread immediately.

Despois and Mesnard felt, when they showed that M. de Montespan's resentment did not express itself until late in that year which began with the first representation of *Amphitryon*, that they were making an end of Roederer, who had set the two events in the reverse order; but Lemoine and Lichtenberger insist that there is an immediate connection between the two, none the less. They bring a great deal of evidence, especially from the letters of Louvois,[2] to show that the King kept M. de Montespan at a great distance from Paris, in the Roussillon, through the early spring and summer of 1667, and showed him unusual favors and indulgences there, but explicitly forbade his return to Paris until midwinter. By that time, these authors imagine, the King believed he had bought M. de Montespan off sufficiently well, and no longer needed to fear his resentment. And at this point they make a nonchalant reference to *Amphitryon*, as if it were above question that the play bore a direct, and an official, relation to M. de Montespan's situation: "On ne se contenta pas de permettre à M. de Montespan de revenir à Paris. On lui fit une surprise: on lui joua *Amphitryon*."[3]

[1] St. Albans to Arlington, *State Papers, France*, cited *ibid.*, p. 189.

[2] *Op. cit.*, chap. viii, pp. 222 ff.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 243.

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And they believe it was the King's failure to live up to the promises made by Jupiter to Amphitryon in the last scene of the play which caused his violent outburst in the following autumn.

Certainly Mme de Caylus[1] and the Princess Palatine[2] both say that his irritation arose, not from his wrongs, but from his not being well-enough paid, although neither one of them, of course, makes any allusion to *Amphitryon*.

The absence of all contemporary allusion, indeed, to a connection between *Amphitryon* and the Montespan affair is a weighty argument against it, which there is nothing to offset. Even if contemporary journals and letters held to the better part of valor, it would seem as if later writers, such as Saint-Simon and the Princess Palatine, would have repeated any current gossip of the elder generation in this matter. La Fontaine is indeed quoted[3] as having referred to the Duc du Maine, in 1679, as *le fils de Jupiter;* but this may have been no general allusion but merely a witticism original with La Fontaine, and in comparing *le roi soleil* to the monarch of Olympus, it may not necessarily have involved the Amphitryon story at all.

The Despois-Mesnard arguments, then, on which all Moliéristes have rather uncritically depended until now, are both seen to be worthless. There really was time for Molière to have heard of an affair, news of which the knowing had doubtless been waiting for; and the tardiness of M. de Montespan's righteous indignation does not prevent a connection between the play and the facts of his situation.

But does the failure of their arguments to demolish the possibility of a connection thereby establish one? By no means, of course; yet it hardly seems reasonable to suppose that from the beginning to the end of his writing *Amphitryon* the thought of a parallel should never have crossed the quick and witty Gallic mind of its author. Here we must remain of the original opinion of Roederer:

> Qu'il n'y ait pas trouvé quelque rapport avec ce qui se passait à la cour, qu'il n'ait pas vu, pas soupçonné que la situation du Marquis de Montespan eût quelque rapport avec celle d'Amphitryon, celle de Louis XIV avec celle de Jupiter, ... c'est ce qu'il est difficile de croire.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 227.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 253; *Recueil Brunet*, II, 292.

[3] P. Clément, *Madame de Montespan et Louis XIV* (Paris, 1868), p. 15.

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Nor could it have escaped the King, of whom the Duc d'Enghien wrote to Queen Marie: "Le roi est aussi pénétrant que l'on le peut être."[1]

Certainly the historians, Lemoine and Lichtenberger, have no hesitation in admitting almost as a certainty the possibility that an allusion was intended, or in believing that it had the royal sanction.

> Jusqu'à quel point *Amphitryon* fût comme *Bérénice*, comme *Esther*, comme *Athalie*, une pièce écrite sur commande, peut être discuté. Ce serait pousser les analogies un peu loin que de vouloir trop rigoureusement identifier Louis XIV avec le séducteur Jupiter, Mme de Montespan avec Alcmène, Amphitryon avec le marquis de Montespan, et Louvois avec Mercure, qui se montre si accomodant lorsque Amphitryon entre dans les vues de son maître, mais le rosse ainsi que Sosie s'il se permet de régimber. ... Il n'est pas douteux, en revanche, que Louis XIV ait approuvé le sujet de la pièce, et toléré ou même inspiré telles des allusions qui y sont semées. ... Composée à l'insu de son maître, sa pièce eût été la plus sanglante des satires.[2]

Molière wrote *Amphitryon*, then, in his quality of courtier, in order to excuse the monarch's careless morals and paint him in a flattering light.

The critics who have opposed this idea most vigorously have been moved first of all by a wish to defend Molière's dignity of character; they have assumed that to accept this theory was to confess a dislike of Molière, and that one who admired and loved Molière could not accept it. But is it entirely clear that Molière, in the play of *Amphitryon*, does paint a flattering portrait of Jupiter, or that he does exonerate him? To examine this question is the central purpose of this study.

The idea that *Amphitryon* could have been a *satire* on the King, instead of an adroit and clever bit of flattery, has scarcely ever been entertained for longer than it takes to dismiss it. The probabilities are too heavy against it. There was too much at stake just then, with the fate of *Tartuffe* hanging in the balance, for Molière to risk offending his sovereign. "Jamais," say the historians, Lemoine and Lichtenberger:[1] "Jamais, à la fin de l'année 1667, le poète n'eût osé traiter pareil sujet sans l'approbation royale ... jamais Condé, le plus attentif des courtisans, n'en eût accepté la dédicace."[3]

[1] L. and L., *op. cit.*, p. 159. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 243. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 244.

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On the other hand, he had reason, on the very score of *Tartuffe*, to be irritated against all authority; and the fact that he had recently been seriously ill (in the early summer of 1667), and that he was now forty-five years old—a much more advanced age then, apparently, than now—together with his personal unhappiness, may all have contributed to make him rather indifferent as to his future success or acceptability, and have induced a mood of irony, at least, which was not disposed to consider any human situation to be outside its reach.

It is in any case certainly true, as Trollope seems to have been the only one of Molière's biographers to note, that the elements of satire in the play are really more numerous than the elements of flattery.

I do not see the strong flattery of Louis XIV that apparently some French writers have found in the verses of this comedy. Sosie's lament on the ungrateful labour of men who work for princes, in the first scene of the play, certainly cannot have had the appearance of flattery. It seems to me that satire is more evident in the comedy, not of a personal kind against the king, but against current habits of thought. Flattery in a bad sense was not in Molière's nature; his disposition was too sceptical, too unhappy, and too honest.[1]

But the example he instances, "Sosie's lament on the ungrateful labour of men who work for princes," is not a good one, because it is to be found also in Plautus' *Amphitruo*, and in Rotrou's imitation of it, both of which Molière evidently had under his eyes while he wrote.

It is worth while, however, to examine all the lines of the play in which, on Roederer's hypothesis, Molière could by any possibility have been flattering the King, or in which, on Trollope's he could possibly have been indulging in satire, at the expense either of the King or of the courtiers. Or, at any rate, in irony; satire is too heavy a word, perhaps, for the mood of *Amphitryon*.

LINES WHICH MIGHT BE INTERPRETED AS FLATTERY OR EXCUSE

1. Prologue, page 374, lines 80 ff.:

Mer.

Dans quelque rang qu'il soit des mortels regardé,
Je le tiendrois fort misérable
S'il ne quittait jamais sa mine redoutable,
Et qu'au faîte des cieux il fût toujours guindé.
Il n'est point, à mon gré, de plus sotte méthode
Que d'être emprisonné toujours dans sa grandeur.

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 448.

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2. Lines 90 ff.:

Mer.

Et pour entrer dans tout ce qui lui plaît
Il sort tout à fait de lui-même.
Et ce n'est plus alors Jupiter qui paraît.

3. Line 106:

Mer.

Ce Dieu sait ce qu'il fait aussi bien là qu'ailleurs.

4. III, x, 396, 9 ff.:

Jup.

Un partage avec Jupiter
N'a rien du tout qui déshonore,
Et sans doute il ne peut être que glorieux
De se voir le rival du souverain des Dieux. ...

LINES WHICH MIGHT BE INTERPRETED AS IRONICAL

5. Prologue, page 373, lines 12 ff.:

La N.

Sied-il bien à des Dieux de dire qu'ils sont las?

Mer.

Les Dieux sont-ils de fer?

La N.

Non; mais il faut sans cesse
Garder *le décorum de la divinité.*

6. Page 374, lines 53 ff.:

Mer.

Ses pratiques, je crois, ne vous sont pas nouvelles:
Bien souvent pour la terre il néglige les cieux;
Et vous n'ignorez pas que ce maître des Dieux
Aime à s'humaniser pour les beautés mortelles,
Et sait cent tours ingénieux
Pour mettre à bout les plus cruelles.

7. Page 374, lines 126 ff.:

Mer.

Un tel emploi n'est bassesse
Que chez les petites gens.
Lorsque dans un haut rang on a l'heur de paroître,
Tout ce qu'on fait est toujours bel et bon;
Et suivant ce qu'on peut être,
Les choses changent de nom.

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8. I, i, 375, 14 ff.:

Sos.

Notre sort est beaucoup plus rude
Chez les grands que chez les petits.
Ils veulent que pour eux tout soit, dans la nature,
Obligé de s'immoler.
Jour et nuit, grêle, vent, péril, chaleur, froidure,
Dès qu'ils parlent, il faut voler.
Vingt ans d'assidu service
N'en obtiennent rien pour nous;
Le moindre petit caprice
Nous attire leur courroux.
Cependant notre âme insensée
S'acharne au vain honneur de demeurer près d'eux,
Et s'y veut contenter de la fausse pensée
Qu'ont tous les autres gens que nous sommes heureux.
Vers la retraite en vain la raison nous appelle;
En vain notre dépit quelquefois y consent;
Leur vue a sur notre zèle
Un ascendant trop puissant,
Et la moindre faveur d'un coup d'œil caressant
Nous rengage de plus belle.

9. II, i, 382, 21 ff.:

Sos.

Parlerai-je, Monsieur, selon ma conscience,
Ou comme auprès des grands on le voit usité?

10. Page 382, line 33:

Sos.

Monsieur, vous n'avez rien qu'à dire,
Je mentirai, si vous voulez.

11. Page 383, lines 151 ff.:

Sos.

Tous les discours sont des sottises,
Partant d'un homme sans éclat;
Ce serait paroles exquises
Si c'était un grand qui parlât.

It is evident that the ironical speeches are the more numerous. The next thing to note is whether there are any of these which are not to be found in Plautus or Rotrou, and a comparative examination of

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the three plays shows that most of both groups are original with Molière. The only ones which have a prototype in the two source plays are 4 and 6, and 8 through the line, "Dès qu'ils parlent, etc."; the rest of that significant speech is all Molière.

But aside from such minute questions, involving lines and wordings, which atmosphere is it that pervades the play as a whole, that of satire or that of flattery? Where are Molière's sympathies, with Jupiter or with Amphitryon? Faguet has no doubt in the world that they are with Jupiter, and that is his chief reason for saying: "La pièce, qui du reste est un chef-d'œuvre, est proprement infame ... Le Seigneur Jupiter est le dernier des drôles, et il est presénté par Molière comme charmant et comme le personnage le plus sympathique du monde."[1]

This may be quite true, and yet Molière's own sympathies not be necessarily involved in Jupiter's favor. I do not believe they were. Molière's sympathies were not with the lover but with the husband, and there are three things which prove it.

1. Though Jupiter is successful in his deceit, he is not successful as a lover. He has only triumphed by a trick, and he never wins Alcmène's love. She loves only her husband, Amphitryon, throughout, and Jupiter remains under no delusion in the matter. All his subtlety of analysis, all his *précieux* distinctions between the husband and the lover which have called down accusations of immorality from his critics, are but his confession that he has failed to touch her heart; and they are the more significant because there is nothing of the kind in Plautus or Rotrou. Molière leaves him in a situation not a little ignominious for the sovereign of the gods:

> Et c'est moi, dans cette aventure,
> Qui, tout dieu que je suis, dois être le jaloux.
> Alcmène est tout à toi, quelque soin qu'on emploie.
> Et ce doit à tes feux être un objet bien doux
> De voir que pour lui plaire il n'est point d'autre voie
> Que de paroître son époux.[2]

It seems as if these lines alone were enough to refute the idea, shared by Lemoine and Lichtenberger, that *Amphitryon* was written under Louis' sanction if not to his order.

[1] E. Faguet, *En lisant Molière* (Paris, 1914), p. 161.

[2] III, x, 396, 14 ff.

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2. Molière justifies Amphitryon's jealousy—and all jealousy which has its roots in love, not pride—in a passage so different[1] from all the many allusions to jealousy in the other plays as by itself to sustain the statement that he sympathizes with Amphitryon. Roederer ends his famous *locus criticus* with a sneer: "[Molière] avait enfin cela de particulier que, amant malheureux, mari trompé, il était poète sans pitié pour les victimes d'un désordre qui faisait son tourment"; but nothing could be more untrue of this play, for, whatever may or may not have been his private reasons for understanding the situation so well, certainly this speech of Alcmène is almost heart-rending in its profound understanding of that torture of a noble mind:

La jalousie a des impressions
Dont bien souvent la force nous entraîne;
Et l'âme la plus sage, en ces occasions,
Sans doute avec assez de peine,
Répond de ses emotions;
L'emportement d'un cœur qui peut s'être abusé
A de quoi ramener une âme qu'il offense;
Et dans l'amour qui lui donne naissance
Il trouve au moins, malgré toute sa violence,
Des raisons pour être excusé;
De semblables transports contre un ressentiment
Pour défense toujours ont ce qui les fait naître,
Et l'on donne grâce aisément
A ce dont on n'est pas le maître.[2]

3. Amphitryon's acceptance of his situation is characterized by none of the ignoble fatuity and complaisance which was to be found in Molière's chief sources. As Rigal noted: "Au dénouement, au lieu de s'incliner devant Jupiter, il se tait."[3] Only one of the dramatists who had treated this theme previous to Molière had left Amphitryon wordless at the end, and that was Camoens,[4] whose play Molière may have read; it may have been among the "over 300 comedies in Spanish and Italian" which Soulié mentions as making part of Molière's library.

But Molière is not content with Amphitryon's silence; he makes him express himself with a bitter frankness that is not to be found in

[1] I hope to make this distinction the subject of a subsequent study.

[2] II, vi, 389, 57 ff. [3] *Loc. cit.*

[4] "Os Amphitriões," 1585, in Luis de Camões, *Obras*, IV (Lisbon, 1865), 259.

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any one of the possible sources. As Tilley remarks:[1] "In two soliloquies by Amphitryon a tragic note makes itself heard, the bitter cry of a husband who believes he has suffered dishonour"; but even Tilley, the only one who has commented on this aspect, fails to mention that one of these is Amphitryon's *last* speech, of any account, in the whole play. He remains mute in the closing scene, although Jupiter's complacent speech from the clouds is addressed to him. But Amphitryon has nothing to say; he has already expressed himself, once for all, to his personal friends, in scene vii, and except for a few trifling requirements of the action, he never says another word. His real sentiments are here:

Ah! sur le fait dont il s'agit,
L'erreur simple devient un crime véritable,
Et, sans consentement, l'innocence y périt.
De semblables erreurs, quelque jour qu'on leur donne,
Touchent des endroits délicats,
Et la raison bien souvent les pardonne,
Que l'honneur et l'amour ne les pardonnent pas.[2]

In Rotrou's version, Amphitryon, so far from expressing himself thus, or even remaining silent, is the one, and not Jupiter, who explains that after all (as Molière words it), "un partage avec Jupiter n'a rien du tout qui déshonore," and says, in a language of appeased and even dazzled gratification (V, v):[3]

Je plaindrais mon honneur d'un affront glorieux,
D'avoir eu pour rival le monarque des dieux!
Mon couche est partagé, Alcmène est infidèle:
Mais l'affront en est doux, et la honte en est belle;
L'outrage est obligeant; le rang du suborneur
Avecque mon injure acorde mon honneur.

And in V, vi, he says more to the same effect:

Alcmène, par un sort à tout autre contraire,
Peut entre ses honneurs conter un adultère;
Son crime la relève, il accroît son renom,
Et d'un objet mortel fait un autre Junon,

while his captain agrees with him:

Pour vous dire en deux mots, et vous féliciter,
Vous partagez les biens avecque Jupiter.

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 193.
[2] III, vii, 395, 10 ff.
[3] Rotrou, *Théâtre choisi* (Paris: Garnier, n.d.), p. 143.

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In Plautus, likewise, it is Amphitryon who makes the speech out of which Rotrou developed the three just quoted, but which Molière assigns to Jupiter himself: "Pol me haud paenitet Si licet boni dimidium mihi dividere cum Jove."[1] Besides, the whole idea involved in these speeches of Plautus' and Rotrou's Amphitryon, or in the *partage avec Jupiter* lines of Molière's Jupiter, have been satirized beforehand in Molière's play, by Mercury, as if to anticipate and discount it with ridicule:

> Et les coups de baton d'un Dieu
> Font honneur à qui les endure.[2]

The last words of the play, moreover, Sosie's comment on the situation, express not acceptance, and much less gratified vanity, but only a resignation that cannot help itself ("Dès qu'ils parlent, il faut voler!"). This speech is to be found, though in a far less highly developed form, in Rotrou:

Sosie, seul

> Cet honneur, ce me semble, est un triste avantage:
> On appelle cela lui sucrer le breuvage.
> Pour moi j'ai, de nature, un front capricieux
> Qui ne peut rien souffrir, et lui vînt-il des cieux.
> Mais j'ai trop, pour mon bien, partagé l'aventure;
> Quelque dieu bien malin avait pris ma figure.
> Si le bois nous manquait, les dieux en ont en soin;
> Ils nous en ont chargés, et plus que de besoin.[3]

Molière's Sosie delivers himself, still more ironically, as follows:

> Messieurs, voulez-vous bien suivre mon sentiment?
> Ne vous embarquez nullement
> Dans ces douceurs congratulantes:
> C'est un mauvais embarquement,
> Et d'une et d'autre part, pour un tel compliment,
> Les phrases sont embarrassantes.
> Le grand Dieu Jupiter nous fait beaucoup d'honneur,
> Et sa bonté sans doute est pour nous sans seconde;
> Il nous promet l'infaillible bonheur
> D'une fortune en mille biens féconde,
> Et chez nous il doit naître un fils d'un très-grand cœur:
> Tout cela va le mieux du monde;
> Mais enfin coupons au discours,
> Et que chacun chez soi doucement se retire.
> Sur telles affaires, toujours
> Le meilleur est de ne rien dire.[4]

[1] *Amphitruo*, V, i, 72–73, in Plauti, *Comoediae* (Leipsic, 1902), p. 59.
[2] *Amphitryon*, III, ix, 396, 9–10. [3] *Op. cit.*, p. 145. [4] III, x, 397, 39 to end.

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There remains one point to make. It is, indeed, not exactly a point, but rather a coincidence that is worth remarking. *Amphitryon* was the very first play to be staged after the embargo was laid, August 6, upon *Tartuffe*, which had been played on August 5 under the title of *L'Imposteur;* and it is presumably through La Grange and La Thorillière, who presented Molière's petition in the matter to the King in Flanders on August 8, and in consequence of this very visit, that, on the hypothesis of a connection between them, he would have learned the state of affairs and written the play. It is, then, interesting that at a moment when the word *imposteur* must have been weighted with significance for him, Molière should have written a play in which he had frequent occasion to use it. The words *imposteur* and *imposture*, together, occur twelve times in this short three-act play. Of course the words are essential to the story, and Rotrou had used them nine times in his version. But in *Les Sosies* they are distributed over five acts, and only once are there as many as three in one act; whereas in *Amphitryon* they occur eight times in the last act alone. *Imposteur, imposture*—with a slight emphasizing by the actors, the words would ring through that act like a refrain. The total absence of contemporary comment is, to be sure, of deep significance, and must be taken into account. But it must also be taken into account that these words were not at the surface of Molière's usual vocabulary. Moreover, Molière (as Rotrou does not) makes Jupiter apply the word to himself: "Regarde, Amphitryon, quel est ton *imposteur*."[1] And this is the last time the word is spoken. If there is anything at all in this coincidence, it would indicate an irritated susceptibility at that moment, in Molière, which would have not left him in a mood to flatter.

Two points hitherto at issue in this question I venture to believe settled by this discussion: first, that, as far as dates go, a connection between the play *Amphitryon* and the Montespan affair is not impossible, or even improbable; and second, that *Amphitryon* cannot be considered a piece of special pleading for the King, because the author's sympathy is not really with Jupiter. There remain two other questions: whether Molière, on the one hand, could ever have been so reckless as to risk on the Paris stage a critical representation of *le roi soleil;*[2] and whether, on the other, he could have written the play with-

[1] III, x, 396, 1.

[2] We must not forget that he had said of himself in 1663: "Il disoit que rien ne lui donnoit du déplaisir comme d'être accusé de regarder quelqu'un dans les portraits qu'il fait." (*L' Impromptu de Versailles*, Sc. iv, 197, 21 ff.)

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out ever once thinking of Mme de Montespan. Both propositions seem impossible. But, if the play cannot be conceived as a flattering brief for the King, and if we find it hard to dismiss the apparent connection as entirely accidental, must we then revert to another impossibility—the one which Lemoine and Lichtenberger suggest as the *reductio ad absurdum*—that the play must be "la plus sanglante des satires"?

This would be going much too far. Molière certainly could not have ventured to satirize his sovereign, and there is no reason to suppose he ever wanted to. But he is certainly doing something with the Amphitryon myth besides merely reproducing it and laughing at it. His interest in the story seems to be chiefly psychological, and he uses this least moral, most *scabreux*, of his plays, to convey some ideas that he takes very seriously. He says in it the profoundest things he has to say about jealousy, and, notwithstanding all *le seigneur* Jupiter's preciosity, the most romantic things he has to say about love. *Amphitryon* is Molière's only love story, the only one of his plays in which personal emotion is in any sense the essential subject. It is the only play in which he puts the emotions above *le bon sens;* it is not at all in the key of his usual balanced good sense, for example, to say:

> Vous ne concevez point qu'un cœur bien amoureux
> Sur cent petits égards s'attache avec étude,
> Et se fait une inquiétude
> De la manière d'être heureux,[1]

yet nothing could be truer of the complicated and contradictory feelings of a lover. Neither Amphitryon nor Jupiter is reasonable; for each, his wounded feelings are more vital to him than the obvious advantages of an actual situation. And Alcmène is the only Molière heroine who was ever really in love.[2]

It must, then, have been the emotional possibilities in it that attracted Molière to the re-working of a story which previous dramatists had all treated more superficially. And among these possibilities, the most interesting to Molière evidently lay in the situation of

[1] I, iii, 380, 56–59.

[2] Molière shows that he knows she is above all things a woman in love, by the words (spoken by Mercury) with which he introduces her at her first appearance: "l'amoureuse Alcmène" (I, ii, 1269, 279).

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Jupiter.[1] Whatever may have led Molière to pick up this old subject just at this time, the central theme of it for him was evidently this question of reciprocation in love, of the emptiness of mere rights without it. He objectified this question in the person of Jupiter, at a moment when the Montespan affair must have been somewhere in the background of his thoughts while he wrote. Moreover, Mme de Montespan was the first married mistress of the King, with a husband whose position in society was as conspicuous as Amphitryon's, and *Amphitryon* is Molière's only play in which an adultery is consummated and not merely threatened. Might it not be, then, that Molière, without venturing, or wishing to venture, upon actual satire, did infuse an element of irony into his handling of a theme which had its prototype at court, yet did it so slyly and delicately that he thought it would escape the notice of the public, and even the "penetrating" eye of the King? Lemoine and Lichtenberger[2] thought he deliberately covered the intention of flattery which they see in it:

> En maint endroit la fantaisie de l'écrivain s'y est donné libre carrière; bien plus, volontairement peut-être, afin de ne pas donner l'éveil trop vivement à la malignité du public non initiée, Molière n'a pas épargné des développements capables de la dérouter.

May he not have used the same devices to cover an ironical intent?

If he did, then they were certainly successful, since they evidently deceived all his contemporaries, and have thrown all his critics off the track to this day! Such a success as that must put us on our guard. But shall we then conclude with Moland that it was all pure coincidence?

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[1] This had been pointed out before by Alfred Kerr (*Die Welt im Drama*, III [1917], 337): "Die dritte Wirkung, die Molière aus der Fabel schlägt, ist mir die wertvollste. Jupiter leidet unter der Erkenntnis, dass Alkmene ihm zwar jeden Reiz gewährt; dass sie dabei eines Andren gedacht. Er leidet unter der Erkenntnis, dass er sie besatz—und nicht besatz. Hier liegt (im Keim) die Trauer, die Zergliederung, die Grübelei, das Selbstmistrauen des erotischen Mannes, wie beim Hebbel, bei Bourget, bei Schnitzler, bei d'Annunzio. Jupiter ist auf dem Weg, der schmerzvollgrüblerische Liebesmensch zu werden." I am indebted to Professor Nitze for this reference.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 243.

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"RÉALISME," *JOURNAL* DE DURANTY

C'est Zola qui, le premier, attira l'attention des lettrés sur cette publication—moitié journal, moitié revue—qui parut du 10 juillet 1856 au mois de mai 1857. Son article, bien que sympathique, ne met guère en évidence tout ce qu'il y a d'intéressant et d'original dans la campagne de Duranty et de ses jeunes collaborateurs.

Leur audace l'amuse, leur humeur belliqueuse le grise, mais il ne les prend pas au sérieux. Il leur fait même des reproches qu'ils ne méritent pas.

Depuis lors, d'autres critiques, et en particulier M. Martino,[1] ont étudié "Réalisme," sans pourtant—je le crois du moins—en épuiser l'intérêt.

Duranty écrivait en 1876:

> La haute littérature d'art contemporaine est réaliste en affectant les formes et les procédés les plus variés. Celui qui écrit ces lignes a contribué à déterminer ce mouvement dont il a été l'un des premiers à donner la nette formule esthétique il y a près de 20 ans.[2]

Il s'illusionne peut-être au sujet de la clarté de ses théories, mais il est certain qu'il fut un des principaux ouvriers du réalisme, qu'il contribua autant et plus que tout autre à l'élaboration de la doctrine de "la sincérité dans l'art," et qu'à ce titre le *Journal* où il a exposé ses idées mérite de retenir notre attention.

Pour comprendre toute l'importance de ce petit *Journal*, il y a quelques vérités générales qu'il ne faut pas perdre de vue, et que je crois devoir rappeler ici. Tout d'abord, on sait que le réalisme, comme doctrine, s'est élaboré en dehors des grandes œuvres littéraires de ce temps-là. Sans doute, il est dans l'air, et nous retrouvons des traces de son influence jusque dans les romans de G. Sand. Mais si les romanciers célèbres de l'époque sont réalistes, aucun ne l'est de la même façon,[3] ou, si l'on veut, ce qu'il y a de vraiment original dans leurs

[1] Cf. *Le roman réaliste*, Hachette, 1913.

[2] Cf. *La Nouvelle peinture*, p. 12.

[3] Aussi appelle-t-on le réalisme de Flaubert: "le réalisme de l'art pour l'art"; le réalisme des Goncourt: "le réalisme impressionniste"; Brunetière appelle le réalisme de Daudet: "le réalisme sentimental" (*Rev. des deux mondes* [I^er^ avril 1875], p. 703).

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ouvrages n'est déjà plus du réalisme. Et surtout, loin de se proclamer partisans de la doctrine, loin de travailler à la développer, à l'enrichir, jusqu'en 1860, et même plus tard,[1] ils ont considéré l'appellation de réaliste comme une injure: "Inconnu la veille," écrit Maxime du Camp à propos du procès de *Madame Bovary*, "Flaubert était proclamé chef d'école, de l'école réaliste. Le mot le blessa et dans son for intérieur il ne l'a jamais admis, etc."[2]

Champfleury lui-même, proteste parfois contre ce vocable qu'on a accolé à son nom: "je n'aime pas les écoles ... je n'aime pas les dogmes," écrit-il,[3] "il m'est impossible de me parquer dans la petite église du réalisme, dussé-je en être le dieu ... je ne reconnais que la sincérité dans l'art." En d'autres occasions, cependant, il parle et il agit d'une façon différente. Et nous savons qu'il fut, en réalité, un des chefs du mouvement: "Vers 1850," écrit Schanne, "se forma sur la rive gauche un groupe de littérateurs et d'artistes levant le drapeau d'une nouvelle école qui tentait de succéder à celle *du bon sens* et du *romantisme*. La passion qu'ils professaient pour la vérité, entendez la vérité crue, leur valut le nom tout indiqué de réalistes. ..." Après avoir dit qu'il "fut de la secte" il ajoute: "Nous avions des chefs gradés sans qu'ils s'en doutassent et qui étaient tout bonnement les plus éloquents à faire valoir nos théories par le mérite de leurs œuvres. Un de ceux-là fut Champfleury, très brave de sa plume et qui guerroyait vigoureusement dans les petits et les grands journaux."[4] De fait, cette école fut la seule qui existât à cette époque. On la désigne ordinairement sous le nom d'école de "la sincérité dans l'art." C'est là, pour ainsi parler, le réalisme officiel, celui auquel on s'attaque, le seul qui ait tenté de se constituer en système. Malheureusement, même au sein de ce groupe, l'unité parfaite de doctrine fut loin d'exister. On s'entendait sur certains principes comme nous verrons; mais, si l'on y regarde de très près, il y a presque autant de réalismes que de réalistes. Et la raison, c'est que ni Courbet qui publia le premier manifeste de l'école, ni Champfleury, ni Max Buchon, ni même Duranty, ne réussirent à formuler leurs théories d'une façon précise.

[1] Cf. Maupassant, *Étude sur Flaubert* (éd. Conard), XXIX, 98.

[2] *Rev. des deux mondes* (juin 1882), p. 791. Nous savons aussi par sa correspondance que l'accusation même d'être partisan d'une école quelconque et d'abdiquer sa personnalité l'exaspérait.

[3] Cf. *Le Réalisme*, Préf., p. 3. Paris, 1857.

[4] *Souvenirs de Schaunard*, pp. 286–87.

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Ils entrevoient confusément "quelque chose de nouveau," mais ils sont incapables de l'exprimer d'une façon claire et intelligible pour tous. Duranty, en particulier, se rend bien compte de l'obscurité de ses propres idées, et il en fait tout simplement l'aveu à Soulas qui lui demandait une définition du réalisme. Il écrit:

> Je me suis trouvé tout à coup, en fondant ce *Journal*, aux prises avec des idées qui étaient en moi bien plutôt encore à l'état de sentiments que d'idées ... vous savez que pour préparer une construction on creuse, on bouleverse, et que rien ne ressemble plus à des débris que les matériaux nouveaux au moment où ils sont épars. Toutefois, en vous faisant cette concession, je suis certain d'avoir dit quelque chose.

En effet, ces jeunes gens disent quelque chose, et même quelque chose d'original. Sans doute ils s'inspirent des théories de leurs prédécesseurs, ils les complètent pourtant, ils les précisent, et surtout ils ne cherchent pas, comme Champfleury, à définir leur réalisme à eux; ce qu'ils essaient d'élaborer c'est une définition du réalisme en lui-même. En somme, on peut affirmer sans exagération que ce petit *Journal* représente, entre 1850 et 1860, l'effort le plus considérable qui ait été fait pour prendre conscience de l'idéal esthétique dont l'évolution aboutira plus tard au naturalisme d'abord, puis au symbolisme.

Il renferme des théories générales sur l'art, et quelques théories sur le roman et sur le théâtre.

Pour la plupart des critiques du temps, le réalisme ne fut que "la peinture aussi exacte que possible des milieux populaires." Un des premiers articles du programme réaliste était, en effet, d'admettre le peuple dans le roman; puis, admettant le peuple, il fallait logiquement admettre tout ce qui est du peuple, à savoir: la vulgarité, et même la grossièreté.

Depuis Mme de Staël surtout, on avait dit et redit sur tous les tons que la littérature est l'expression de la société. Or 1848 étant le triomphe de la démocratie, le peuple avait naturellement son droit d'entrée dans les lettres.[1] Toutefois, si les romanciers réalistes—je parle de ceux qui appartiennent à l'école de la sincérité dans l'art—

[1] On comprend aussi que l'Empire se soit opposé au réalisme comme à un adversaire, et qu'il l'ait confondu avec la révolution et le socialisme. Les Goncourt eux-mêmes ont écrit dans leur *Journal:* "Sans qu'on s'en doute cet avènement de la Bohême c'est la domination du socialisme en littérature" [1856], p. 124).

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se bornent, dans leurs œuvres, à l'observation des basses classes, en théorie, ils admettent la peinture de toutes les classes de la société.

Max Buchon vient de publier une brochure sur le réalisme. Duranty en rend compte dans son *Journal* (numéro du 15 décembre 1856). Il trouve remarquables quelques-unes de ses théories, et il le félicite, mais "je crois," ajoute-t-il, "que l'impression générale à propos de sa conclusion sera celle-ci: le réalisme, c'est faire de la littérature pour le peuple. C'en est une des applications importantes et intelligentes, mais comme on n'accorde d'attention aux idées qu'en raison de l'espace qu'elles occupent sur le papier, on penserait que c'est là sa principale préoccupation. Tout cela laisse encore assez de choses à dire," conclut-il.

Plus loin H. Thulié, non plus incidemment, mais *ex professo*, résume le sentiment du groupe à ce sujet. Il dit:

> Le réalisme est partout, à la ville comme à la campagne, au salon, comme à l'écurie. ... Pas plus les idéalistes que les autres ne peuvent imposer un sujet à l'écrivain, il prend pour héros le type qu'il a vu, qu'il comprend et à quelque classe qu'appartienne ce type, il est bon s'il est bien rendu. Il n'y a pas de haut et de bas en littérature, il y a des hommes [même numéro du *Journal*].

Et dans le numéro du 15 février 1857, il revient sur ce sujet:

> On accuse le réalisme d'être exclusif, de ne vouloir que des études de paysans et de bourgeois. Cette accusation a été dictée par la bêtise et la mauvaise foi. M. Champfleury n'est pas le réalisme, c'est un réaliste. Il fait des paysans et des bourgeois parce qu'il connaît parfaitement ce monde, parce qu'il l'a longuement étudié. Il ne veut pas parler de ce qu'il ne connaît pas.[1]

J'ai insisté sur ce point parce que même Zola accuse le réalisme de Duranty d'être "exclusivement bourgeois." "Je ne vois nulle part," dit-il, "qu'ils conseillent d'appliquer la méthode naturaliste à tous les personnages, princes ou bergers, grandes dames ou gardeuses de vaches."[2]

La vérité est tout autre. Seulement, il faut l'avouer, leurs efforts sont concentrés ailleurs, dans la défense d'un autre principe qui, lui, est à la base de leur esthétique, la caractérise, et explique à la fois ce

[1] Champfleury répète la même chose (*Réalisme*, Préf., p. 10).

[2] *Le roman expérimental*, p. 308.

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qu'il y a de positif et ce qu'il y a de négatif dans leur système. A ce principe, que la plupart des critiques passent à peu près sous silence, on ne saurait, selon moi, accorder trop d'importance.

"Avez-vous remarqué," écrivait Flaubert à G. Sand, "comme il y a dans l'air quelquefois des courants d'idées communes?"[1] Vers 1850, il y avait dans l'air deux grands courants d'idées communes: l'un venait de la révolution de 1848—c'était le mouvement démocratique ci-dessus mentionné; l'autre partait de plus haut et venait de plus loin—c'était le mouvement positiviste qui remonte en France au 18e siècle, et qui aboutit vers 1840 au positivisme de Comte.

Apparemment, "Réalisme n'a guère de prétentions philosophiques.[2] Comme il est dit dans un passage de Schiller reproduit dans le numéro du 15 mars 1857, "il ne faut pas attacher à ces dénominations,—réaliste et idéaliste—ni en bien ni en mal, le sens qu'on y attache en métaphysique." Cependant, je le répète, le positivisme est dans l'air, et il exerce sur le réalisme la même influence que le *scientisme* de Taine exercera plus tard sur le naturalisme.

"Si l'individu," écrit Michelet, "peut échapper à la logique des principes, celle-ci domine le développement des systèmes et l'évolution des croyances de la foule."[3] Ainsi, de même que les positivistes, au lieu de chercher l'explication du monde et de ses origines dans des causes surnaturelles, ou rationnelles mais abstraites, ne veulent s'appuyer que sur des faits dûment observés, de la même manière, les réalistes, au lieu de partir, comme le faisaient les classiques, d'une conception abstraite du Beau qui leur servait à la fois de modèle et de critère, ne veulent que reproduire la réalité extérieure qui est pour eux exemplaire et règle du travail artistique.

En outre, de même que le problème de la connaissance n'existe pas pour les positivistes, que pour eux "tout se réduit à des objets et à des

[1] *Corr.*, III, 481.

[2] Nous savons cependant que dans la brochure de Max Buchon, citée plus haut, la question suivante était posée: "A quelle tendance philosophique de notre époque correspond dans les arts le réalisme?" Malheureusement je n'ai pu mettre la main sur cette publication tirée à 300 exemplaires seulement et aujourd'hui presque introuvable. Je n'ai lu que le compte-rendu qu'en donne Duranty, et je n'ai rien pu y démêler d'intéressant.

En outre, Jules Assézat, dans le numéro du 15 mars 1857, étudie le romantisme non comme doctrine littéraire, mais comme doctrine philosophique.

[3] *Agnosticisme contemporain*, Introd., p. 10.

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rapports d'objets où le sujet même vient s'absorber,"[1] ainsi, les réalistes prêchent la soumission à la réalité extérieure sans s'inquiéter si cette réalité existe ou non comme nous l'appréhendons.[2]

Plus brièvement, le positivisme, c'est la substitution du fait à l'idée a priori, et le réalisme, c'est aussi la substitution du beau concret au beau abstrait tel que conçu par les classiques. C'est l'empirisme en littérature, comme le positivisme, c'est l'empirisme en philosophie. L'idéal artistique n'est plus en nous, il est en dehors de nous. Les êtres et les choses ne sont plus une simple matière, comme le marbre sur lequel l'artiste travaille, ils sont l'exemplaire même qu'il s'agit de reproduire. C'est le commencement d'une littérature nouvelle, ou du moins c'est une esthétique dont les principes sont nouveaux. Et c'est ce qui explique cette envie de "faire place nette," de tout démolir pour tout reconstruire, qui fait sourire Zola![3]

Ils admettent, oui, qu'il y a eu du réalisme avant eux—ils citent Homère, Plutarque, Shakespeare, Molière, Marivaux, Diderot, Goethe, Stendhal, Balzac, etc.—mais ils sentent bien que jamais auparavant on n'en a eu une conscience aussi nette.[4] Ils se rendent compte pareillement de l'originalité du principe qui sert de fondement à leurs théories. Sans cela comment expliquer leur insistance à l'exposer et à le défendre? Ouvrez le *Journal*, presqu'à chaque page, vous le trouverez exprimé sous une forme ou sous une autre.

Ainsi, dès le premier article qui peut être considéré comme une espèce de programme, voici ce que dit Duranty (il s'agit de peinture):

L'éducation du public se fait trop dans les musées, encore moins par la nature que l'éducation des peintres. Quant à comparer les peintures avec la nature, il faut un amour du vrai que peu de gens possèdent ... la plupart du temps on juge l'imitation sans avoir compris et étudié le modèle; il est bien plus sûr de demander longuement à la nature le secret de ses aspects, et lorsqu'on y a été initié, de voir si les peintures en approchent; mais voir les peintures avant d'avoir compris la nature, c'est se fausser le jugement. ... Quant

[1] Fouillée, *Le mouvement positiviste*, Appendice, p. 362.

[2] Ce n'est que beaucoup plus tard, avec A. France, que la question sera transportée sur ce terrain; cf. *La vie littéraire*, I, 343.

[3] Dès le I^er^ numéro on ne parle rien moins que de "brûler le Louvre," et de faire "une loi qui interdirait toute poésie sous peine de mort." C'étaient là des procédés plutôt sommaires.

[4] "Parbleu, je sais comme vous," répond Duranty à Soulas, "que la vérité existait, mais de même qu'avant le 18^e^ siècle, époque plus particulièrement philosophique, il y a eu des philosophes, de même, quoiqu'il y ait eu des réalistes avant nous, cette époque-ci est particulièrement réaliste" (numéro du 15 mars 1857).

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à la foule son goût est franchement fantastique. ... Pour la foule, et je joins à la foule la plupart des amateurs dont le jugement a eu les musées pour serre-chaude, la réalité est fausse, le conventionnel est vrai.

Et là-dessus il s'écrie: "Donner à étudier Raphaël à un homme du 19e siècle! Qui est-ce donc qui fait des contes de Boccace et des *Jérusalem délivrée?*"

Au fond, ce sont les littérateurs et les versificateurs qui ont gâté les artistes ... par leur insistance à soutenir le genre noble ... et à s'écrier qu'il fallait poétiser, idéaliser ... c'est à dire ne jamais souffrir la nature. ... Les versificateurs ont l'esprit de travers ... ce sont des malades, des maniaques, ... ce sont eux qui sont parvenus à persuader à nos peintres, gens crédules, de ne jamais produire que des visions: visions grecques, visions romaines, visions du moyen âge, etc. ... L'artiste a fait ce qu'il a vu, faites ce que vous voyez.

Schanne nous rapporte qu'étant un jour dans l'atelier de Courbet, le jeune Dehaisne vint très timidement lui présenter un dessin sur lequel il implorait ses conseils: "Qu'est-ce que vous m'apportez là?"—demanda Courbet au visiteur.

—Maître, c'est une tête de Christ.—
—Tiens! le Christ, vous l'avez donc connu?—
—Non, mais c'est une étude ... que je ...—
—Vous ne pourriez pas plutôt me faire le portrait de votre papa?—

"Tout le réaliste est là," ajoute Schanne.[1] On pourrait dire: Tout le réalisme est là. Et, remarquez-le bien, ce que Courbet conseille au jeune peintre ce n'est pas de substituer un sujet d'étude vulgaire—son "papa"—à un sujet d'étude élevé—le "Christ"—; il lui suggère de s'en tenir aux hommes et aux choses de son temps, parce qu' "on ne peut rendre exactement que ce que l'on voit" (H. Thulié). C'est, du reste, ce que répète Duranty en tête du deuxième numéro du *Journal*, lorsqu'il résume ses doctrines pour "ceux qui ne comprennent jamais": "Le réalisme," écrit-il ,"proscrit l'historique dans la peinture, dans le roman et dans le théâtre, afin qu'il ne s'y trouve aucun mensonge, et que l'artiste ne puisse pas emprunter son intelligence aux autres."

Ce souci de la sincérité, ou mieux de la vérité, est poussé très loin. Non seulement l'écrivain ne doit pas fausser la réalité, et "ne doit rien déformer, mais il doit conserver à chaque chose son exacte proportion."

[1] Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 292.

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Est-ce à dire qu'il faille copier servilement, sans aucun choix, tout ce qui s'offre aux regards? La réponse directe à cette question on la trouve dans "Réalisme," au deuxième numéro, lorsque Duranty résume la brochure de Max Buchon dont il a été parlé plus haut: "L'homme n'étant pas machine," y lit-on, "ne peut rendre les objets machinalement. Le romancier choisit, groupe, distribue; le daguerréotype se donne-t-il tant de peine? ... La reproduction de la nature par l'homme ne sera jamais une reproduction, ni une imitation, ce sera toujours une interprétation."[1]

L'artiste choisit; cette vérité ne peut être mise en doute; mais quel sera l'objet de son choix? Il devra, dit Duranty, "représenter le côté social de l'homme ... reproduire les choses qui touchent à la vie du grand nombre, qui se passent souvent dans l'ordre des instincts, des désirs, des passions" (deuxième numéro du *Journal*).[2]

"Un spectacle," dit-il encore plus loin, "doit être représenté complet," c'est-à-dire, "doit être rattaché à l'ensemble social."[3] "Les reproductions à la H. Monnier, isolées, fragmentaires, doivent être rejetées de l'art et du réalisme."[4]

H. Thulié, dans son étude sur le roman, précise ces doctrines de Duranty. Comme lui, il recommande "d'étudier non seulement l'homme, mais son état social"; puis, il ajoute:

Dans toute classe il est un certain nombre d'individus qui rendent complètement l'esprit de toute la classe. Il arrive au moins observateur de dire: "cet homme est le type du bourgeois, de l'homme du monde, de l'épicier, du notaire, du bottier, etc. On ne dit cela que parce que l'individu en question résume les allures, les idées, les préjugés des différents bottiers, épiciers, etc.,

[1] Ce passage, cité par Max Buchon, et reproduit dans le *Journal* de Duranty, se trouve dans *Le Réalisme* de Champfleury, p. 94. Lorsque les Goncourt, dans *Charles Demailly*, font dire à Pommageot (Champfleury) que "le génie est une mémoire sténographique," il semble bien qu'ils trahissent sa pensée.

[2] Ceci est déjà plus explicite. Dans le 1er numéro, il paraissait s'en tenir simplement aux "choses qui se passent souvent." On lui fit aussitôt l'objection: "Mais il y en a de toutes sortes, tous les soirs, par exemple, on met son bonnet de coton pour dormir."

[3] Voir aussi ce qu'il dit dans la *Nouvelle peinture*, p. 31.

[4] Notons de nouveau que cette préoccupation du "côté social" est due probablement à l'influence du positivisme. Ce dernier, comme le dit encore Fouillée, "est essentiellement une interprétation de l'univers au moyen des résultats acquis par la science en vue de réorganiser la société." De là, deux synthèses poursuivies par le positivisme: la première, que Comte appelait la "synthèse objective," est la systématisation des lois qui régissent les objets connaissables; la seconde, que Comte appelait "subjective," est une nouvelle systématisation des lois de la nature en vue de la société."

Cette façon de considérer les choses en fonction de la société est commune à Comte et aux rédacteurs de "Réalisme."

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qu'on avait vus précédemment. L'observateur doit découvrir ces caractères typiques, les étudier et les décrire; en décrivant un homme on en décrit dix mille. Le reste n'en est que le reflet, ce sont des caractères secondaires qui, dans le roman comme dans la vie, doivent rester au second plan.

Cette opinion de Thulié, Duranty la partage-t-il?

Un passage que nous lisons dans la *Caractéristique des œuvres de Champfleury* nous en ferait douter.[1] Mais, quoiqu'il en soit, que l'artiste compose lui-même les caractères de ses romans, en réunissant les traits épars dans chacun des individus d'une classe; ou qu'il cherche le type en qui tous ces traits se trouvent actuellement réunis, il est certain que dans un cas comme dans l'autre il doit choisir, et que son choix doit se porter non pas sur l'homme en tant qu'individu, mais sur l'homme en tant que membre de la société.

Maintenant si l'artiste choisit, quel est l'idéal esthétique qui préside à son choix? En d'autres termes, quelle est leur théorie sur le Beau? Musset avait écrit:

> Rien n'est beau que le vrai, dit un vers respecté,
> Et moi je lui réponds, sans crainte d'un blasphème:
> Rien n'est vrai que le beau, rien n'est vrai sans beauté.

J. Sanders établit, au contraire, que le vrai doit être à la base de toute esthétique raisonnable et sensée,[2] et que le beau, l'agréable sont des qualités inférieures au vrai et à l'utile. "Je crois," dit-il, "que l'heure où la raison seule doit servir à juger des choses a sonné, et que par suite le vrai et l'utile sont devenus les seules fins du travail humain." Un peu plus loin cependant, il fait quelques concessions "à ceux qui tiennent à trouver une chose belle pour leur satisfaction personnelle." "Je ne nie pas la notion du beau," dit-il, "je ne fais que changer sa place; au lieu de le chercher dans une idée vague, sans consistance et surtout inappréciable à tout le monde, je le trouve dans un portrait fidèle du grand modèle que l'artiste a devant les yeux, qu'il peut sentir, rendre, et faire comprendre à tous [deuxième numéro du *Journal*]."[3]

[1] "Le romancier," y est-il dit, "a besoin de mille individualités de même classe pour extraire cette figure typique qui est le but de son art. Chacune d'elles lui fournit un trait saillant et, par la réunion de ces traits saillants, il obtient une physionomie accentuée vivement, en relief, qui est l'expression de toute une classe d'êtres, la résume et la fait ressortir."

[2] H. Thulié écrit aussi: "L'unique base de la littérature est la vérité."

[3] Guizot disait dans le même temps: "La créature vivante, cette œuvre de Dieu, quand elle se montre sous ses traits divins, est plus belle que toutes les créations humaines; et de tous les poètes Dieu est le plus grand" (*Rev. des deux mondes* [janvier-mars 1855], p. 881).

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Dans des articles qu'un américain—John Wegsters—envoie au *Journal*, et qui sont traduits par Duranty, cette supériorité de la nature sur les conceptions des artistes est longuement défendue.

Duranty se moque à son tour des prétendues créations des poètes:

O habile le premier qui inventa ce raisonnement: ceci n'est pas conforme à la vérité, donc ceci n'est pas une copie, c'est une création ... embellir la nature! Quoi de plus doucement séduisant! Un homme peindra bleu un arbre vert, il n'aura pas copié, il aura interprété, il aura embelli la nature, et les simples qui se récrieront devant ce bleu étrange seront des imbéciles sans compréhension, sans idéal.

Bref, la nature est à la fois le modèle et l'idéal de l'artiste. Évidemment, il resterait à se demander en quoi cet idéal esthétique du réalisme diffère du "Beau" tel que conçu par certains classiques, ou par les philosophes. Car, même s'il y a soumission à l'objet, par le fait que l'artiste choisit, ce choix doit être dirigé, sinon par des principes abstraits, du moins par une faculté de discernement qui serait le goût, par exemple; mais les réalistes ont ignoré, ou ont dédaigné ces subtilités.

D'après eux, cependant, le travail artistique n'est pas purement objectif. Duranty demande à l'écrivain le vrai, "mais surtout le sentiment, l'observation intelligente qui voit une émotion dans un spectacle de quelque ordre qu'il soit, bas ou noble, selon la convention [deuxième numéro du *Journal*]."[1] Dans la brochure de Max Buchon déjà citée, nous retrouvons la même idée:

Si l'on veut émouvoir le peuple, le constituer en public, il faut rejeter de sa littérature les idées, pour se borner aux sentiments purs, seuls mis en action dans la vie réelle. ... Pour être compris par le peuple, il faut se faire peuple. Il est compétent en littérature; il l'est bien en politique et en religion.[2]

Zola s'est étonné que "Réalisme" ait critiqué si sévèrement *Madame Bovary*, ce roman qui est aujourd'hui considéré comme un des chefs-d'œuvre de l'école. Il ne faut pas chercher ailleurs que dans cette théorie la raison de cette sévérité et même de cette injustice. "Réalisme" dit:

Ce roman est un de ceux qui rappellent le dessin linéaire, tant il est fait au compas, avec minutie; calculé, travaillé, tout à angles droits et, en défini-

[1] Nous lisons aussi dans Proud'hon, *Du principe de l'art*, p. 21: "Là où manque l'âme, la sensibilité, il n'y a point d'art, il n'y a que du métier."

[2] Duranty va plus loin: "C'est le public qui est juge définitif de la valeur des sentiments étudiés dans une œuvre, parce que la foule est tout aussi accessible à la pitié, au malheur, à la colère, etc., que l'écrivain qui s'adresse à elle."

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tive, sec et aride. ... Il n'y a ni émotion ni sentiment, ni vie dans ce roman, mais une grande force d'arithmétique qui a supputé et rassemblé ce qu'il peut y avoir de gestes, de pas ou d'accidents de terrain, dans des personnages, des évènements et des pays donnés. ... Le style a des allures inégales, comme chez tout homme qui écrit artistement, sans sentir: tantôt des pastiches, tantôt du lyrisme, rien de personnel. Je le répète; toujours description matérielle, et jamais impression.

Ces défauts "enlèvent tout intérêt" au roman. "Trop d'étude," conclut l'article, "ne remplace pas la spontanéité qui vient du sentiment."

Balzac lui-même est accusé de remplacer trop souvent par des torrents de mots la sensibilité qui lui manque. Dans le numéro du 15 janvier, une comparaison que Thulié établit entre lui et Champfleury, jette une certaine lumière sur cet aspect important de la doctrine réaliste. Le passage vaut la peine d'être cité:

Rien de plus dissemblable, de plus opposé que ces deux talents; non seulement comme pensée, mais encore comme manière de sentir et de rendre. Balzac est un enthousiaste, un exagérateur; le moindre fait, le moindre bonhomme lui font entrevoir des évènements formidables, un homme plus grand que nature ... il aime les gens extravagants, il a donné dans beaucoup d'utopies, beaucoup de superstitions, il a peint plutôt un monde qu'il a dans la tête que le monde réel.

Au contraire, M. Champfleury est calme dans ses œuvres, tout respire la sanité d'esprit, la tranquillité de l'intelligence; il met son bonheur à décrire les scènes de la vie domestique ... pas de tirade, pas de philosophie, il a les théories en horreur; *il met tout son cœur dans ses œuvres*,[1] il s'attache à ses héros, il les aime le plus souvent, ... M. Champfleury est le peintre des sentiments délicats, des romans intimes: c'est le plus sincère des écrivains d'aujourd'hui.[2]

La sincérité dans l'art veut donc dire probité, reproduction exacte de la réalité extérieure, mais elle signifie aussi, émotion, attendrissement en face d'un spectacle, et effort de l'artiste pour faire passer dans son œuvre les sentiments qu'il éprouve.[3]

[1] C'est moi qui souligne.

[2] Voir la définition donnée par Troubat du réalisme de Champfleury (*Souvenirs sur Champfleury* [conférence faite, le 23 novembre 1905, à l'Association polytechnique], p. 16).

[3] Voici ce qu'écrivait Champfleury à Max Buchon à propos d'une nouvelle qu'il venait de publier dans la *Revue de Paris* en 1854: "Vous parlez, mon cher Buchon, du manque de tableau extérieur dans *Madame D'Aigrizelles*. Vous frémiriez, car j'arrive à nier la description de l'individu, du costume, de la figure et du paysage comme inutile à une bonne œuvre. Mon sentiment est qu'on leur a donné aujourd'hui une trop grande importance, et qu'il est plus facile de décrire des objets que des sentiments" (*ibid.*, p. 5).

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Enfin il y a un dernier aspect du réalisme, surnommé par les critiques l'aspect "didactique." L'artiste, selon Duranty, doit se proposer "un but philosophique, pratique, utile et non un but divertissant." Faut-il attacher beaucoup d'importance à ces préoccupations morales? Je ne le crois pas. Elles occupent peu de place, d'ailleurs, dans le *Journal*,[1] et il se peut qu'elles soient tout simplement, une concession aux idées régnantes.[2] Le mot "moral" eétait alors dans toutes les bouches. "Vous n'avez pas l'idée du point où nous en sommes," écrivait Flaubert. "L'hypocrisie vertueuse surtout n'a pas de limites; on est d'une honnêteté qui ne se trouve que chez les filous."[3]

Le réalisme étant considéré comme une doctrine révolutionnaire et matérialiste, on essaie de la rendre ainsi plus acceptable, de la "relever."[4] Ces tendances moralisatrices seules pouvaient faire planer comme un souffle spirituel sur cette matière.

Chez Flaubert la forme est la fin du travail artistique, mais Duranty enseigne que "le style n'est qu'un instrument et non un but." Ses jeunes collaborateurs ont, comme lui, horreur des "mots ronflants," des "mots à la rose."

Le style n'étant que l'exacte expression du vrai, ses seules qualités n'étant que la propriété des termes et la clarté, c'est d'ailleurs que le "vrai" doit recevoir tout sa "splendeur."[5]

Ces théories générales sur l'art, ils les ont appliquées au théâtre et au roman, les deux seuls genres littéraires qu'ils admettent. L'étude publiée sur le roman est la plus remarquable. Elle comprend quatre articles signés par H. Thulié: un sur "les caractères," un sur "l'action,"

[1] Et Champfleury semble différer d'opinion sur ce point: "Malheur aux artistes," dit-il, "qui veulent enseigner par leurs œuvres, ou s'associer aux actes d'un gouvernement quelconque" (*Étude sur Courbet*, p. 236).

[2] Peut-être aussi qu'elles doivent être attribuées à l'influence de Proud'hon, compatriote de Courbet, qui venait parfois à la *Brasserie*. On sait qu'il définissait l'art: "une représentation idéaliste de la nature et de nous-mêmes, *en vue du perfectionnement physique et moral de notre espèce*."

[3] Cf. *Corr.*, III, 232.

[4] Cf. deuxième numéro du *Journal*, article de Duranty déjà cité.

[5] Nous savons par Thulié qu'à cette époque il y avait différentes écoles qui, au sujet du style, "se déchiraient" et "se méprisaient"; il nomme : "les harmonistes, les coloristes, les cabrioleurs, les académiques," et il ajoute que ces écoles, à leur tour, se subdivisaient à l'infini. Voir l'article sur "le style" (dernier numéro du *Journal*, avril-mai 1857).

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un sur "la description," et un dernier sur "le style." Nous avons déjà vu ce qu'il y a de plus intéressant au sujet du style et des caractères.

A propos de l'action, qu'il définit "les grands rapports entre les caractères," il fait une remarque très juste et qui explique l'absence d'intrigues compliquées dans le roman réaliste. Il dit:

La complication, l'imbroglio, n'est utile qu'avec des personnages fictifs, extraordinaires, qu'on ne peut soutenir que par des moyens extraordinaires. L'action est dépendante des caractères, et n'est faite que pour expliquer ces caractères. ... Quand on met trop d'imagination dans un livre, il est bien rare qu'il y ait des caractères, et s'il y en a, on les trouve en contradiction perpétuelle avec l'action. ... L'action [conclut-il] qui s'effacera perpétuellement devant les exigences du caractère, dont les scènes se déroulent avec la plus grande simplicité, sera la meilleure, parce qu'elle sera la plus naturelle, la plus vraie, la plus réaliste.

Quant à la description:

Les uns en abusent, les autres la négligent: les uns et les autres ont tort. Dans le roman la description du paysage, des intérieurs, des hommes, est utile et même indispensable. Le pays a une influence réelle sur les gens. ... En décrivant un intérieur on raconte souvent la vie privée d'un individu ou d'une famille. Le choix des meubles, des couleurs, les mille petits riens qui traînent partout, sont des traîtres qui racontent les tendances, les mesquineries, les vices secrets.

La description la plus importante est celle de l'homme: "La physionomie est en rapport avec le caractère. Les passions, les habitudes impriment leur cachet sur le visage."

Beaucoup d'auteurs sont tombés dans l'excès de la description; ils ne laissent pas passer une ride, n'oublient pas un bouton et détaillent la toilette comme le ferait un journal de modes; ces auteurs n'entendent rien au portrait, ils noient les indications nécessaires, les traits saillants, dans un déluge de détails inutiles. ... En portrait, comme en tout, il faut être sincère [conclut-il], il faut décrire ce qu'on voit et comme on voit, mais il faut voir.[1]

Les théories d'Assézat sur le théâtre sont moins intéressantes, et elles occupent aussi moins d'espace dans le *Journal*. On peut les résumer en quelques lignes.

Dans toute pièce de théâtre deux choses importent: "la vérité de la fable," et "l'illusion de l'action." "La perfection d'un spectacle," enseigne-t-il en s'inspirant de Diderot (*Bijoux indiscrets*), "consiste

[1] Donc l'abus de la description est un des défauts de *Madame Bovary*, mais ce n'en est pas le plus grand, comme semble le faire entendre M. Martino (*op. cit.*, p. 93).

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dans l'imitation si exacte d'une action, que le spectateur trompé sans interruption, s'imagine assister à l'action même." Il ne s'agit pas de "faire passer la rue sur la scène et de prier les passants d'y raconter leurs petites affaires"; mais, d'autre part, "ne forcez pas un homme à vous raconter son histoire, il vous tromperait." Au théâtre, comme ailleurs, il faut être sincère.

La sincérité, je le répète, voilà le principe qui est à la base de toutes leurs théories; le principe qui nous explique en même temps leurs antipathies, et les campagnes violentes, injustes parfois, qu'ils ont menées contre les poètes en géneral et contre le romantisme.

Ainsi, pourquoi en veulent-ils à la poésie? Parce qu'elle déforme les objets:

La poésie est essentiellement déformatrice. Elle consiste à changer ce qui est, à le mettre à l'envers, à gonfler ce qui est mince, à amoindrir ce qui est gros. ... La peinture a du moins quelque pudeur de sincérité, la poésie est toute fausseté [article de Jules Assézat, I^er^ numéro]. ... Les poètes sont des ennemis publics ... qui attaquent sans cesse le sentiment du vrai et du juste pour mettre à sa place l'amour de l'ampoulé, du maniéré et du niais [*ibid.*].

On va jusqu'à se demander: "A quoi sert donc Charenton?" V. Hugo lui-même n'est pas épargné.[1] "Otez-lui 30 gros adjectifs," écrit Duranty, "toute sa poésie s'affaisse comme un plafond auquel on enlève ses étais. Depuis 1830 il n'a pas fait un pas: c'est le même mannequin promené parmi nous avec les modes anciennes, ou plutôt le vieil acteur jouant toujours ses rôles de jeunesse." Ce qu'il lui reproche surtout c'est d'être un "comédien de poésie," "un esprit masqué où rien n'est sincère pas même la vanité." "Les femmes il ne les aime pas, les enfants il ne les comprend pas, la nature il ne la sent pas," et ce qu'ils pensent de V. Hugo, ils le pensent aussi de tous les romantiques.

Le romantisme, en général, est une immense prétention ... une irruption des mauvais côtés de l'esprit français: l'affectation, la sécheresse, le bavardage,

[1] Dans les *Souvenirs de Schaunard*, p. 276, on lit que Murger, après avoir entendu Duranty réciter, à la brasserie des Martyrs, son article sur Hugo lui asséna ce "coup de massue": "Savez-vous l'effet que vous me faites? Celui d'un chien qui lève la patte contre Notre-Dame." On ne parle qu'une fois de Murger dans "Realism." On le compare aux huîtres où l'on trouve quelquefois des perles. Ceci nous montre que les collaborateurs de Duranty formaient un petit groupe à part, en marge de la Bohème. Duranty se vante, du reste, d'être un réaliste "pas trop boueux," c'est à dire d'appartenir à une classe supérieure aux "réalistes bohèmes." Ils se rencontraient tout de même, comme en témoigne Schanne (*ibid.*, pp. 297, 298; voir aussi p. 275 et suiv.).

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la puérilité, le maniéré. ... Il n'a révolutionné que la forme dans l'art, sans s'inquiéter de l'étoffe ... ç'a été une révolution de tailleurs à qui le drap manquait et qui se sont évertués, trop longtemps ma foi! à nous faire de délicieux habits en papier, des patrons de gilets d'une élégance rare et des pantalons collants dont on n'a jamais pu voir que la doublure.[1]

Les chroniqueurs enfin ne sont pas épargnés. Ces jeunes réalistes sont d'une telle "sincérité" qu'ils osent même condamner l'esprit. Je ne parle pas de l'esprit facile, maniéré souvent et artificiel des petits journaux, cela va sans dire, mais ils vont jusqu'à mépriser l'esprit tout court.

"Beaucoup de gens m'ont déjà reproché de manquer d'esprit," dit Duranty, "c'est qu'il y a un esprit tout de convention dans lequel je ne voudrais pas tremper le bout de mon petit doigt ... mais en n'ayant pas cet esprit de dix mille autres on conserve un grand avantage; ce qu'on écrit est à soi et ne traîne pas dans le commerce. ..." En lisant ces lignes on pense tout naturellement au conseil que lui donnait Champfleury en 1850: "Prends garde d'avoir de l'esprit," écrivait ce dernier, "l'homme le plus lourd, quand il est convaincu, a facilement raison des gens d'esprit. Il est armé d'une massue, ses adversaires n'ont qu'un petit sifflet. Il te suffit d'énoncer sincèrement ta pensée pour appeler l'attention."[2]

Les écoles littéraires prenaient facilement alors les allures d'une religion et dans la "petite église du réalisme" on ne riait guère. Par contre, certains de leurs articles ont dû sûrement faire sourire.[3] Ils ont poussé la sincérité jusque là.

[1] Bien d'autres divergences existaient entre le romantisme et le réalisme. D'après les Goncourt, par exemple—cf. leur *Journal*, II, 166—les romantiques aimaient *l'exotique* dans le temps et dans l'espace, tandis que les réalistes se bornaient à reproduire *l'actuel* dans le temps et dans l'espace.

[2] Cf. "Conseils à un jeune écrivain," parus en tête de son livre: *Grandes figures d'hier et d'aujourd'hui*.

[3] Il a été parlé plus haut d'un certain John Wegsters que Duranty nous dit être américain. La faute en est peut-être au traducteur; peu de textes peuvent supporter une traduction, mais tels qu'ils ont paru dans le *Journal*, ses articles sont parfois très amusants, à force d'être "sincères." Dans le numéro du 15 mars 1857, nous lisons textuellement: "... je vois ceci clairement écrit à la source de l'art: Voilà l'être 'à deux pieds, sans plumes,' ce roi de la création qui sous le nom de réaliste doit en devenir l'être le plus insulté, il est jeté ici, vous savez où, sur ce trognon de pomme, comme les mécontents appellent la terre. Il est jeté par qui? pourquoi? Peu importe; mais le voilà aussitôt aux prises par les yeux, par les mains, par le nez, par l'oreille, par autre chose encore, avec la douleur et la jouissance résultant en même temps de la lumière, du mouvement, des sons, des odeurs, des formes, des propriétés spécifiques des objets. Et nez, main, œil, oreille, savent si bien ce qu'ils perçoivent qu'ils en profitent pour saisir, pétrir, retourner et modifier pour leur plus grand avantage toutes ces choses dont l'existence détermine la leur propre. ..."

Ailleurs il s'enthousiasme pour la réalité et il va jusqu'à dire que "voir autrement"—c'est à dire ne pas admettre que tout ce qui est réel est beau—"lui paraît irréligieux, athée" (numéro du 15 janvier 1857).

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Dans le "dernier petit discours" qui annonce la mort du *Journal*, Duranty nous dit, modestement, que "ce qu'il a fait a été plutôt une œuvre de bravoure." Ceux qui connaissent les premières années du Second Empire admettront sans peine qu'il fallait, en effet, non seulement du courage, mais encore de la témérité pour parler sur un ton aussi élevé, dans un moment où "le mot d'ordre était silence."[1]

La campagne de Duranty fut "une œuvre de bravoure," mais elle fut autre chose et ce *Journal* doit être considéré comme un des documents les plus importants pour l'histoire du "réalisme de la sincérité dans l'art." Les théories qui y sont exposées ne sont pas toutes originales. Quelques-unes, comme on l'a vu, sont empruntées à Champfleury, d'autres à Proud'hon; il y en a qui s'inspirent du positivisme; la plupart reflètent simplement les tendances de l'époque. Toutes, cependant, sont personnelles en ce sens qu'elles sont repensées, je dirais, et mieux comprises. Ce petit groupe de réalistes semblent voir plus clair et plus loin que les autres. Ils sont en faveur d'une littérature populaire faite de sentiments plutôt que d'idées. Ils veulent que l'écrivain se propose un but moral et éducatif. Ce sont là des points importants de leur système. Mais le point essentiel, ce qu'ils prêchent avec le plus d'ardeur, partout et sur tous les tons, c'est "l'étude d'après nature," le travail de première main, ce que les Goncourt appelleront plus tard: "la vision directe de l'humanité."[2] Il faut le reconnaître, ce sont des jeunes gens et ils sont absolus souvent; ils manquent de cette largeur d'esprit qu'un homme intelligent acquiert avec l'âge. Ainsi ils ont eu pour la forme un dédain trop marqué. Ils ont été injustes envers Flaubert. Ils l'ont condamné en vertu de divergences d'opinions qui n'étaient pas essentielles, qui n'auraient pas dû, en tout cas, les empêcher de voir l'objectivité de ses procédés littéraires. Ils ont commis d'autres erreurs. Mais il faut leur pardonner beaucoup, parce qu'ils ont beaucoup compris. Ils ont compris ce qu'il y a d'essentiel dans le réalisme, *ce qui de fait est commun à tous les réalistes*, c'est-à-dire la soumission à l'objet, et ils ont livré au conventionnel, au livresque, à "l'imitation de l'imitation" une guerre acharnée.

[1] Maxime du Camp, *Souvenirs littéraires;* cf. *Rev. des deux mondes* (mars–avril 1882), p. 724; cf. aussi M. Martino, *op. cit.*, pp. 94–107, et Troubat, conférence citée.

[2] *Préfaces et manifestes littéraires*, p. 13.

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Lorsque plus tard le naturalisme parlera de "documents humains," tentera d'utiliser l'observation pour des fins scientifiques, Champfleury restera à l'écart. Son "doux réalisme" s'effraiera de telles exagérations.[1] Duranty, au contraire, rallié tout de suite, se vantera, comme nous l'avons vu, d'avoir été un des pionniers de la doctrine et "d'avoir contribué à déterminer ce mouvement" qui a laissé des traces si profondes dans la littérature française, et qui, mieux que tout autre, caractérise le 19ième siècle, ce siècle de critique et de science positive.

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[N.B.—L'auteur de cet article renvoie à M. Martino et à Zola pour certains renseignements d'ordre positif qui sont supposés connus.]

[1] Cf. Troubat, conférence citée.

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REVIEWS

The Arthurian Legend in the Literatures of the Spanish Peninsula. By W. J. ENTWISTLE. London and Toronto: Dent & Sons, 1925.

This book is a disconcerting mixture of good and bad, with the good strongly predominating. As a history of the romances of chivalry in the Iberian peninsula, previous to the period of active creation inaugurated by Montalvo's version of the *Amadis*, it is an excellent supplement to Thomas' *Spanish and Portuguese Romances of Chivalry*. Thomas focused his attention on the later period, so that for the translated romances we have continued to rely upon Menéndez y Pelayo's excellent chapter in the *Orígenes de la novela*. It is surprising that Mr. Entwistle has found so much that is new to add. His book is the most valuable comprehensive study of this special field.

Mr. Entwistle has two main theses. First, he would credit the Plantagenets with the introduction of the Arthurian material into Spain—notably Eleanor, daughter of that Henry II to whom Geoffrey dedicated his history, and who married Alfonso VIII of Castile, in 1170.[1] Despite the earliness of date this suggestion is plausible, though not susceptible of proof. It would be surprising if the entourage of this princess did not carry in their coffers manuscripts of Crestien, then at the height of his achievement. Second, Mr. Entwistle attacks the old theory of Portuguese priority. Both verse and prose versions he thinks reached Portugal through Spain, emanating from the courts of Castile, and to a lesser extent from those of Aragon and Catalonia. Here the author is in the main correct. He brushes away as so much idle rhetoric the often repeated assertion that the sterner spirit of Castile cared only for epic slaughter, and that, by a division of labor, the amorous dalliance of the *cycle de Bretagne* was cultivated by the soft and sentimental Portuguese. Karl Pietsch plainly proved the contrary with regard to the *Grail Fragments* edited by him. But Entwistle carries his thesis too far. It becomes an intellectual bias which shapes many of his views. He sides, for instance, with the theory of Spanish authorship for the *Amadis*, a moot point of course, though the weight of evidence is on the side of Portugal.

After his interesting introductory chapters, Entwistle enters upon a series of special studies on the individual romances, ending with a masterly review of the cultural influence exerted by them upon Spanish life of the Middle Ages. Everywhere one admires the author's skill as a literary critic, the originality and brilliance of his style, the fulness of his bibliographical information, the

[1] Bonilla's guess is that it came into Catalonia with the marriage of Ramón Berenguer III to Doña Dulce of Provence, in 1112. *Las leyendas de Wagner en la literatura española*, Madrid, 1913, p. 33.

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art with which he makes the facts of history illustrate literature. Having stated this with all sincerity, it remains to point out that Entwistle is not equally versed in philology and the technique of establishing manuscript relationships.

Precisely because this book is so excellent, because it will be accepted as authoritative by many, because we have come to hold Mr. Entwistle's scholarship in such high regard, it devolves upon me to break a lance with him in defense of my theory of an Italian origin for the Spanish Tristram romances. This theory Entwistle courteously but firmly attacks, and his views have found favor with his reviewer Mr. E. J. Gardner,[1] who is likely to repeat them in his forthcoming study of the Arthurian romances of Italy. It is the more necessary to do so as few readers of these books will thumb the files of old periodicals to resurrect my arguments on the other side.[2]

Entwistle accepts without reservation the views of Bonilla y San Martin who had maintained a direct French source for TL, before forming acquaintance with V and the closely related Italian group. Subsequently he maintained that attitude. It is no disparagement to the scholarship of the late Señor Bonilla to state that he was a man of breadth, engaged in vast projects, and with little time and inclination for the meticulous niceties of textual criticism. Being no *épluchеur de textes*, he often left such work to assistants. In the case of V, he wrote me in the year 1912 that he was being aided by Don Roque de Chabás. Bonilla never attempted a thorough collation of TL with V and the Italian versions. His knowledge of V was imperfect. Entwistle quotes him as saying that V parallels TL as far as line 20 of page 206 of his edition of 1912, an indication as precise as it is erroneous. I had stated that V ends at a point corresponding to page 252 of the same edition, a discrepancy of 46 pages or approximately 16,000 words. V is therefore far longer than Bonilla knew. As for Entwistle, he candidly admits that he has no first-hand knowledge of V, and is unable to decide between the divergent claims of Bonilla and myself. This lack of knowledge does not prevent Entwistle from disputing my claim that V stands in closer relation to the Italian than to the French, nor from attempting to work out its probable filiation. When he says (p. 117), speaking of both Spanish versions: "In the language I can discern no trace" (of Italianisms), he is misleading. The unwary reader, not remembering the previous admission of ignorance of V, expressed in the small type of a footnote, may think he speaks with authority; but with this previous confession in mind, one may

[1] *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, XXI, 333–35.

[2] "The Italian Origin of the Spanish Prose Tristram Versions," *Rom. Rev.*, III, 194–223, and "The Spanish Prose Tristram Source Question," *Mod. Phil.*, XI, 259–65. Pio Rajna has accepted my views, *Romania*, XL, 544. The Spanish versions in question are *El cuento de Tristan de Leonis*, the so-called Vatican Tristram, referred to as V. This I shall publish without further delay. Second, *El libro del esforçado cauallero Don Tristan de Leonis y de sus grandes fechos en armas*, twice reprinted in recent times by Bonilla y San Martin, the edition of 1528, *NBAE*, Madrid, 1907, and the princeps of 1501, Madrid, 1912. This I refer to as TL. In addition Bonilla discovered a single folio of a MS antecedent to TL, called the Bonilla fragment (BF). Cf. *Anales de la literature española*, Madrid, 1904.

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readily admit that Entwistle has found no Italianism in at least that one version he has never read.

Entwistle readily accepts my first contention that V, TL, BF, the *Tristano Riccardiano* (R), the *Tavola Ritonda* (S), the other Italian congeners, P, L, etc., all fall into one unorthodox group, differing markedly from any one of the many extant French manuscripts so conscientiously analyzed by Löseth. All scholars accept this discovery. The second step in my argumentation was an effort to prove that the Italian versions are, on the whole, more faithful to the French than are the Spanish. I drew up a list of twenty-six striking instances where the Italian versions are obviously more accurate. I then offered a list of nine instances where V, TL or both are nearer the French than the Italian versions or some one of them. Mr. Entwistle neglects to state that the disagreement is usually against some, not all of the Italian group. Usually there is one Italian version containing the correct trait, and we may conclude that if our Italian material were richer, all these instances of apparently greater fidelity of the Spanish to the French might be explained away. Entwistle states that my claim of greater reliability for the Italian on the basis of a twenty-six to nine ratio is unconvincing. I never sought to maintain such a ratio. The nine virtually reduces to zero, and as for the twenty-six, I never emptied my sack of material. By entering into minutiae I could extend this list by hundreds of examples, showing closer relation to the French on the part of the Italian. I limited myself to the striking, and mercifully spared my readers a greater mass of dry-as-dust material than I thought necessary to prove my point. I was plainly wrong in so doing. What I now maintain is that it is futile to attempt to decide a point like this without first-hand acquaintance with all the versions. I repeat that many years of study convince me more and more that the Spanish versions are one remove farther from the French than are the Italian.

My next point was to list a number of proper names, endeavoring to show that these must derive from the Italian, not the French, that some of these names were in fact Italianisms. Entwistle is unconvinced:

> Among the proper names, the greater number of the cases of agreement cited by Professor Northup refer to Y (E.'s posited French ancestor for the whole Italian-Spanish group) and in the few instances where a name presents some special feature of interest, we fail to see, especially considering our total ignorance of the manuscript traditions of these versions, that much is gained by the Italian thesis. They seem to be all capable of a purely Spanish explanation.

I had stated that the nomenclature of the leading characters offers little aid. Yseo is closer to French Iseult than to Italian Issotta. From the early fourteenth century on these names had become fixed in the peninsula and did not vary. Entwistle thinks the same (p. 124). I firmly believe that at an earlier period there may have existed in Spain prose Tristram versions translated out of the French and different from those chance has preserved. But the names of secondary personages throw a flood of light. I defy anybody to say that

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they are not closer to the Italian than to the French variants which Löseth cites so copiously. Is *Giosa Guarda* of TL closer to the *Joyeuse Garde* of the French than to the *Gioiosa Guardia* of the intimately related Italian S version? (An internal *-io-* could easily drop by the process of haplography, in a text replete with instances of that phenomenon.) Is *Fecilate* closer to French *félicité* or to Old Italian *Felicitate*? Is *Lamoratto* of V, with its very un-Spanish doubling of the *t*, not to be connected with the identical spellings of R and S rather than with French *Lamorat*? Compare the proper names of any other Spanish romances of chivalry and see how much closer to the French those spellings are. Now, if these and other forms which I cite as Italianisms are "capable of a purely Spanish explanation," by all means let us have that explanation. If my linguistic arguments are unsound, array against them counter-arguments based on principles of phonology and phonetics. Mr. Entwistle is a critic with whom it is difficult to lock horns; he denies without presenting counter-arguments.

And so with many like cases. If the Italian and Spanish versions have been independently translated from Y, is it not strange that neither the Spanish nor the Italian translator rendered the participle in *Beste glatissant*? The translator of the *Baladro* correctly gives *ladradora*. But R reads *grattisante, grattigiante, gratisciante*, the *Panciatichiano, Gratta Santa*, S, *Gratisanti, Gratisante*, V, *Grata Sangre*, and TL, *Graturas*. All versions of the group show hesitation, puzzlement, and garbling; and all but one show the initial *gr-* of the Italian. Mr. Entwistle quarrels with me for constantly referring to the Tristram vulgate. These peculiarities he is sure were in Y, and, having posited that MS, he may also have posited its contents. If anybody will produce a French MS closely related to our group, I will utilize it to the full. Meanwhile we are forced to use such French material as exists. Entwistle clutches eagerly at the one Gallicism he has noted in TL, *aferez* (*sic.*). But Bonilla[1] has commented upon the wide use of this word in the literature of the time.

Mr. Entwistle fails to see that much is gained by the Italian thesis. Indeed everything is lost—except the truth. I was personally disappointed when it became plain to me that the text I was editing was a translation of a translation, and hence of secondary importance as compared with the Italian, and of tertiary importance as compared with the French. Entwistle next denies or minimizes the influence of Italian upon the Spanish literature of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Now the Aragonese were certainly in close contact with Italy during this period. If the Tristram romance came from Italy to Spain we should expect it to appear in the Aragonese dialect. V, a version preserved in the Vatican, and which for all we know may never have left Italy, is a copy of an Aragonese model. A portion is in Aragonese, and the other scribes show Aragonese forms shining through their effort to Castilianize. Mr. Entwistle did not know that V is Aragonese, because I have not previously revealed that fact. He is like-

[1] *Tristan de Leonis*, Madrid, 1912, p. 25.

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wise ignorant of the evidence afforded by V's marginal scribblings, important in establishing the fact that it is Aragonese.

Next as to Mr. Entwistle's stemma of MSS. It would seem self-evident that manuscript filiations can be determined only in accordance with the most rigorous scientific method. The principle of concordance in error is the touchstone, patient collation the road to results. Even so there are those, like Bédier, who doubt the scientific value of such family trees. But what shall we say of one who, like Mr. Entwistle, comes forth with a Tristram pedigree so erroneous that it would cause to blush the most hardened purveyor of genealogies to the new-rich. Has a stemma worked out of one's inner consciousness any scientific merit? Are there no objective tests to be applied? After having laboriously collated every trait of four extensive versions I despair of ever working out completely the mysterious consanguinities of this related group. That is a task for omniscience itself. The Tristram romance was immensely popular. Hundreds of copies existed, most of which have perished. Each is or was a huge compilation of differing content, and deriving usually not from one source but from several. Crossings and contaminations abound. I find that V will agree with R against TL and S; again, it will be V and S against R and TL; and besides these, every conceivable combination of agreement and disagreement is offered. One fact, however, is plain: There is nearly always some Italian precedent for peculiarities within the Spanish. Though the kinship within the group is of the closest, who will ever elucidate it completely? Mr. Entwistle has no scruples against trying. Behold the Tristram romance neatly tabulated on page 126. While he hedges slightly by stating that he is summing up the "leading probabilities," he is on the contrary offering his readers a conspectus of misleading impossibilities.

First is posited Y, an unorthodox French ancestor. This I accept. The peculiar traits may well have started in the French, some but not all of them. Parodi, finding that the Riccardiano mentions many minor, local saints, made it almost certain that his French original emanated from Northeastern France. If Y were a MS of Southeastern France, it would be easier to understand how it branched forth into both Spain and Italy. From Y, descending the tree with agility, because certain of its branches, like the *Livre de monsieur Édouart*, would scarcely support our weight, we arrive at Z, a posited Castilian translation of about 1285. From this both BF-TL and V are made to derive. First, it may be objected that V is a Castilianized Aragonese version and cannot derive from a Castilian original. Second, it can be proved beyond a doubt that V and BF, the source of TL, are independent translations into two different Spanish dialects. Entwistle is here inconsistent, for he had admitted, on page 112, the possibility of two independent translations. Bonilla believed in two independent translations from two closely related French originals.[1] But my chief quarrel with Mr. Entwistle's tree is the impossibly wide separation between the Italian and the Spanish versions. The most agile arboreal dweller

[1] *Leyendas de Wagner*, Madrid, 1912, p. 33.

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could scarcely negotiate the leap between these widespread boughs. And yet V is almost as closely related to R as it is to TL, as is evident to anybody who has made a word-for-word comparison of the two. The Italian scholar Bartholomaeis, though apparently unfamiliar with my writings, has recently made the same discovery.[1] It is absurd to assume a closer relationship between V-TL and Rusticien de Pise than between the former and R-S. Neither Bonilla nor Entwistle has made use of my indication that the union of Tristram and Rusticien de Pise material noted in the Spanish versions occurs also in one Italian MS besides the Tavola Ritonda, namely, the *Tristano di Viena*. If the missing portion of R were recovered, it too might be found to draw from Rusticien or his sources.[2]

Of course, such points as these, of primary interest to the present writer, are only minor matters to the author of a synthetic work. With his broader point of view he cannot be expected to possess the minute information of the worker in a narrow field. But the former should be cautious in his generalizations concerning a work he has never seen.

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Der singende Knochen. By LUTZ MACKENSEN. "FF Communications," No. 49. Helsingfors: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1923. Pp. vi+174.

This dissertation is concerned with Grimm, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, No. 28, "Der singende Knochen," and to a lesser extent with Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, No. 10, "The Twa Sisters." The work is carefully thought out, but the typographical execution leaves much to be desired. It provides us with a readily accessible point of departure for future studies, far more accessible than Monseur, "L'os qui chante," *Bulletin de folklore*, Volumes I–II (1891–98), or Bugiel's Polish treatise. The value of what Mackensen has accomplished and how stimulating his work should be to scholarship can be made most apparent by presenting some of the untouched or incompletely treated problems of the cycle.[3]

[1] *Tristano. Gli episodi principali della leggenda in versioni francesi spagnole e italiane*, Bologna, 1922, p. vi.

[2] *Mod. Phil.*, XI, 7.

[3] Unfortunately, Mackensen did not have access to Child's large edition, and it seems that he made no use of the re-edition of Bugiel's article in *Studya i szkice literarckie* (Posen, 1911), pp. 194–400. It is also quite obvious that he made but incomplete use of the mass of information assembled by Bolte and Polívka (*Anmerkungen*, I, 260–76). Without checking the versions in detail I note, for example, that he did not use Bolte and Polívka's reference to (E.T.) Kristensen, *Jyske folkeminder*, X (*100 gamle jyske Folkeminder*) (Kjøbenhavn, 1889), pp. 68, 375, which would have supplied five more Danish ballads. Indeed, the whole note (*Anmerkungen*, I, 271) has been treated in stepmotherly fashion. A little care in reading the second footnote on p. 271 would have prevented the listing of a German translation of a Swedish ballad as Alemannic (see Mackensen, p. 167).

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T. F. Henderson[1] says that "the traditional Scottish versions [of "The Twa Sisters"] are related to a broadside of 1656 or its derivatives." This is unequivocal. To confirm the assertion one examines the variants described in Child's headnote (I, 120). It is at once evident that the broadside of 1656 is not the source, mediately or immediately, of the traditional Scottish ballads. One need not turn to the ballads themselves: Child's summaries suffice. For example, the younger sister is pushed from a stone upon which she sits, stands, or steps in nine ballads, but not in the broadside of 1656. This trait cannot be an invention posterior to the broadside because it appears in Icelandic, Färoic, Norwegian, Danish, and Swedish texts. A similar observation can be made about the younger sister's renunciation of her lover which is not found in the broadside but which is found in later Scottish tradition and in Germanic tradition generally. Obviously, the broadside of 1656 and its derivatives did not give rise to the stock of Scottish ballads on "The Twa Sisters." Henderson, therefore, has raised but not answered the question of the filiation of the Scottish ballad texts.

Similarly, Henderson raises the related question of the dependence of Scottish ballad tradition on Danish. He says (p. 35): "Evidently the broadside is derived from a translation of one of the Danish versions." The exact relation of the broadside to Danish tradition has not yet been made out.

A larger and more interesting problem is to be seen in the contradictory views of Mackensen who says (p. 95): "Ähnlich wie der Norden bergen sie [Baltic and Polish tradition] zum grossen Teil Liederüberlieferungen, die aber von jenen unabhängig entstanden sind" and of Bolte and Polívka who refer (I, 276) to "der skandinavischen Ballade, die nach England wie nach Deutschland und Estland gedrungen ist." Elsewhere (p. 74) Mackensen holds that the ballad—now preserved only in Gottschee—was created in Germany and mediated between the original Flemish tales and the Scandinavian North. These completely opposed views might well have been discussed more fully. The whole question of ballad transmission as distinct from tale transmission is, although a question of the utmost interest, practically entirely neglected by scholars. Yet the rigidity of the material makes comparative study easy. Quite clearly, for example, the influence of this Scandinavian (not German) ballad in the Baltic area has been much more extensive than appears from Mackensen's study. The establishment of the earliest attainable form of the ballad would have been a noteworthy advance toward clarifying the interrelations of the ballad texts and their dissemination.

A corollary to this last point arises in determining the exact relation between the ballad and the cycle of *Der singende Knochen*. This Mackensen does not examine at all closely. He notes that there is only one tale—and it is defective—reported from the area in which the ballad is primarily current, from Denmark, Scandinavia, and England. But the meaning of this fact is not brought out. A matter of the first importance is the Norwegian ballad desig-

[1] *Ballad in Literature*, p. 34.

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nated as "N1h"[1] in which the younger sister is resuscitated. Child (I, 123) condemns this episode: "The restoration of the younger sister, like all good endings foisted on tragedies, emasculates the story." But unfortunately the restoration of the girl cannot be dispensed with so easily; it belongs to the story. Chance has preserved it in the verse forms of the tale only in these Norwegian ballads; but Mackensen's summaries of the variants will convince anyone that the original conclusion of the prose tale, the source of the ballad, was the restoration to life of the murdered sister. Its omission from the ballad is, if one accepts Child's estimate of its demerits—as one is naturally inclined to do—to be compared with the disappearance of the conclusion of "Conde Arnaldos," which so improves the Spanish *romance*.[2]

The result arrived at in the study of the prose cycle will need to be examined with a critical eye. One point will serve as an example. After surveying the variants Mackensen concludes (p. 64) that "the murderess is forced to suffer the same death as her victim, by which means the latter is restored to life." He rejects (p. 61) those endings in which the girl rises to life from the fragments of the musical instrument.[3] He terms it too "naïve" and throws it aside. But this ending is, on the basis of his own abstracts, far more frequent than he makes it appear.[4] Certainly a trait which is so widely distributed—it is found in India, Hungary, Ukrainia, Poland, Estonia, Russia, Germany, and Norway—is not to be cast aside without serious consideration. Its admission to the parent-form, where I believe it belongs, will mean the re-examination of the tale's history and spread. And the result of the re-examination will be the tracing back of the tale to India, in spite of the claims of Flanders so eloquently urged by Mackensen.

The length of this review is justified to a certain degree by the merits of Mackensen's work. But it is more important to show the nature of the problems in the origin and spread of ballads and the methods available for their

[1] Unfortunately, the references have been shuffled by the printer (p. 170). From Child (I, 122) it appears that Grundtvig has two (not one alone) Norwegian texts containing the peculiarity described (see *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*, III, 877 f., K and L).

[2] Admirably discussed by R. Menéndez Pidal, *Poesía popular y poesía tradicional* (Oxford, 1922), pp. 9–17.

[3] He cites (p. 61, n. 1) seven texts in which it occurs and labels it *östliche Erfindung*. These are U2b (p. 140), R1b (p. 127), Bp1b (p. 136), Ink (p. 166), GU1k (p. 159) N1h (p. 170); and D1b (p. 141).

The most serious fault in Mackensen's method is no doubt to be seen in the arrangement of the variants and their numeration. The purpose of giving abstracts is to make the tales available for control and not to present theories about their relationships. In his arrangement it is practically impossible for the uninitiated reader to find a particular abstract without a page-to-page search. The relationships could have been displayed more clearly in a stemma or diagram.

[4] See J2b (p. 126), PT4b (p. 133), PT7b (p. 134), Bp5b (p. 138), D8b (p. 144), A2b (p. 145), In1b (p. 146), In2b (p. 146), In3b (p. 147), In4b (p. 147), In5b (p. 147), and probably U1b (p. 140), A3b (p. 146), A4b (p. 146). From such a readily available and obvious source as Bolte and Polívka, *Anmerkungen* one can add (I, 268) Afanasjev and Sadovnikov and (I, 274) three Indian examples in Bompas. One might be inclined to see a reminiscence in "singt die verstorbene Schwester selber" of Frisian, Flemish, and Walloon texts (I, 264) and certainly in the Doubs text analyzed on the same page.

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solution. A continuation of the controversy over "communal" origin will not advance our understanding of the English and Scottish ballads. Progress lies only in the direction of comparative study, and for this generous materials have been accumulated in the notes of Child, Grundtvig, and Nigra.

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Etymologisches Wörterbuch der amerikanischen (indianischen) Wörter im Deutschen, mit steter Berücksichtigung der englischen, spanischen und französischen Formen. By KARL LOKOTSCH. (*Germanische Bibliothek* begründet von Wilhelm Streitbergt. *I. Sammlung germanischer Elementar- und Handbücher. IV. Reihe Wörterbücher:* sechster Band.) Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1926.

After a brief Introduction, which lists the chief families of American languages, the author gives a hundred and fifty-odd German words of American origin with their meanings and the presumable American source words. As the author says (p. 7), the German words are, with few exceptions, not loan words, but unassimilated foreign words. The interesting things about them would be their pronunciation and graphic variants, and above all their history: through what languages they passed, when and whence (certainly not from American languages) they came into German, and, finally, their fortunes in German, e.g., where they occur and to what degree they have been assimilated. Except for the classical example of *Hängematte*, and a few fragmentary and amateurish indications, this information is absent. For instance, as to pronunciation: "SQUAW . . . . das . . . . mit einem offenen *o* wie in *fall* zu sprechen wäre, wird deutsch fälschlich wie *skwau* gesprochen"—that is, the Germans should speak a sound which does not exist in their language and are mistaken in not doing so. About the initial *sk* not a word. The author seems to be interested only in the one thing he could not possibly do, in identifying the American source. Even the authors of the *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bull. 30*), specialists who used not only printed but also manuscript material, were often unable to identify with precision the language and form of American source words. Lokotsch, by the way, does not seem to have used this book; compare, perhaps, his general view of things American, impertinently expressed on page 24.

In short, one fails to see what purpose this compilation can serve. Sound popularizing tries to lead the layman toward an understanding and appreciation of science, not to encourage his taste for the bizarre, irrelevant, and inaccurate. The thing that could be done (to tell the history of these words) the author does not attempt; the thing that could not be done he insists upon trying.

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In the case of some of the Algonquian words, I can check the statements.

CHICAGO.—"Diese amerikanische Riesenstadt im Staate Illinois liegt am Flusse Chicago, der hier in den Michigansee mündet, und hat nach ihm ihren Namen." (The author has a weakness for this kind of thing.) "Der Flusz bildete früher übelriechende Sümpfe" (Is that so?) "und hiesz danach bei den umwohnenden Indianern *tschikagong*, d. h. 'bei dem Stinktiere,' aus *tschikak* 'Skunks' [Why plural?], wozu der Lokativ *tschikak-ong* oder *tschikagong* [Punctilious distinction, when not even the name of the language is mentioned] lautet." The name is from some Central Algonquian dialect. The initial *t* given by Lokotsch has never existed, even in German usage; he got it by mistaking the English spelling of *Chicago*. On page 59 he transcribes the same word as Abnaki *segankw*. The real source of our name is probably a word something like Fox *cegāgōha* (*c* is English *sh*), "wild onion," in formation a diminutive of the word for "skunk," Fox *cegāgwa;* the Chicago River is named after this plant, common hereabouts. The Menomini (in whose language the word for "wild onion" is a longer derivative, *sikākūhsyah*) misinterpreted the name as *sikākuh*, "skunk-place," and explain it by the story that a skunk was once seen swimming the Chicago River. Other tribes of cognate speech may have had the same folk-etymology, for it was familiar to William Jones (*Handbook*, *s.v.* "Chicago"). The name went through French, of course whence its spelling.

MANITU.—The explanation cited of the Algonquian *manetōwa* is antiquated. The *ū*-sound of the European languages is the real problem; i.e., why did the French hear *ū* and write *ou*? If we knew more, this feature would probably identify the lending dialect. The older English records, which got the word without the intervention of French, have final *o* (see *Handbook*, *s.v.* "Manito").

MISSISSIPPI.—Why "delawarischen Ursprungs"? And why *mitsche*, "grosz," when *misi* does the work?

MOKASSIN.—German has the word from English, but Lokotsch quotes only the irrelevant French and Spanish forms. For the exact provenience, see *Handbook*, *s.v.* "Moccasin."

MONDAMIN.—Lokotsch translates *Maisstärke* by "Eng. cornflower," to which gratuitous bit of misinformation he adds a poetic reference to *Hiawatha*.

PEMIKAN.—The essential thing is not mentioned: preservation in grease. For this, as well as the correct form and derivation of the Cree word, see *Handbook*, *s.v.* "Pemmican," to which may be added that Cree *pimihkew*, "he makes grease," is in its turn a regular derivative from *pimiy*, "grease."

TOBOGGAN.—". . . . musz indianischen Ursprungs sein, doch kann das Grundwort nicht genau angegeben werden: etwa *odabagan* 'Schlitten'" (language not named). This sudden diffidence is unnecessary, as the type **utāpākana*, "sled, travoie," is common in Algonquian. For a history of the European loan, see *Handbook*, *s.v.* "Toboggan."

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TOTEM.—"indianischen Ursprungs"; of course Algonquian, e.g., Fox *netōtāma*, "my brother or sister,"[1] Menomini *nitōtām*, "my totemic animal ancestor"; information in *Handbook*, *s.v.*

WIGWAM.—Eliot's erroneous form is repeated, in spite of *Handbook*, *s.v.* The type **wēkiwami* (Menomini *wēkiwam*, Eastern probably *wīgwām*) is widespread.

ESKIMOS (p. 65).—If the etymology here and in *Handbook*, *s.v.*, is correct, the source word was not of the type of Abnaki *esquimantsik* (which Lokotsch quotes without naming language or family), but of the type **ackimōwa* (*c* means Eng. *sh*), "raw-eater," as Cree *askimōw;* but the white man may have taught the Cree this word. If I have rightly understood a remark of W. Thalbitzer's, the Algonquian word for Eskimo is due to a folk-etymology.

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Untersuchungen über die deutsche Verbstellung in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung. By FRIEDRICH MAURER. *Germanische Bibliothek* herausgegeben von Wilhelm Streitberg†. Zweite Abteilung, *Untersuchungen und Texte.* Einundzwanzigster Band. Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1926.

This excellent study deals with the order of infinitive, participle, and clause-verb in German. As is well known, all of these elements in the standard language take final position in a fixed relative order. Maurer examines the types of order in the dialects and the history of the standard form.

The use of the simple preterit in some dialects, where others use the compound, is a disturbing factor, discussed, with geographic delimitation, in § 8.

A difficulty not inherent in the matter itself is the relative paucity and unreliability (contamination with standard language) of data for the German dialects. When one thinks of the hundreds of doctoral dissertations, not to speak of larger works, that have been devoted in the last century to topics that could bide their time (excerpting documents, etc.), it seems most regrettable that so little has been done for the rapidly disappearing dialects. For the training of a future linguist, especially, nothing could be better than recording texts, grammar, and vocabulary of his native speech, or of a closely related form. We should know much more about language today if the last century had given us descriptions and texts of the spoken forms of the great European languages. Maurer is compelled to resort to ingenious methods of obtaining and sifting his facts; in this he shows remarkable patience, skill, and judgment. He seems not to have used the sentences in dialect dictionaries

[1] Ritual word, used, e.g., of the deceased, or of the kin of a deceased person.

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(Staub-Tobler, Fischer, Martin-Lienhardt), but may have had some reason for this. The dialects of Holland are ignored; also Yiddish, as a colonial dialect of early divergence, might have helped.

A minor difficulty of Maurer's task lies in the fact that a fourth kind of element also has final position, namely, the accented adverb, as in *Er steht um sechs Uhr auf*. Maurer follows the custom of regarding the combination of verb and such adverb as a compound word. This custom is due to nothing more than the habit of writing them together in final position (*aufstehen, aufgestanden, wenn er aufsteht*)—a habit by no means universally carried out. Now, we are free to define "word" and "compound word" as we please, but Maurer's work shows that a definition which includes these combinations is decidedly inconvenient; he is forced in the end to treat *heim gekommen sind* as "dreigliedrige Verbalform," at any rate putting *heim* on its proper level of equality with *gekommen* and *sind*.

The clause (from sentence 24 of Wenker's atlas) *als wir gestern Abend heim gekommen sind* shows three types in the dialects: (I) *wie mer . . . . ham sinn kumme* (a district in Alsace and most of Rhenish Hessia); (II*a*) the foregoing or the standard form, in a large group of dialects; (II*b*) *wie mer senn . . . . heim komme* or standard form (a district in Swabia); (III) standard form only, a large group of dialects. For this distribution a map is given. No summary can do justice to the care and skill with which Maurer has gathered and digested the data.

The next topic is the order of these elements in the literature of the Early New High German period; the result of the extensive survey is that the distribution in older times was much as now, but that the standard form has gained ground with the progress of the new East Central German (literary) culture.

A further investigation shows that where there are three final elements the clause-verb is more likely to precede than where there are two (. . . . *heim sind gekommen*, but . . . . *gekommen sind;* cf., perhaps, standard . . . . *hat kommen wollen*).

The rest of the book deals with the position of the main verb. In contrast with the standard position as second element, the main verb in older German sometimes comes late or last in the sentence (clauselike sentences and, strangely, sentences after *und*), and sometimes in third position (adverbial element not counting, as in English "Yesterday I went. . . .").

Finally, there are a few remarks supplementing Maurer's earlier discussion (in *Festschrift für Otto Behaghel*) of initial main verb (*Kommt ein Vogel geflogen*).

Maurer's causal explanations deal with two factors: Latin influence and rhythm. It is easy to see, and Maurer shows in detail, that the tendency to end position of verb in clause was helped by Latin; but the fact remains that Latin has verb last also in main sentences: on the difference between clause

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and main sentence Latin sheds no light. As to rhythm, Maurer is forced to give up precise terms: "der eigenartige aber schwer zu beschreibende Rhythmus," "Allerdings sind gerade Rhythmus und Akzent etwas auszerordentlich schwer greifbares," and so on (p. 72). This would be justified if we were here dealing with non-distinctive features of the language, for these elude purely linguistic methods, and will remain elusive until they are made describable by laboratory phonetics or by the melodic studies of Sievers and his school. In the present matter, however, I am convinced that we are dealing with a distinctive feature of German; with a feature, therefore, which can be precisely stated, namely, with sentence stress. It is not the impalpable melody of Swabian or of Rhenish Hessian which is here involved, but merely the distribution of stresses peculiar to each dialect. That is why the *cursus* in German is handled with entire success on the basis of stress accent (p. 175). Latin had no distinctive stress (or pitch); when Latin writing was adopted for Germanic languages no stress sign was supplied; strange as it may seem, this historical accident has kept our stress from being properly studied and has led to the confusion of stress with features (such as pitch) that are in our languages non-distinctive. If German orthography were adequate to the language, it would mark four kinds of stress: (1) *sentence stress*, on accented adverbs and certain other words, and on dominant element; (2) *normal word stress;* (3) *subordinate word stress*, on second member of noun compounds, on verb after accented adverb, and so on; (4) *lowest stress*, on "unstressed" syllables and enclitics.

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BRIEFER MENTION

The academic world has long been hoping for an authentic study of the social and cultural backgrounds of European literature from the days of Alcuin to the age of Fulbert and the Cambridge songs. The foundations for such a study are now at our disposal, thanks to Max Manitius' essay, *Bildung, Wissenschaft und Literatur von 800 bis 1100* (Crimmitschau, 1925). With the desire to open the field of twin-peaked medieval humanism to the labor of new groups of scholars, Manitius has published a closely packed and attractive monograph on the development of intellectual attitudes, from the reawakening of science in the Carolingian period, across the perilous bridge of the tenth century to the renewed spiritual strivings of the following age which paved the way for the triumphs of scholasticism and the vernacular literatures.

The most important contribution of Manitius' essay is his working out of the basic conditions underlying the rapid rise of occidental interest in higher culture, and his connection of these elements with their related historical factors. An expected and perhaps forgivable weakness of the essay is its author's failure to characterize from an appreciative point of view three centuries of most diverse Latin writing. This stricture seems warranted when we recall that these centuries conceal the birth-secrets of later vernacular types of literature, notably the novel, the drama, the short story, and the personal lyric. It is interesting to note that except for the great war Manitius' essay would have formed a part of the third volume of the *Cambridge Medieval History*.—P. S. A.

Thirty years ago Karl Strecker was at work with Wilhelm Meyer proving that the *Waltharius* was not a re-writing of alliterative heroic ballads but the artistic and largely original creation of the first Ekkehard (see "Probleme in der Waltharius-Forschung," *Ilbergs Neue Jahrbücher* [1899], pp. 573 ff., 629 ff.). These essays of Strecker helped rescue for us the figure of a great and genial poet in tenth-century St. Gall. In 1907, in his remarkable study of Hugo of Orleans (*Göttinger Nachrichten*, pp. 75 ff., 113 ff.) Wilhelm Meyer discovered for us a new poet and a new type of poetry, winning from his MS of Oxford verses an artist of amazing richness. And now (*Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, LXI [1924], 197 ff.) Strecker has definitely established that the thirty-three songs of St. Omer MS 351 were written by Walther of Châtillon, the famous author of the *Alexandreis*.

It is by no means unlikely—and pleasant to prophesy—that because of our aroused consciousness of the great rôle played by the Medieval Latin

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lyric in the story of European poetic development new discoveries of creative personalities in this field may soon enrich and give clear patterns to our knowledge. A fine beginning in this direction is the first small volume of Strecker's edition of the poems of Walther of Châtillon, devoted to the St. Omer songs: *Die Gedichte Walters von Châtillon herausgegeben und erläutert von Karl Strecker. I. Die Lieder der Handschrift 351 von St. Omer* (Berlin, 1925; pp. xix, 64). This is a most worthy companion text to his edition of the *Walthariu*s (Berlin, 1924, 2d ed.; pp. xxiv, 95).—P. S. A.

The *Mélanges d'Histoire offerts à Henri Pirenne par ses anciens élèves et ses amis à l'occasion de sa quarantième année d'enseignement à l'Université de Gand, 1886–1926* (Brussels, 1926) form two handsome quarto volumes with a total of 678 pages. The articles, sixty-five in number, are mostly concerned with Flemish, Burgundian, English, and French history (legal and economic as well as political) from the twelfth to the nineteenth century. Those articles which are of interest to the literary historian are few but well worth citation. They are: "A propos des Idées économiques de Calvin" (Hauser), "Les Commencements du Collège de France" (Abel Lefranc), "Le vrai nom de Nicolas Clénard" (Roersch), "The Manuscripts of Einhard's *Vita Caroli* and the Matter of Roland" (J. W. Thompson), "La leggenda di Pallante e una leggenda di Tournai" (Ussani), and "*Triumphus* et *Triumphale*" (Hanquet).

Pages 519 ff.: The American medievalist James Westfall Thompson seeks to prove that the famous allusion to Roland in the *Vita Karoli* (chap. ix) "is an interpolation—but an interpolation made by Einhard himself in a 'revised edition' of the *Vita Karoli*." In this article, as in another of recent date on "The Oaths of Strasbourg" (*Speculum*, I, 410–38), Professor Thompson bears out the contention that the political historian and the philologist should work hand in hand. This is a truth too often neglected; but in the latter of these two articles the reviewer believes that the historical evidence is not of a nature or not sufficient to modify the philologist's present views.—URBAN T. HOLMES.

The publication in the series "Scrittori d'Italia" of an edition of the *Decameron* edited by A. F. Massèra (2 vols.; Bari: Laterza, 1927) provides us with a far better text than any previously accessible. The Fanfani text, current without modifications since 1857, was based upon the Mannelli MS. The new text is based upon the Berlin MS which has been shown by Tobler and Hecker to be the parent of the Mannelli MS. The Berlin MS itself, though prior to 1384, is at some remove from the autograph, and is marred by a few interpolations, by several lacunae, and by many minor errors. These defects have been studied with great care by Massèra, who has corrected his text in accordance with the results of this study. Among the phrases rejected as interpolations is the famous subtitle *cognominato prencipe Galeotto*. Many proper names are restored to their true forms: Fighinolfi, for instance, becomes Sighinolfi, and Narnald Cluada becomes N'Arnald Civada. Since the

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edition is intended for the general reader, the orthographic representation of the sounds is modernized, but not the forms themselves. The edition, in conformity with the plan of the series in which it appears, is not annotated. The editor's statement as to the construction of his text appears in a long and excellent discussion at the end of the second volume. It may be many years before we have a critical edition of the *Decameron:* for the present this new edition will serve, and will serve admirably, as the text regularly consulted and cited by scholars.—E. H. W.

Hurtado de la Serna and González Palencia, *Antología de la literatura española.* Madrid, 1926: This anthology, compiled by two eminent historians of Spanish literature, is by far the best work of the sort yet offered the public. It will be an excellent textbook for use in advanced university courses. The whole period of Spanish literature is embraced, from the origins to the present day, though the period subsequent to 1850 is designedly meager and might well have been dispensed with entirely. All the important types are represented, few if any important authors are omitted, and the extracts show good taste. There are 526 pages of text, with a few sparing notes at the end. In a few instances the authors have not consulted the best available texts of the authors excerpted, but have turned to the easily available but at times villainously edited *BAE.* One suspects, therefore, that the textual criticism is not up to the highest standard.—G. T. N.

E. B. Place, *La casa del placer honesto de Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo,* "The University of Colorado Studies." Boulder, 1927: This amplification of a Harvard dissertation consists of the critical text of one of the novels of an interesting writer whose works have long been inaccessible. It is a matter for congratulation that one more of this author's works is now available in addition to those already edited by Cotarelo y Mori and Icaza. *La casa del placer honesto* has been carefully reprinted from the *princeps* of 1620. It is the first important collection of Spanish short stories modeled as a whole upon the *Decameron,* and showing the framework device. This latter is of course oriental in origin, far older than Boccaccio, and very common in the literature of the Spanish Middle Ages; but one is not disposed to contest Mr. Place's opinion that Salas Barbadillo's framework comes direct from Boccaccio. The Introduction contains the best biography of this author in English. If Mr. Place adds little but gleanings to Cotarelo's excellent study, that is not his fault: our sources of information are scanty—G. T. N.

Milton's Semitic Studies, by Harris F. Fletcher (pp. x+155. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1926), demonstrates the merits of concentrated research within a limited field. Having learned to read the Semitic languages, Mr. Fletcher traversed the ground of non-biblical literature conceivably responsible for certain religious doctrines peculiar to Milton. His exhaustive

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study brought out relationships either not discernible hitherto or not discovered by selective reading in a few Semitic texts. The sound method of attempting to recreate the Semitic background possible for Milton in the seventeenth century brought results.

A few years ago M. Saurat went back to isolated items in Hebraic literature for parallels to some of Milton's ideas, not disturbing the large body of similar materials. Mr. Fletcher has found more satisfying evidence regarding Milton's originals for his conception of the Holy Spirit and also for his exposition of the fall of man. He argues with conclusive force that Milton was obeying the guidance of Semitic tradition; that he was not putting personal views into the biblical framework; and that he was by so much less "original" in the modern sense of that word. This new basis for some peculiar features of *De doctrina Christiana* and *Paradise Lost* is the outstanding contribution of a study having strong corollary values. The Index is incomplete, but as an example of good method the book deserves the examination of scholars.—D. H. Stevens.

In *The Child Actors. A Chapter in Elizabethan Stage History*, published in the "University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature" (Vol. IX, Nos. 1 and 2, February and May, 1926), Professor H. N. Hillebrand restricts himself to the two central streams of London activity—the Children of the Chapel with the various offshoots of Children of the Revels, and the Children of St. Paul's—except for a survey of the varied types of performances by child actors which developed before the middle of the sixteenth century. There is a full account of the professional acting of the two groups up to 1615. Important new details in regard to the masters and managers of the children and their dramatic activities and still more significant facts in regard to the organization and history of the various professional companies at St. Paul's, Blackfriars, and Whitefriars are drawn from a series of records and documents which Professor Hillebrand has discovered, obviously as a result of much labor. A number of these are published in part in the text or complete in an appendix. Naturally a good deal of the field covered remains conjectural and furnishes room for disagreement. For instance, the theory advanced early in the volume (pp. 55–56) and developed fully in the final chapter, on "Plays and Influences," that Cornish with the Children of the Chapel inaugurated the romantic drama of the sixteenth century and that "the impulse that sent the drama in this direction came from the children's plays" (p. 259) results in my opinion from an inadequate knowledge of early dramatic activities in England. In his repeated mention of Cornish's *Troilus and Pandor*—acted, by the way, on Twelfth Night, 1516, according to Hall (*Henry VIII*, fol. lvii), and not in 1515—as probably the first romantic interlude in English (pp. 55, 256, 259), Hillebrand overlooks Medwall's *Fulgens and Lucres*, which has been accessible to students for some years, as well as earlier records of English romantic pieces (see *Modern Philology*, XIV, 229–

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33). Apparently he is not impressed with the variety in the types of romantic interlude represented in Cornish's work. In particular he fails to mention the dominant court of love conventions which seem to connect Cornish's disguisings and interludes with a medieval tradition illustrated in other court performances of the early Tudors as well as in earlier dramatic forms.[1] In another connection it seems to me a mistake to omit Redford's *Wyt and Science* from a list of children's plays (Appendix II) which includes *Lusty Juventus* and the *Enterlude of Youth*, assigned to the children because of their purpose to instruct youth. In spite of Redford's interest in teaching humanistic ideals to the young, Hillebrand does not regard as worthy of consideration (p. 117, n. 9) the evidence that his work had any significance for the Children of Paul's. Apparently he has not taken into account (see also p. 110) the definite records cited by Reed in *John Heywood and his Friends* (p. 36) showing Redford's position as Vicar Choral at St. Paul's from 1534 to 1547 and as "Maister of the Almerie" before Westcott. Moreover *Wyt and Science* and a fragment of another play by Redford are preserved in a manuscript along with a group of songs that themselves have some claim to our interest from the point of view of the children. A number of them were written by Redford, Thorne, and Edwards, who seem to have been connected with choir boys, and besides three songs used in *Wyt and Science*, the group includes one on the sorrows of the singing boys in learning pricksong and another beginning, "Long have I bene a singyng man" (see *Wyt and Science*, Shakespeare Society, pp. vi–vii, 55–120, esp. pp. 62–65, 80–82). On the whole, however, Professor Hillebrand's treatment of the history of the children seems to me significant and valuable, quite apart from the important new material that he has uncovered.—C. R. B.

William Kosch's *Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon: biographisches und bibliographisches Handbuch, Lieferungen 1 u. 2* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1927) aims to cover the biographical and bibliographical needs of the student of German literary history. Perhaps no work by a single hand can be entirely satisfactory; at any rate, the present work, although it is no doubt the best available at the moment, fails to be as useful as it ought to be. A regrettably large number of improvements are needed in the articles beginning with *A*, and a cursory survey of *B*, *C*, and *D* shows no significant change in the author's methods. The altogether praiseworthy inclusion of the first line of notable literary and popular songs as catchwords might reasonably suggest adding at least one bibliographical reference, e.g., in the case of "Ach wie ists möglich dann" (col. 7) a single reference to a standard work (J. Meier, *Kunstlieder im Volksmunde* [1906], No. 14) would put the reader in possession of the essential facts.[2]

[1] See my discussion in *Modern Philology*, XIV, 229–51, 467–512. On p. 476 there is an account of a performance by Cornish and the Children on October 7, 1518, which Hillebrand has overlooked.

[2] Of course mention of Hoffmann von Fallersleben, *Unsere volkstümlichen Lieder*[4] (ed. Prahl), No. 26, would be almost as useful, but, inasmuch as Meier cites it, duplication is perhaps needless. Furthermore, the article "Helmine de Chézy" brings a mention of Karoline Valentin's special study of this song; naturally the special study should be mentioned under the song.

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The omission of such references seems to be a matter of principle, but it is difficult to guess who can be served by such an article as this, which I quote entire (col. 21):

Als wir jüngst in Regensburg waren, bayrisches Volkslied, in der ältesten Fassung wohl aus der Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts.

The references to the literature of several subjects leave much to be desired, e.g., to "Adam and Eva" (col. 8) add J. Winzer, *Die ungleichen Kinder Evä*, Greifswald, 1909; to "Aesop" add in the bibliography references to Martin Luther and Erasmus Alberus, who are mentioned in the text; to "Agrippa von Nettesheim" add mention of the five-volume edition (Berlin, 1916). In "Albrecht von Johannsdorf" explain why *Des Minnesangs Frühling* is cited in Haupt's edition of 1857 and not in Vogt's of 1911. "Amerika" is humiliating and incomplete. "Apollonius von Tyrus" gives no bibliographical reference to the Latin text. Kosch knows nothing on "Athis and Prophilias" since Wilhelm Grimm's edition of 1846. "Authari" makes no mention of *König Rother;* see O. L. Jiriczek, *Die deutsche Heldensage*[4], pages 185 ff. Misprints are far too abundant, but examples need scarcely be given.[1] A conspicuous fault in method is seen in the practically complete omission of studies written outside of Germany, e.g., "Alexander der Grosse" fails to mention Paul Meyer; "Artus," J. D. Bruce, although the *Evolution of Arthurian Romance* was printed in Germany; "Aschenbrödel," Marian Roalfe Cox.[2] All in all, this *Literatur-Lexikon* fails to meet even reasonable and modest expectations.—A. T.

In Eric Rooth's *Altgermanische Wortstudien* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1926) the author advances the thesis that the troublesome OHG *gouma* ("convivium") and *goumo* ("ceno") preserve an older meaning of the group of *goumen* ("acht haben"), Gothic *gaumjan*. At great length he traces the meaning of this word, as well as that of *Hansa, Gilde,* and *Schar,* to a hypothetical original meaning of "give food." Indeed, from the opening pages one gathers that very many words go back to this meaning; the author appeals to such concepts as "primitive Menschen" (p. 2), "eine primitive Auffassung" (p. 3), "im primitiven Milieu" (p. 108). It is all possible, but the author's discussion does not make it seem probable.—LEONARD BLOOMFIELD.

Chateaubriand, *Les Aventures du dernier Abencérage,* éditées par Paul Hazard et Marie-Jeanne Durry (Paris: Champion, 1926, in-8, pp. xxxix+110.

[1] Jakob Böhme is assigned the dates 1775–1824, exactly two hundred years too late.

[2] The obvious reference (Bolte and Polívka, *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen,* I, 165–88) is also missing, as well as the number of the tale in the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen.*

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Bibliothèque de la Revue de Littérature comparée, t. XXVII): C'est là une contribution précieuse à la série des travaux "qui renouvellent peu à peu notre conception totale de l'art de Chateaubriand."

Une préface alerte et pénétrante (reprise et refonte de l'article de M. P. Hazard dans la *Revue de Paris*, 15 déc. 1924), expose la genèse de l'œuvre, et en dégage les sources, vécues et livresques. Un tendre souvenir est à l'origine de ce "caprice andalou": le retour d'Orient en 1807, la rencontre, à Grenade, du voyageur et de Nathalie, comtesse de Noailles, leurs promenades à l'Alhambra, leurs noms gravés sur le marbre. Cette inspiration primitive, Chateaubriand l'enrichit de chatoyantes broderies: décor somptueux, chevaleresque intrigue. Dans sa course éperdue vers l'"enchanteresse" qui l'attendait à Grenade, peut-être n'a-t-il guère eu le loisir d'observer l'Espagne, d'en pénétrer l'histoire, d'en saisir les mœurs? Qu'à cela ne tienne: il aura recours, selon sa coutume, aux documents recueillis par d'autres. *Voyages en Espagne* et romans grenadins lui fourniront des matériaux. Il met à contribution Florian et son *Précis historique sur les Maures*, sans oublier *Gonzalve de Cordoue*, Henri Swinburne et son *Voyage en Espagne*, Sané et sa traduction de l'*Histoire Chevaleresque des Maures de Grenade*, d'après Perez de Hita—pour ne citer que les plus criantes de ses dettes. Mais, à ces matériaux sans éclat, il impose, de main d'ouvrier, une prodigieuse transformation: au prix d'un labeur obstiné, il les fait siens, il les fond en un tout harmonieux et inattendu. Un décor espagnol et mauresque, des héros courtois et preux, au cœur sublime; l'antique rivalité des races, l'insoluble conflit de l'amour et de la religion; l'écho du désenchantement de René, quelques refrains nostalgiques, quelques prestigieux effets de lumière ... et, dans ce "divertissement lyrique" où l'homme nous confie, à peine voilés, de secrets souvenirs, l'artiste montre la perfection la plus originale de sa manière: pas un détail que n'ait marqué la griffe du maître.

L'"Introduction bibliographique" contient une intéressante innovation: une minutieuse liste des traductions dont il a été l'objet rend évidentes la rapidité, l'universalité, et la persistance de la fortune littéraire de l'*Abencérage* à l'étranger. Quant au texte, il reproduit celui de l'édition Ladvocat (1826), dont il respecte l'orthographe vieillie. Les éditeurs ont pu utiliser aussi un manuscrit autographe, déjà étudié de très près par M. P. Hazard dans un article (*Journal des Savants*, sept.–oct., 1925) dont la substance est passée, en partie dans l'"Introduction bibliographique," et en partie dans les "Notes" de l'édition. Remontant vraisemblablement à 1810, et portant des surcharges postérieures à 1815, cet inestimable document fournit des variantes et des corrections qui éclairent l'élaboration de l'œuvre, et une ponctuation inusitée, sans doute destinée par Chateaubriand à marquer la cadence du débit, pour la lecture à haute voix. Les "Notes sur le Texte," purement critiques, sont suivies de "Notes Explicatives," très poussées, qui indiquent les sources multiples dont l'auteur s'est inspiré. On y trouvera autre chose qu'une liste aride

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de citations: mettant en pratique l'idée énoncée dans la préface, que "ce qui importe, c'est moins de retrouver [les] sources [de Chateaubriand] que d'observer la façon dont il les utilise," ces notes s'efforcent, pour chacun des passages cités, de dégager le processus et l'intérêt de la métamorphose que le magicien lui a fait subir. Elles nous aident ainsi à saisir les méthodes de travail de l'écrivain, et nous voyons l'œuvre se construire sous nos yeux.

Cette édition si scrupuleusement érudite, mais aussi d'une écriture si vivante, est par là œuvre d'art: riche en suggestions littéraires, évocatrice d'idées, elle est pour le texte centenaire une éclatante résurrection.—ROBERT VIGNERON.

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DOCUMENTS AND RECORDS

CHAUCER'S DEBT TO WALTER BUKHOLT

One of the minor Chaucer puzzles has been the nature of the debt for £14 1*s.* 11*d.* for which suit was brought against the poet in 1398 by Isabella, administratrix of Walter Bukholt, who died intestate. As action was brought at the same time against one John Goodale of Milleford of £12 8*s.*,[1] it has been inferred that the debt was of a business, rather than a personal, character. This conjecture is supported by the fact that while the suit was pending, Chaucer obtained letters of protection from the King for two years, on the ground that he was engaged in important business and feared to be hindered in his work by "various quarrels or suits" brought by "certain rivals" (*quosdam emulos*).[2] As no further allusion to the suit has been found, it is believed to have been dropped. But who was Walter Bukholt and how did Chaucer come to owe him money?

A partial answer to these questions is given by a file of indentures which I recently happened upon in the Public Record Office.[3] These concern the sale of brushwood in the king's manor of Clarendon, 18–19 Richard II, and are between the men who sold the brushwood and "Walterum Worthe alias dictum Walterum Boukholte clericum operarum maneri et parci dicti domini regis de Claryngdon et de la Mewes iuxta Charyngcrosse." From this description emerge two new facts: that Bukholt was also called Worthe,[4] and that in 1394–96 he performed Chaucer's functions in two of the places listed in 1389–91 as in Chaucer's charge.[5]

Under the name Worthe there is enlightening information about the man. On May 20, 1379, he was given, for life, custody of the king's manor of Clarendon, at a salary of 4*d.* a day; and on October 7, 1382,[6] he was granted for life the office of "launder" in Clarendon Park, previously held by Matthew Swetenham, king's sergeant and yeoman of the chamber.[7] For this post the salary was 3*d.* a day, plus 13*s.* 4*d.* a year for a gown and 10*s.* for a courtepy.[8] The total value, then, of both offices was nearly £12 a year, undoubtedly increased by perquisites.

[1] *Life Records*, IV, 321 f.

[2] *Ibid.* The suit came up in Easter term, April 24–May 20. The letters of protection are dated May 4.

[3] E 101 460–65.

[4] I.e., he was Walter Worthe of Bukholt (Hampshire).

[5] *L.R.*, IV, 275, 277, 278, 300.

[6] *Cal. Pat. Rolls* (1377–81), p. 354; cf. also *Cal. Close Rolls* (1377–81), pp. 66, 402.

[7] *C.P.R.* (1381–85), pp. 50, 165; and *C.C.R.* (1381–85), p. 257.

[8] *C.C.R.* (1385–89), pp. 230 f.

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By a document dated June 3, 1396, appointing Nicholas Ricoun "launder" in place of Walter Worthe, deceased, it appears that Worthe had had the custody of both the deer and the conies of the "laund," with various fees and profits, and that he had had two assistants called "stikkers."[1]

By far the most significant document concerning Worthe or Bukholt is one dated May 9, 1382, empowering him and Hugh Swayn, "purveyors," to take masons, carpenters, and other workmen, besides providing material and carriage for them.[2] This document was issued by Arnold Brocas, one of Chaucer's predecessors in office as clerk of the king's works; and the Hugh Swayn associated with Worthe appears four times in the *Life Records* as in Chaucer's employ:

1. As "purveyor" in the palace of Westminster and in various other places, including Clarendon and the Mews at Charing Cross. His business was to provide stone, timber, tiles, shingles, and other necessary things, together with carriage for the same, and to procure masons, carpenters, and other workmen.[3]

This proves that in 1389 Swayn was doing for Chaucer precisely what he and Worthe together had earlier done for Brocas.

2. His official appointment, July 14, 1389, confirms the preceding.[4]

3. In a mandate, dated April 19, 1390, to allow Chaucer for the 2*s.* a week wages which he had been paying to Hugh Swayn, his purveyor, from the time when he (Chaucer) had been in office, as well as the wages of the other purveyors for the works at different times when they were engaged in providing for the works. This certainly suggests that Swayn was employed regularly and the others only from time to time as they were needed.[5]

4. Chaucer's own account of his receipts and expenses, turned in when he gave up his office, June 17, 1391. In this he includes as paid for the past two years: William Hannay, his controller, Richard Swyft, his master-carpenter; Henry Yevele, his master-mason; and Hugh Swayn, purveyor for the palace of Westminster and other manors of the king. Then he mentions *vadia ac regarda* paid to other purveyors from time to time, when they were employed on the works, but without naming wages or amounts paid; and finally gives the wages and sums paid to John Pritwell, purveyor for the palace of Westminster

[1] *C.P.R.* (1391–96), p. 683.

[2] *C.P.R.* (1381–85), p. 114.

[3] *L.R.*, IV, 277 *f.*, about July 12, 1389.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 278.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 285. As this interpretation, however, may be questioned, I quote the original: "... Nous volons et vous mandons qen laconte quel ... Geffray Chaucer, Clerc de noz œueraignes, est arendre ... lui facez allouer ... les gages de deux soldz la symaigne, paiez par le dit Geffray a Hugh' Swayn, purueiour des choses necessaires et appurtenantz a noz ouereignes auantdictes, et auxi les gages ou regardz paiez par le dit Geffray meins que les gagez auantditz a autres purueiours pour lez ditz œuereignes a diuerses tempe, quant ils estoient occupiez entour purueiances faire pour mesmes les œureignes, du iour que le dit Geffray estoit primerement chargeez de son dit office, et ensi tantcome il serra en ycel, par manere qils ont estez paiez auant ces heures."

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and the Tower, to Peter Cook, purveyor for Eltham, and to the gardeners at Eltham and at Shene.[1] As to relative wages, Hannay, Swyft, and Yevele each received 1*s.* a day (half what Chaucer himself had); Swayn and Pritwell, respectively, 2*s.* a week and 4*d.* a day; Cook and the two gardeners respectively, 3*d.* a day. These facts seem to show that Swayn and two other purveyors were employed regularly and to suggest, as did the earlier passage, that others were engaged as needed.[2]

As for Bukholt, who as early as 1382 had been employed with Swayn by Chaucer's precedessor and who in 1396 was described as himself clerk of the works for Clarendon and the Mews at Charing, he was evidently one of the purveyors hired as needed; and in this somewhat uncertain and shifting relationship there was ample opportunity for disagreement as to financial responsibilities and perquisites. It should be emphasized that the suit was not brought by Bukholt himself but by his executrix (presumably his widow). Whether her action was motivated by a sense of wrong or a desire for gain, there is nothing in the circumstances thus far presented to cast the slightest doubt on the poet's integrity. And there is a good chance of finding out more about the case by looking for information about John Goodale of Milleford.[3] The fact that the sheriff reported both men as having nothing within his jurisdiction probably means only that they did not live in Middlesex.

At any rate, it is clear that the Bukholt suit and the king's letters of protection cannot safely be cited, as they have been, to prove Chaucer's poverty in his declining years.

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 304 *f.*

[2] There are indications that some sort of reorganization took place during Chaucer's term of office. When he was appointed, commissions were issued to Swayn to be purveyor for seven of the twelve castles, manors, and other places of which Chaucer was given charge; to Walter Suthwerk, for the Tower; to Thomas Segham, for Berkhampstead and Chiltern Langley; to Peter Cook, for Eltham; and there is no assignment of Feckenham. When Chaucer went out of office, he did not mention Segham or Suthwerk; Cook had remained as purveyor for Eltham; and there had been a redistribution of responsibility between Swayn and a new man named John Pritwell (*ibid.*, pp. 274 *f.*, 277 *f.*, 281 *f.*).

[3] There was a place called "Mileford" on the Thames near the Temple. In 1379 the Prior of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem was bound to clean a ditch there *iuxta Mileford* (*Public Works in Mediaeval Law* [Selden Soc.], II, 56, 59, and cf. 64). There was also a Milford near Witley, Surrey (*Victoria County History of Surrey*, III, 66); Witley Manor was part of Queen Philippa's dowry and in 1377 was given to Mundina Danos, the nurse of Richard II and her husband, Walter Rauf, his tailor (*ibid.*, p. 64); in 1313 Westminster Hall was shingled with wood from the oaks of Witley (*ibid.*); and, finally, the name Goodale occurs in the sixteenth century in the neighborhood; but thus far I have found no John Goodale of the fourteenth century.

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The PRESS IMPRINT

For August and September, 1926

Brains of Rats and Men

That man's brain has been slowly developed from other kinds of animal brain structures, that human behavior patterns and the noblest human faculties are functions of man's peculiar protoplasmic organization—to many these still seem difficult statements to accept. Their truth, however, is further demonstrated by C. Judson Herrick in *Brains of Rats and Men*, his new book on the origin and biological significance of the cerebral cortex. It is a volume that belongs to that rare class of scientific works of genuine literary merit, in which Mr. Herrick traces the evolution of this amazingly complex organ from fishes to men, and follows step by step the elaboration of its functions.

Objective behavior and subjective experience are here reformulated in biological terms. Mr. Herrick demonstrates incisively that the entire intellectual, emotional, and moral life of mankind can be explored as biological functions without loss of their supreme values as distinctively human attributes and without passing outside the realm of natural laws.

Others have tried to read human faculties backward into the lower animals. Mr. Herrick reverses the order and, beginning with the simplest structures prophetic of cerebral cortex, he reads this history through to its culmination in man. He outlines also the development of the thalamus and corpus striatum and their functional relations with the cortex.

He turns then to the mechanism of learning, centering the discussion about the brains of rats and men, the two species of mammals whose behavior patterns have been studied most intensively under conditions of laboratory control. Recent experiments upon learning in rats are summarized.

In considering the transition from brute to man, Mr. Herrick calls attention to the fact that the brain of man is more than twice as heavy as that of an ape of equal body weight and that this increase is chiefly in the cerebral cortex. The complexity of the internal texture of the human cortex surpasses that of an ape in still larger measure.

Mr. Herrick emphasizes the unscientific character of the oversimplification of human behavior so popular in some psychological circles. He believes that human nature cannot be understood without recognizing that its patterns of behavior are very different from those of rats and monkeys, and that conscious experience is an essential component of these human behavior patterns in their biological aspects.

Approaching the problems of human nature from the biological side and with biological technique, the author works out a common ground upon which objective psychology and introspective psychology may meet without sacrificing what is good in either method. He has demonstrated that, without transgressing the boundaries of biological science, we can set in their places objective behavior in all its manifestations: affect, impulse, volition, and the whole intellectual and moral life together with the structural mechanisms employed.

The concluding chapters have a special significance for psychology and education, since they throw light upon such problems as the subconscious, complexes, habit, vital reserves, experience, association, will, and the relations of mind and body.

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This account of the cerebral cortex, its evolution and its functions, by one of America's foremost neurologists touches upon problems that are fundamental to all the sciences that take living things, and man in particular, as their province: biology, psychology, anthropology, the social sciences, education, medicine. *BRAINS OF RATS AND MEN.* By C. JUDSON HERRICK. *$3.00, postpaid $3.15.*

"Liberty, Equality, Fraternity"

Beyond all other ideas of government, democracy means not merely a governmental mechanism, but a way of life. The social philosopher who thus broadly conceives it must turn to the most general interests of mankind. Thomas Vernor Smith, in his new book *The Democratic Way of Life*, re-endows "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity"—worn slogans of a goal that has never been reached—with some of the spirit of the days when they were magic words; and makes a brilliant commentary upon the questions of humanizing work, the proper use of leisure, religion in a democracy, birth control, and democratic leadership.

To make clear the abiding real content of the democratic trinity of ideals, Mr. Smith inquires into these goals as they stand today. He looks upon liberty as fundamental, a natural end for life, and would restrict it only for the sake of fraternity. He admits that liberty is neither more nor less than doing as one pleases, but believes that through proper education men may please more and more to act fraternally.

Fraternity, Mr. Smith holds to be a natural and ethical end for man. It is, in his view, the basis of religion, and the function of religion in a democracy is to foster brotherhood within the group and universal brotherhood.

What can equality as an ideal mean in the light of the present-day facts? Mr. Smith's equalitarian ideal means fundamentally that whatever objects or activities are regarded as good must be admitted to be as good when experienced by one person as when experienced by another. He sees in war and industrial autocracy the arch-enemies of equality, and in the cessation of wholesale hostility, the development of industrial democracy, necessary measures for the attainment of the equality ideal.

Bertrand Russell has expressed the belief that with present technology, the four-hour day awaits only the will to have it. Regarding such optimism as at best prophetic of a distant time, Mr. Smith, in considering work and leisure, prefers to place emphasis upon the humanizing of work, and to give up the tenaciously held idea that the good life is to be found exclusively in leisure. The supreme moral task of the hour, in Mr. Smith's view, is in banishing drudgery and monotony, and investing otherwise unpleasant work with meaning.

What kind of leadership is needed in a democracy? Mr. Smith rejects the conception of leadership of prestige and authority inherited from monarchies, and replaces it with the new conception of leadership suggested by science. The new type of leader is a leader by virtue of knowledge, and his function is to point, not to order. Science having discredited the spectacular and omniscient type of leader, democracy must be judged not by its ability to produce a few "master-leaders," but by its ability to make every citizen a creative leader in some enterprise.

Mr. Smith has brought to these principles of democracy, upon which so much enthusiasm has been lavished and over which so much disappointment has been felt, an undeniable tinge of modernity. He has formulated a democratic credo, a profession of the social faith of a modern man. *THE DEMOCRATIC WAY OF LIFE.* By THOMAS VERNOR SMITH. *$1.75, postpaid $1.85.*

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A New French Grammar

One hears it frequently said that of the making of French grammars there is no end but that the French grammar has yet to be written. That is to say a new one may legitimately make its bow without regarding too much the weight of its predecessors.

The new *Introduction to the Study of French* by Otto F. Bond will make a place for itself among French texts where the rapid attainment of the ability to read and understand French is the end most desired. Teachers who find that the prolonged syntactical study and delayed actual reading made necessary by most grammars is somewhat boring both to instructor and student will welcome this grammar which equips the student in twenty lessons to read interesting material.

It is a "comprehension" grammar, brief, thorough, and intensive, and written from the point of view of the student struggling with the difficulties of the printed page and the spoken word and desiring a mastery of these problems early in the course.

The "reading method" upon which this book is based has been in use in the Junior College of the University of Chicago for five years with remarkable success. It has led to an average reading of 1,500 to 1,800 pages in the first year of instruction in French.

In an article in the *Modern Language Journal* for April, 1926, Mr. Bond says: "If Mary White wants to read *Le Petit Chose* or *Abeille* before she can order from a French menu or juggle a pair of partitive constructions in a negative sentence, why not let her do it? She cannot fail to get some good out of the performance even if she doesn't get all the story with full literary appreciation. Suppression of her desire to read cannot be expected to heighten her interest in partitive constructions!"

In preparing a text which concentrates on the problem of getting the student to the point where he can follow his natural interest in reading, Mr. Bond has performed a valuable service for instructors whether or not they agree with him that the primary aim of the junior college course should be the development of reading ability. The text may be followed by the direct method or the grammar-translation method, and its value as a starting-point for the course and a means for creating interest in the course is not lessened.

An Introduction to the Study of French is one of the new "University of Chicago Junior College Series" designed through specially constructed texts to accomplish efficiently in one year the purpose of elementary modern-language instruction at the college level. Another volume in the series, already published, is *The Sounds of French* by Otto F. Bond, a graded, intensive, phonetic drill manual, equipped with analytical exercises. In December, a third volume in the series, *Premières Lectures*, will appear. It is a first reader to be begun with the twelfth recitation of the course and to lead to extensive (outside) reading by the twentieth. *AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF FRENCH.* By Otto F. Bond. *$1.00, postpaid $1.10. THE SOUNDS OF FRENCH.* By Otto F. Bond. *$1.25, postpaid $1.35.*

* * *

For the Bacteriology Laboratory

Instructors arranging courses in bacteriology, serology, and immunology will find helpful the new *Laboratory Outlines in Bacteriology and Immunology* by John F. Norton and I. S. Falk. For students of these subjects it will serve as a handbook and guide in the laboratory. The material consists of exercises which are designed to acquaint the student with a variety of the best methods, to give him practice in working with different groups of bacteria, and to illustrate immunologic phenomena.

The manual is a guide to the preparation of media, to microscopic examination, and to work with bacteria from the respiratory tract, miscellaneous and higher bacteria, anaerobes, toxins, and antitoxins. There are exercises on vaccine preparation, Wassermann reactions, tuberculin reactions, and examination of milk.

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HOW TO STUDY MODERN LANGUAGES IN COLLEGE. By PETER HAGBOLDT. 25 cents, postpaid 27 cents.

Mr. Hagboldt outlines a definite technique of studying modern languages, and offers hints and psychological principles that will inevitably improve study methods. This convenient manual discusses aims and methods of modern language study; inhibitions and fundamental principles; and gives rules for studying grammar, pronunciation, vocabulary, reading, and translation.

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What his earlier manual does for the college student, this one does for the less mature beginner in modern languages. It takes up in turn every practical question that must occur to the young student; the personal aim and the class method, common obstacles and their remedies, fundamental principles of learning, pronunciation, extensive reading, vocabulary, translation, grammar, and speaking.

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These outlines should be in the hands of the instructor and of each member of the class. The manual is a flexible one in its arrangement and can easily be adapted to the character of the course offered, and to the amount of time available for laboratory work. There is material here for a full year's work, but it is so arranged that the manual is equally useful for shorter courses. *LABORATORY OUTLINES FOR COURSES IN BACTERIOLOGY AND IMMUNOLOGY*. By JOHN F. NORTON and I. S. FALK. *$2.00, postpaid $2.10.*

* * *

The Origins of the Gospels

Ernest DeWitt Burton continued during his last years the researches concerning the origins of the Four Gospels which had been the basis of his valued *Short Introduction to the Gospels*. He made further investigations regarding the dates of the Synoptic Gospels, and approached the Fourth Gospel from a new point of view, applying the method of source criticism that he had already used with conspicuous success for the Synoptic Gospels.

These significant advances have been incorporated by Harold R. Willoughby in a new revision of the volume which brings to biblical students Dr. Burton's final conclusions. Two important sections of fresh material found in Dr. Burton's files have been added. The first renders an exceptional judgment regarding the dates of the Synoptic Gospels. The second outlines a unique theory concerning the composition of the Fourth Gospel which illuminates the Johannine depiction of Jesus.

This authoritative revision places before students of the gospels those facts concerning the purpose and point of view which are most necessary for an intelligent reading and study of them. *A SHORT INTRODUCTION TO THE GOSPELS*. By ERNEST D. BURTON and HAROLD R. WILLOUGHBY. *$1.75, postpaid $1.85.*

* * *

World-Literature

Richard Green Moulton spent his life in the study and interpretation of world-literature and the culmination of his work is *The Modern Study of Literature*. It is a

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book that embodies his familiarity with literature in all its forms, and his extraordinary ability to act as a guide to others in the development of literary appreciation. In it he reached the final formulation of a complete philosophy of literature, and applied it to the greatest literary masterpieces.

Moulton's method of interpretation regarded all literatures as one, and dealt with ancient, medieval, and modern, whether of England or of the Continent, as different manifestations of a single impulse. To him the great mistake of modern literary study was its failure to recognize the unity of all literature. In *The Modern Study of Literature* he supplied the comprehensive synthesis which he thought to be the great need of modern criticism.

His method was that of inductive observation, and he looked upon literary growth as a matter of evolution as definite as development in the physical world. Moulton's life as an interpreter of literature is summed up in this, his greatest work—a volume that every student and lover of world-literature should read. *THE MODERN STUDY OF LITERATURE.* By RICHARD GREEN MOULTON. *$3.00, postpaid $3.15.*

* * *

Risk

A risk of loss exists in nearly every business undertaking, and it is therefore of great importance to the student to understand this phase of business life. For several years the School of Commerce and Administration of the University of Chicago has offered a course which analyzes the element of risk in business, and gives an understanding of its practical consequences as well as a knowledge of the agencies that serve to counteract its effects. The material of this course is contained in *Risk and Risk-Bearing*, in which Mr. Hardy isolates and explains the influence of uncertainty in economic life.

In addition to a study of the sources and effects of risk, Mr. Hardy makes a detailed examination of the methods employed to eliminate, transfer, and reduce uncertainty. Business forecasting with special reference to the business cycle, investment analysis, and the operation of the speculative market are given detailed considera-

The Earlier and Later Forms of Petrarch's Canzoniere

By RUTH SHEPARD PHELPS

Petrarch is rich enough to reward with fresh discoveries all who take the pains to study his work. Ruth Shepard Phelps has now added to the sum of knowledge about this great poet in her new book on the arrangement of the Canzoniere. She has subjected the artist's methods to close scrutiny and says, regarding her conclusions, "Yet our recognition of Petrarch's susceptibility to the common human exigencies, while it perhaps destroys the myth of a superhumanly perfect and impeccable artist, at the same time seems to bring us nearer to Petrarch the man."

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Edited by ERNEST H. WILKINS

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tion. The theory of "hedging" is fully explained, and there is comprehensive discussion of fire, life, property, accident, and casualty insurance.

This book gives the student a connected treatment of the elements of uncertainty in business, subjects that have been customarily touched upon as unrelated topics in various courses. *RISK AND RISK-BEARING.* By CHARLES O. HARDY. *$3.50, postpaid $3.60.*

The most flexible of textbook forms, the collection of readings, is used in a companion volume, *Readings in Risk and Risk-Bearing*, to cover thoroughly the element of risk in business, as seen through the eyes, not of one man, but of many specialists. This volume provides in convenient form supplementary reading for college classes in the subject, particularly where Mr. Hardy's *Risk and Risk-Bearing* is the principal text. The organization of the two books is substantially the same, the chapters in the supplementary volume corresponding in title and subject to those of the text itself. Divergent points of view are represented and those portions of the main text are supplemented most fully which experience has shown to be most in need of additional material.

There are readings on the cost of risk, ways of dealing with it, the business cycle, business forecasting, risk and the management of capital, securities and speculation, hedging, the various classes of insurance, guaranty and suretyship, the risks of labor, and the social aspects of risk-bearing.

The sections on insurance comprise nearly half the volume, and the discussion will give the student a knowledge of the questions that are interesting the insurance world. *READINGS IN RISK AND RISK-BEARING.* By CHARLES O. HARDY. *$3.50, postpaid $3.60.*

The new *Catalogue* of the University of Chicago Press is ready for distribution and will be mailed to all applicants. It is a complete list of the books—nearly a thousand of them—published by the Press, with special emphasis on the new books that are being introduced this fall.

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The PRESS IMPRINT

November and December 1926

The World and Man

The advance of modern science has revealed a vast store of fascinating facts about the universe in which we live. More discoveries have been made in nearly every branch of science in the past two or three decades than in all the previous history of mankind. Scientists have disclosed a world of the infinitely small in electrons, atoms, and molecules; and of the enormously large in giant suns and galaxies of stars, billions of miles distant. They have looked back millions of years to the origins of worlds, and have traced their history through the geological ages to the present. Myriads of plants and animals have been studied, from the lowliest bacteria and protozoa up to man. Minute investigation of man himself—his origin, the wonders of his body, the development of his intelligence—has yielded astonishing facts. Inanimate matter has revealed marvelous secrets to the modern chemist. The physicist has explained the forces we see about us every day, and the biologist is seeking to explain the very secret of life itself.

To help the inquiring reader in his efforts to keep up with the procession of modern science, sixteen members of the Faculty of the University of Chicago have written *The Nature of the World and of Man*, which E. E. Slosson describes as a book for "those who have not been to college and those who have."

These men, specialists in their fields, are the authors: Forest Ray Moulton, Rollin T. Chamberlin, J Harlen Bretz, Harvey B. Lemon, Julius Stieglitz, Horatio Hackett Newman (the editor), Edwin Oakes Jordan, Merle C. Coulter, Henry Chandler Cowles, Warder C. Allee, Alfred S. Romer, Fay-Cooper Cole, Elliot R. Downing, George W. Bartelmez, Anton J. Carlson, and Charles Hubbard Judd.

Beginning with the outstanding facts about the solar system, each of the sixteen authors has described that phase of development with which he is most familiar: the origin and early stages of the earth; geological processes and the earth's history; the nature of energy and matter; bacteria and their origin; evolution of the plant kingdom, the vertebrates, and the invertebrates; interactions between plants and their environment; the coming of man; organic evolution and the origin of life; human inheritance; structure of man; the living process; and mind in evolution.

Throughout, the authors have emphasized the conception of science as a glowing, living thing inextricably bound up with every human life. With all its multiplicity of authorship, the book has (in the words of the *Chicago Tribune*) "taken on the unity, the coherence, the march of one great epic poem."

Stuart Pratt Sherman said not long ago: "I have a strong impression that our 'average' American is waking up, responding to the new emphasis on 'adult education,' becoming infatuated with the idea of having his education go on as long as he does. He has got wind of the secret that in all the fields of knowledge enormous changes and advances have been made in the last twenty-five years and are still being made at this present hour. His sporting desire to keep up with his times grows keener and the range of his curiosity will soon be encyclopedic."

The popularity of *The Nature of the World and of Man* is evidence of the awakening of the adult public to the possibilities of

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further education. For the reader outside the universities the book is a guide to the world of contemporary science; it enables him to form a conception of how the earth came to be, what its place is in the vast physical universe, how life originated; it gives him glimpses of the monsters of early ages; shows him how Cro-Magnon man lived, how atoms are held together in a molecule, how invisible throngs of bacteria surround us, how life came from the sea to the land, why insanity is increasing, how speech developed, how hormones regulate bodily processes. . . . .

The Nature of the World and of Man contains the subject matter of a "survey course" given each year by its authors to a selected group of beginning students at the University of Chicago. The success of the experiment upon which it is based suggests a wide use of this text in similar courses in other institutions to give the beginner a preliminary view of the surrounding world and of his possible function in it.

In this day of increasing specialization and a confusingly large body of human knowledge, orientation toward the more general aspects of the world and of man is a necessity. In the belief of the authors of this text, orientation may best begin with a presentation of what modern science holds as truth. They have therefore attempted to give the student that acquaintance with the general outlines of scientific thought which is the ideal point of departure for his entire intellectual development, and which alone affords him the proper perspective on the world of modern thought. More specialized courses in thinking, man in society, or the arts, may well follow, but this course, being more informational, more inclusive, and easier for the beginner should be the point of departure. *THE NATURE OF THE WORLD AND OF MAN*. By SIXTEEN MEMBERS OF THE FACULTY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO. *$4.00, postpaid $4.15.*

* * *

Current American Prose

In a volume of provocative essays, *The Outlook for American Prose*, Joseph Warren Beach searches the current prose of reflection, reminiscence, criticism, and social commentary for auguries of a first-rate style. He judges as stylists the American prose artists who are now in the public eye. Timely and incisive comment from this candid and erudite observer will be not unwelcome to readers who have become aware of the development of American prose style in such books as *Troubadour, Straws and Prayer-Books*, and *A Story-Teller's Story*.

A professed eclectic, and adherent of no particular school or tendency, Mr. Beach seeks the perfect style wherever it may be found. Looking about for American writers of cultivated philosophical prose to compare with Bertrand Russell and Havelock Ellis; biographers to rank with Lytton Strachey; newspaper essayists to place beside Chesterton; and critics as stimulating as Shaw, he advances a gratifying number of claimants to distinction. In Sherwood Anderson, James Branch Cabell, H. L. Mencken, Stuart Pratt Sherman, Paul Rosenfeld, Simeon Strunsky, and Alfred Kreymborg, Mr. Beach finds the most hopeful signs of a distinguished prose art in America, and whether or not you agree with him, you will have to reckon with his arresting dicta on the luminaries of the day.

"Old fashioned or new fashioned, what we want is something first rate," says Mr. Beach. His regard for stylistic perfection leads him to protest against the incoherence of Hergesheimer; the lack of precision in John Dewey; the naïveté of Dreiser; the scientific jargon of Van Wyck Brooks; and the affectations of Van Vechten. Sentimental violence and overuse of such words as "devastating" and "poignant" are charged against Ben Hecht, Hutchinson, Walpole, and Hergesheimer.

SHERWOOD ANDERSON

—"*A prose-writer who dares to use the devices of the poet.*"

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Mr. Beach finds Gamaliel Bradford too serious minded and turns for lightness of touch to Strunsky and Morley. In Anderson, Cabell, Mencken, and Sherman, he finds the supreme qualities of flavor and individuality, gusto, and precision. Kreymborg's style is "uniformly graceful, delicately tinted."

VAN VECHTEN

—"*Baedeker of the intelligentsia.*"

Mr. Beach has put to good use a conception of the genuine critical spirit characterized by candor and tolerance. He admits that he has been denied that arrogance which enables a critic to tell at a glance whether or not a writer is one of the immortals. First-rate prose he finds most frequently in the unpretentious styles that slip in between rigid categories.

You will want to read this book for the vigor of its outlook upon American prose and for its timely comment on some of the most interesting figures in modern literature.

H. L. Mencken says in the *American Mercury:* "This is perhaps the first book, written by an American, in which precept is backed up by practice. Mr. Beach writes very effectively, and has much of interest to say. His judgments on the writing of Dreiser, Anderson, Van Vechten and other living Americans are well-informed and plausible." *THE OUTLOOK FOR AMERICAN PROSE.* By JOSEPH WARREN BEACH. *$2.50, postpaid $2.60.*

* * *

New Version of the Psalms

For a long time we have needed a translation of the Book of Psalms into the language of our day—a translation that would give the modern reader new insight into the classical rendering of the King James Version, and enable him to see in the Psalms the meaning they originally had. Such a translation is the new version by J. M. Powis Smith, which removes the stumbling-blocks of a centuries-old vocabulary, and divests the verses of unwarranted meanings which a succession of early translators read into them. This version is based upon the official Hebrew text, corrected and emended in accordance with the findings of present-day scholarship.

Dr. Smith expresses at the outset his admiration for the King James Version of the Psalms as "a masterpiece of English literature, unrivalled in beauty," and disclaims any attempt to supplant it with his own version. His purpose is rather to express, as completely and as accurately as the limitations of language permit, the thought and feeling of the original; and to incorporate the scholarship of recent decades, with its more thoroughgoing text-critical method and improved philological results. His aim has been at all times to create a clear and uncorrupted version in which the reader of today will be able to see unhampered the beauties and true meaning of the world's greatest hymnbook.

This translation is intended for the public rather than for technical study; it is not, however, an attempt to bring the Psalms down to the level of the mythical "man on the street." The Psalms are here reproduced in a language and style befitting their spirit and content.

While seeking to avoid a bald literalism, Dr. Smith has preferred to err on that side rather than upon the side of paraphrastic expansion. His aim being always accuracy of meaning, he has chosen not to take the liberties of paraphrastic rendering.

The translator brings to his task unusual qualifications. He is professor of Semitic languages and literatures in the University of Chicago, editor of the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, and one of the foremost Hebrew scholars in this country. He is the author of several well-known books on Old Testament subjects.

This version of the Psalms is the first step in the complete American translation of the Old Testament, upon which a committee of Hebrew scholars is now working and which will require a year for its completion.

In this rendering, the modern reader can now read the Psalms in the language of his own day, just as they were written centu-

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ries ago. Now as never before he can see clearly reflected the religious and spiritual conceptions of the greatest of hymnbooks. *THE PSALMS*. Translated from the Hebrew by J. M. POWIS SMITH. *$3.00, postpaid $3.15.*

* *

Introducing Urban Sociology

A new volume, *The Urban Community*, edited by E. W. Burgess, and a previously published one, *The City*, by Robert E. Park, E. W. Burgess, and others, form together a much-needed introduction to an urban sociology. They are the nearest approach thus far to textbooks in urban sociology, including under that term community organization, urban geography, and human ecology. Based upon a conception of the city as a living organism, they are the first steps in an attempt to supply that basic understanding of the city needed to unify the many present-day urban movements. These two books offer an introduction, not merely to the facts of urban life, but to the processes involved in human life from the standpoint of environment.

Continuing the work of outlining the field of urban sociology as begun in *The City*, the new volume, *The Urban Community*, is a prospectus of the present state and promise of sociological research in this field. It indicates and illustrates for students of the subject the different techniques of research, ecological, cultural, and statistical, which are being applied to the study of the city.

It covers a wide range of phenomena from human nature and personality to statistics of city life. It deals with fundamental problems and contains more modern applications of the subject and more statistics on urban problems than any other volume. It will be a most helpful text for teachers of urban sociology and community organization, and will admirably aid all students of these subjects, as well as those interested in urban geography.

The chapters in this volume are selections from the proceedings of the 1925 meeting of the American Sociological Society.

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In *The City* a group of sociologists brought to the study of urban problems a technique

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which assured a more searching and disinterested analysis than had previously been attained. This pioneer work is concerned with outlining a program for future investigation of human nature and social life under modern urban conditions.

A wide variety of phenomena characteristic of city life have been investigated: from the metropolitan daily newspaper to "Magic, Mentality, and City Life." This book directs the student toward investigation of the physical organization, the occupations, and the cultures of the city, and gives him a conception of the ecological approach to the city. *THE URBAN COMMUNITY*. Edited by E. W. BURGESS. *THE CITY:* Human Behavior in the Urban Environment. By ROBERT E. PARK, E. W. BURGESS, AND OTHERS. *Each $2.00, postpaid $2.10.*

* * *

The Inside Story of Chicago Politics

A realistic story of Chicago politics as evidenced in the primary of 1926 has been told by a disinterested observer, a political scientist concerned with bringing to light actual election methods; and is offered to the public in *The Chicago Primary of 1926* by Carroll H. Wooddy. This book is based upon extensive first-hand investigation; it goes back of the shifting tides of political warfare to an understanding of what makes Chicago politics what it is. This volume is not campaign literature; it is absolutely nonpartisan, studying all factions alike, and is motivated entirely by the need for a scientific understanding of political phenomena.

The public sees only the final alignment of forces, the line-up of political allies and combatants, the long slates of rival candidates. What went on before, how a particular combination came to be made, is only vaguely understood. There is a saying that politics makes strange bedfellows, but there are causes of political expediency behind these often peculiar combinations. These causes have been clearly shown by Mr. Wooddy. He traces the development of each faction from the time of Busse, Lorimer, Deneen, and Dunne to the present day, records the quarrels and compromises needed to bring about definite alignment,

An Introduction to Spanish Literature

By

GEORGE T. NORTHUP

Mr. Northup opens for the student and general reader the world of Spanish literature—the realm of picaresque romance, Cervantes, Lope de Vega, and the Cid. In this single volume is presented a picture of Spanish literature as a whole from its beginning in epic and drama to the present generation of writers. Mr. Northup's style is at once clear and systematic and full of color; here is a well-written history of Spanish letters; a book about literature that is itself a work of distinction and charm.

Facts about the authors' lives helpful in understanding their works are woven into the discussion. Plots of novels, bits of poetry and story, critical comment carry the reader along and introduce him to one of the world's great literatures. In the final chapter the reader is introduced to the writers of today—Benavente, Pío Baroja, Valle-Inclán, and others—in a biographical-critical discussion.

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In preparing a text which concentrates on the problem of getting the student to the point where he can follow his natural interest in reading, Mr. Bond has performed a valuable service for instructors who find that the prolonged syntactical study and delayed actual reading made necessary by most grammars tends to destroy interest in the course.

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shows how the slates of candidates are made up in the conclaves of the leaders, and judges the extent to which the direct primary has eliminated the bad features of previous methods.

The extent to which the old slogan "to the victors belong the spoils" still operates in Chicago politics has seldom been analyzed as thoroughly as in this book. Mr. Wooddy indicates the copious political spoils contested for by the various factions, sources, in the main of personal and political power, which can be used to build up a powerful machine. He finds prevalent the type of politics whose medium of exchange is votes, and whose compensations are jobs.

The voter is asked to support candidates upon certain issues, but often he has no way of knowing to what extent the issues are handpicked as political ammunition or to what extent they represent the convictions of the candidates. Mr. Wooddy analyzes the processes by which campaign issues are selected and supported, what appeals are made, and shows how issues irrelevant to the situation are often dragged in because they offer an opportunity for good political showmanship.

The voter is often in doubt as to whether civic agencies—better government associations, voters' leagues, newspapers, etc.—are "on the level." Are civic agencies ever corrupted by machine politics? Do newspapers distort the news in the interests of various factions? Mr. Wooddy's investigation and analysis of these questions gives the public a basis for a reasoned judgment.

This book is one of a few genuinely realistic pictures of concrete political situations, and is, at the same time, entirely impersonal and dominated by no political motives. It opens windows through which the voter is seldom permitted to gaze, revealing the inner workings of a great political and factional organization. Journalistic in style, it preserves the flavor of the actual situation. Here is a fascinating story of the jungle of factions and feuds in Chicago political life, an account which unravels the puzzling web of the personal connections of the politicians and the complicated social groups behind them. *THE CHICAGO PRIMARY OF 1926.* A Study of Election Methods. By CARROLL H. WOODDY. *$1.50, postpaid $1.60.*

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The PRESS IMPRINT

January and February 1927

The World and Man

The advance of modern science has revealed a vast store of fascinating facts about the universe in which we live. More discoveries have been made in nearly every branch of science in the past two or three decades than in all the previous history of mankind. Scientists have disclosed a world of the infinitely small in electrons, atoms, and molecules; and of the enormously large in giant suns and galaxies of stars, billions of miles distant. They have looked back millions of years to the origins of worlds, and have traced their history through the geological ages to the present. Myriads of plants and animals have been studied, from the lowliest bacteria and protozoa up to man. Minute investigation of man himself—his origin, the wonders of his body, the development of his intelligence—has yielded astonishing facts. Inanimate matter has revealed marvelous secrets to the modern chemist. The physicist has explained the forces we see about us every day, and the biologist is seeking to explain the very secret of life itself.

To help the inquiring reader in his efforts to keep up with the procession of modern science, sixteen members of the Faculty of the University of Chicago have written *The Nature of the World and of Man*, which E. E. Slosson describes as a book for "those who have not been to college and those who have."

These men, specialists in their fields, are the authors: Forest Ray Moulton, Rollin T. Chamberlin, J Harlen Bretz, Harvey B. Lemon, Julius Stieglitz, Horatio Hackett Newman (the editor), Edwin Oakes Jordan, Merle C. Coulter, Henry Chandler Cowles, Warder C. Allee, Alfred S. Romer, Fay-Cooper Cole, Elliot R. Downing, George W. Bartelmez, Anton J. Carlson, and Charles Hubbard Judd.

Beginning with the outstanding facts about the solar system, each of the sixteen authors has described that phase of development with which he is most familiar: the origin and early stages of the earth; geological processes and the earth's history; the nature of energy and matter; bacteria and their origin; evolution of the plant kingdom, the vertebrates, and the invertebrates; interactions between plants and their environment; the coming of man; organic evolution and the origin of life; human inheritance; structure of man; the living process; and mind in evolution.

Throughout, the authors have emphasized the conception of science as a glowing, living thing inextricably bound up with every human life. With all its multiplicity of authorship, the book has (in the words of the *Chicago Tribune*) "taken on the unity, the coherence, the march of one great epic poem."

Stuart Pratt Sherman said not long ago: "I have a strong impression that our 'average' American is waking up, responding to the new emphasis on 'adult education,' becoming infatuated with the idea of having his education go on as long as he does. He has got wind of the secret that in all the fields of knowledge enormous changes and advances have been made in the last twenty-five years and are still being made at this present hour. His sporting desire to keep up with his times grows keener and the range of his curiosity will soon be encyclopedic."

The popularity of *The Nature of the World and of Man* is evidence of the awakening of the adult public to the possibilities of

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further education. For the reader outside the universities the book is a guide to the world of contemporary science; it enables him to form a conception of how the earth came to be, what its place is in the vast physical universe, how life originated; it gives him glimpses of the monsters of early ages; shows him how Cro-Magnon man lived, how atoms are held together in a molecule, how invisible throngs of bacteria surround us, how life came from the sea to the land, why insanity is increasing, how speech developed, how hormones regulate bodily processes. . . . .

The Nature of the World and of Man contains the subject matter of a "survey course" given each year by its authors to a selected group of beginning students at the University of Chicago. The success of the experiment upon which it is based suggests a wide use of this text in similar courses in other institutions to give the beginner a preliminary view of the surrounding world and of his possible function in it.

In this day of increasing specialization and a confusingly large body of human knowledge, orientation toward the more general aspects of the world and of man is a necessity. In the belief of the authors of this text, orientation may best begin with a presentation of what modern science holds as truth. They have therefore attempted to give the student that acquaintance with the general outlines of scientific thought which is the ideal point of departure for his entire intellectual development, and which alone affords him the proper perspective on the world of modern thought. More specialized courses in thinking, man in society, or the arts, may well follow, but this course, being more informational, more inclusive, and easier for the beginner should be the point of departure. *THE NATURE OF THE WORLD AND OF MAN*. By SIXTEEN MEMBERS OF THE FACULTY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO. *$4.00, postpaid $4.15.*

* * *

Current American Prose

In a volume of provocative essays, *The Outlook for American Prose*, Joseph Warren Beach searches the current prose of reflection, reminiscence, criticism, and social commentary for auguries of a first-rate style. He judges as stylists the American prose artists who are now in the public eye. Timely and incisive comment from this candid and erudite observer will be not unwelcome to readers who have become aware of the development of American prose style in such books as *Trouhadour, Straws and Prayer-Books*, and *A Story-Teller's Story*.

A professed eclectic, and adherent of no particular school or tendency, Mr. Beach seeks the perfect style wherever it may be found. Looking about for American writers of cultivated philosophical prose to compare with Bertrand Russell and Havelock Ellis; biographers to rank with Lytton Strachey; newspaper essayists to place beside Chesterton; and critics as stimulating as Shaw, he advances a gratifying number of claimants to distinction. In Sherwood Anderson, James Branch Cabell, H. L. Mencken, Stuart Pratt Sherman, Paul Rosenfeld, Simeon Strunsky, and Alfred Kreymborg, Mr. Beach finds the most hopeful signs of a distinguished prose art in America, and whether or not you agree with him, you will have to reckon with his arresting dicta on the luminaries of the day.

"Old fashioned or new fashioned, what we want is something first rate," says Mr. Beach. His regard for stylistic perfection leads him to protest against the incoherence of Hergesheimer; the lack of precision in John Dewey; the naïveté of Dreiser; the scientific jargon of Van Wyck Brooks; and the affectations of Van Vechten. Sentimental violence and overuse of such words as "devastating" and "poignant" are charged against Ben Hecht, Hutchinson, Walpole, and Hergesheimer.

SHERWOOD ANDERSON

—"*A prose-writer who dares to use the devices of the poet.*"

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Mr. Beach finds Gamaliel Bradford too serious minded and turns for lightness of touch to Strunsky and Morley. In Anderson, Cabell, Mencken, and Sherman, he finds the supreme qualities of flavor and individuality, gusto, and precision. Kreymborg's style is "uniformly graceful, delicately tinted."

VAN VECHTEN

—"*Baedeker of the intelligentsia.*"

Mr. Beach has put to good use a conception of the genuine critical spirit characterized by candor and tolerance. He admits that he has been denied that arrogance which enables a critic to tell at a glance whether or not a writer is one of the immortals. First-rate prose he finds most frequently in the unpretentious styles that slip in between rigid categories.

You will want to read this book for the vigor of its outlook upon American prose and for its timely comment on some of the most interesting figures in modern literature.

H. L. Mencken says in the *American Mercury:* "This is perhaps the first book, written by an American, in which precept is backed up by practice. Mr. Beach writes very effectively, and has much of interest to say. His judgments on the writing of Dreiser, Anderson, Van Vechten and other living Americans are well-informed and plausible." *THE OUTLOOK FOR AMERICAN PROSE.* By Joseph Warren Beach. *$2.50, postpaid $2.60.*

* * *

New Version of the Psalms

For a long time we have needed a translation of the Book of Psalms into the language of our day—a translation that would give the modern reader new insight into the classical rendering of the King James Version, and enable him to see in the Psalms the meaning they originally had. Such a translation is the new version by J. M. Powis Smith, which removes the stumbling-blocks of a centuries-old vocabulary, and divests the verses of unwarranted meanings which a succession of early translators read into them. This version is based upon the official Hebrew text, corrected and emended in accordance with the findings of present-day scholarship.

Dr. Smith expresses at the outset his admiration for the King James Version of the Psalms as "a masterpiece of English literature, unrivalled in beauty," and disclaims any attempt to supplant it with his own version. His purpose is rather to express, as completely and as accurately as the limitations of language permit, the thought and feeling of the original; and to incorporate the scholarship of recent decades, with its more thoroughgoing text-critical method and improved philological results. His aim has been at all times to create a clear and uncorrupted version in which the reader of today will be able to see unhampered the beauties and true meaning of the world's greatest hymnbook.

This translation is intended for the public rather than for technical study; it is not, however, an attempt to bring the Psalms down to the level of the mythical "man on the street." The Psalms are here reproduced in a language and style befitting their spirit and content.

While seeking to avoid a bald literalism, Dr. Smith has preferred to err on that side rather than upon the side of paraphrastic expansion. His aim being always accuracy of meaning, he has chosen not to take the liberties of paraphrastic rendering.

The translator brings to his task unusual qualifications. He is professor of Semitic languages and literatures in the University of Chicago, editor of the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, and one of the foremost Hebrew scholars in this country. He is the author of several well-known books on Old Testament subjects.

This version of the Psalms is the first step in the complete American translation of the Old Testament, upon which a committee of Hebrew scholars is now working and which will require a year for its completion.

In this rendering, the modern reader can now read the Psalms in the language of his own day, just as they were written centu-

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An Introduction to Spanish Literature

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GEORGE T. NORTHUP

Mr. Northup opens for the student and general reader the world of Spanish literature—the realm of picaresque romance, Cervantes, Lope de Vega, and the Cid. In this single volume is presented a picture of Spanish literature as a whole from its beginning in epic and drama to the present generation of writers. Mr. Northup's style is at once clear and systematic and full of color; here is a well-written history of Spanish letters; a book about literature that is itself a work of distinction and charm.

Facts about the authors' lives helpful in understanding their works are woven into the discussion. Plots of novels, bits of poetry and story, critical comment carry the reader along and introduce him to one of the world's great literatures. In the final chapter the reader is introduced to the writers of today—Benavente, Pío Baroja, Valle-Inclán, and others—in a biographical-critical discussion.

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ries ago. Now as never before he can see clearly reflected the religious and spiritual conceptions of the greatest of hymnbooks. *THE PSALMS*. Translated from the Hebrew by J. M. Powis Smith. *$3.00, postpaid $3.15*.

* * *

Brains of Rats and Men

That man's brain has been [illegible] eloped from other kinds of [illegible] structures, that human beh[illegible] and the noblest human facu[illegible] tions of man's peculiar pro[illegible] organization—to many these s[illegible] difficult statements to accept. Their truth, however, is further demonstrated by C. Judson Herrick in *Brains of Rats and Men*, his new book on the origin and biol[illegible] significance of the cerebral corte[illegible] volume that belongs to that [illegible] scientific works of genuine literary merit, in which Mr. Herrick traces the evolution of this amazingly complex organ from fishes to men, and follows step by step the elaboration of its functions.

Objective behavior and subjective experience are here reformulated in biological terms. Mr. Herrick demonstrates incisively that the entire intellectual, emotional, and moral life of mankind can be explored as biological functions without loss of their supreme values as distinctively human attributes and without passing outside the realm of natural laws.

Others have tried to read human faculties backward into the lower animals. Mr. Herrick reverses the order and, beginning with the simplest structures prophetic of cerebral cortex, he reads this history through to its culmination in man. He outlines also the development of the thalamus and corpus striatum and their functional relations with the cortex.

He turns then to the mechanism of learning, centering the discussion about the brains of rats and men, the two species of mammals whose behavior patterns have been studied most intensively under conditions of laboratory control. Recent experiments upon learning in rats are summarized.

In considering the transition from brute to man, Mr. Herrick calls attention to the fact that the brain of man is more than twice as heavy as that of an ape of equal

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body weight and that this increase is chiefly in the cerebral cortex. The complexity of the internal texture of the human cortex surpasses that of an ape in still larger measure.

This account of the cerebral cortex, its evolution and its functions, by one of America's foremost neurologists touches upon problems that are fundamental to all the sciences that take living things, and man in particular, as their province: biology, psychology, anthropology, the social sciences, education, medicine. H L. Mencken comments: "It is, perhaps, the best summary of the known facts about mental processes yet put into English." And *The New York World:* "Again and again he discounts with a cool saneness the verbosity of new schools of psychology and philosophy . . . . [it is] suited to any intelligent reader." *BRAINS OF RATS AND MEN.* By C. JUDSON HERRICK. ***$3.00, postpaid $3.15.***

* * *

Mexico

Americans give their neighbor a great amount of attention but never, so the Mexicans say, are able to dispose of misconceptions about her. Two of our recent publications, *Some Mexican Problems* by Moises Saenz and Herbert I. Priestley, and *Aspects of Mexican Civilization* by José Vasconcelos and Manuel Gamio, represent the efforts of men who know the country at first hand to outline the true state of affairs at the present time.

Moises Saenz is a member of the Department of Education of Mexico. He gives an authoritative interpretation of the situation created by foreign, particularly American, investments in Mexico; discusses the Mexican laborer; and the progress in integrating Mexico through education. His outline of the program of the Mexican government will tend to correct the impression that the country is given over exclusively to revolutions and political intrigue.

Professor Priestley, of the University of California, author of *The Mexican Nation, a History*, is well qualified to discuss the cultural relations of Mexico and the United States, and the problems which have grown out of Mexico's efforts at rehabilitation. He shows the need for a general reconstruction of Mexican society and ex-

HOW TO STUDY MODERN LANGUAGES IN COLLEGE. By PETER HAGBOLDT. 25 cents, postpaid 27 cents.

Mr. Hagboldt outlines a definite technique of studying modern languages, and offers hints and psychological principles that will inevitably improve study methods. This convenient manual discusses aims and methods of modern language study; inhibitions and fundamental principles; and gives rules for studying grammar, pronunciation, vocabulary, reading, and translation.

HOW TO STUDY MODERN LANGUAGES IN HIGH SCHOOL. By PETER HAGBOLDT. 25 cents, postpaid 27 cents.

What his earlier manual does for the college student, this one does for the less mature beginner in modern languages. It takes up in turn every practical question that must occur to the young student; the personal aim and the class method, common obstacles and their remedies, fundamental principles of learning, pronunciation, extensive reading, vocabulary, translation, grammar, and speaking.

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amines the working policies and constructive acts of the Mexican people and government. His account is neither a general apologia for the Mexican program nor a wholesale condemnation of it.

Mr. Vasconcelos and Mr. Gamio, both of the Department of Education of Mexico, have outlined Mexican civilization in both its Latin-American and Indian aspects. Mexico is "a country of caste and opposition of every sort, a country of worry and wonder . . . . the rhythm of its very life is the rhythm of contrast," says Mr. Vasconcelos. His essay is an interesting study in contrast.

Mr. Gamio discusses one of Mexico's greatest problems, that of incorporating the Indian in Mexican population. And he has outlined, in the interests of mutual understanding, the efforts of Mexico and the United States to educate one another. *SOME MEXICAN PROBLEMS.* By MOISES SAENZ AND HERBERT I. PRIESTLEY. *ASPECTS OF MEXICAN CIVILIZATION.* By JOSÉ VASCONCELOS AND MANUEL GAMIO. *Each $2.00, postpaid $2.10.*

* * *

George Eliot to James Joyce

"The novels of George Eliot," says Walter L. Myers in *The Later Realism*, "may be named as the first that are adequately representative of native British realism fully matured but not yet modified by French naturalism and later European influences." He traces the development in realistic characterization from George Eliot to the most recent writers of the realistic school.

The writers considered fall into three groups: first, Eliot and Meredith; then, with Hardy as a connecting link, follow Wells, Bennett, and Galsworthy; and finally, Dorothy Richardson, James Joyce, D. H. Lawrence, and May Sinclair.

Mr. Myers has pointed out that the more advanced realistic characterization permits an effect that may properly be called incongruous; that there has been an infusion of something mystical; and that closer attention is being given to personality.

The reader who wishes to keep up with recent developments in British fiction will find this book interesting. *THE LATER REALISM.* By WALTER L. MYERS. *$2.00, postpaid $2.10.*

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April and May 1927

Humanizing the Sciences

Comment on *The Nature of the World and of Man* by sixteen members of the Faculty of the University of Chicago is running high.

Whatever their intentions toward college Freshmen, which are of no very great interest to the world outside the universities, the sixteen scientists have written sixteen fireside lectures ranging from astronomy to psychology, which the critics rank as the best of recent attempts to humanize the sciences. Opinion runs as follows:

"One of the finest and most engrossing popularizations of current science in existence. . . . . It is simple, clear, concrete, reliable. One emerges from it the richer by solid information and definite concepts."—Henry Hazlitt, *New York Sun.*

"A manual of the physical and biological sciences of which it would be hard to speak too highly. The volume is so many things that an outline ought to be but frequently is not. It is selective in the sense of plucking the real heart out of a body of data."—*New York Times Book Review.*

"It is unexcelled for the general reader and many of those who have had scientific training will here learn for the first time what it is all about. Above all, it is vigorously inspiring."—*New York Herald-Tribune.*

"For the story is well told, well illustrated, and well colored with human significance. Certainly the volume is accurate; the names of the various contributors guarantee that. Certainly it is interesting and readable, and popular without being diluted."—*The Nation.*

"It sweeps on from one great truth to another in a way that gives one a profound respect for the recent progress of science."—*Saturday Review of Literature.*

"It is fascinating reading for anyone who has a spark of that divine curiosity about the ways of life which causes man to seek, and seeking, to progress."—*Chicago Tribune.*

That the orientation course upon which *The Nature of the World and of Man* is based is helping the students build a workable philosophy of life is indicated in a large body of comment from these students themselves. The following statements are representative of the student attitude toward the course:

"To me this course has been most stimulating. It has given a new and broader conception of the universe. It has aroused in me a new interest and spirit of curiosity. I feel that to some extent, I have learned to value the scientific spirit. The influence that science has upon our lives is better appreciated. I believe that the course was intended to present a brief but comprehensive picture of everything that concerns us, to shake up our minds, and to stimulate us to a little thought. It has done those things for me. I am eager to take more science courses and find out how and why the universe is as it is."

"I find the spirit of science to be open-minded, strong, fearless, and wholesome. It is strange to consider one's self related to the great universe of things. I am very enthusiastic about the course. The realization or the apprehension of the infinitude of the heavens, the universe of the atom has put me in my proper place in the cosmos."

"This course is called an orientation course. This expresses well its aim and what it has

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done for me. It has taken me out of the universe and has set me at a point outside where I could see everything that was going on and look at the ways of the universe from an impartial perspective. It has given an introduction to the natural sciences and their interrelationship. The greatest benefit I have received, a benefit which sinks all other results into insignificance, is that it has caused me to ask myself such questions as 'Who am I?' 'What am I?' and 'Where am I?' It has changed my outlook on the world."

Two printings of *The Nature of the World and of Man* have already been exhausted and a new printing of 15,000 has been ordered. This will include a revision of the chapter on "The Nature of Chemical Processes" by Julius Stieglitz. As re-written it will simplify the subject of chemistry for the layman. *THE NATURE OF THE WORLD AND OF MAN.* By SIXTEEN MEMBERS OF THE FACULTY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO. *$4.00, postpaid $4.15.*

* * *

Gangs

Gang activities are familiar enough in cosmopolitan cities, but strangely, there has been no adequate sociological study of them. The forces that explain gangdom, adult and juvenile, have been brought to light by Professor Frederic M. Thrasher in *The Gang*, a book which critics believe destined to become the standard source book on the subject.

Professor Thrasher spent six years in his study of gangland—the poverty belt which surrounds Chicago's loop district. He lived with the gangsters, interviewed their leaders, and became intimately acquainted with gang life from the inside. Mingling with the "Murderers," the "Deadshots," and members of hundreds of other gangs, he learned their mysteries and secret signs, their attitudes toward society, and toward each other. And he found in investigating 1,313 gangs of all ages and sizes, the facts which explain the sensational features of gang life which are flaunted in the headlines.

He looks upon the gang as a social makeshift, which naturally appears in the cracks of the community and inevitably fosters the spread of crime. Abandoning the idea of a gang instinct, he attempts through a careful study of the natural history, structure, and functioning of the gang, to arrive at the true causes for its existence.

Mr. Thrasher has collected a vast amount of intensely interesting material which he discusses with a minimum of seminar jargon. A large part of the case material was secured from the gang boys themselves. A typical case is the following, obtained in an interview with a gang boy:

BILLY, THE BRAINS

Billy was the brains of the gang. He was "educated," a high-school boy too. He would work sometimes, but not often. The kids would bring their "stuff" to him. One day we had a big fight over it when we were robbing a merchandise car; we had cigarettes, pop, and a lot of other stuff. Billy had his stuff put away in a box with straw on top of it. The watchman looked at the straw, but Billy told him it was for a rabbit. Billy would sell "cartoons" (of cigarettes) for a half a dollar apiece.

Billy would plan things for our gang. He would get us a place to sleep when we were bumming away from home. He would get us keys to the bread boxes, so that we could get food when we were hungry. We would get the bread after the bakers left it early in the morning before the stores opened. . . . . Billy would find us a place to sleep in some house or basement. He would go around everywhere to see if there was a place to sleep or rob; he was a regular investigator.

Henry Zorbaugh of New York University comments: "Dr. Thrasher's monograph should be of interest to the sociologist and psychologist as a model of social research and a contribution to our knowledge of human behavior; to educator and social worker as an illuminating background against which to consider the practical problems of boy adjustment; and to the romantically minded as a fascinating story of 'the web of life' as it is spun in a great city."

Harry Hansen says in the *New York World:* "Here is a remarkable document and one that ought to be a source book for years to

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